

## Abstract

In The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon condemns Africans who collaborated with the colonizer; they switched loyalties, he writes, for "a ransom price." Many scholars still define collaboration as a ploy of "sellouts" who only sought gain. My new project explores African "loyalty" to colonial authority in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa, focusing on African patriarchs who recruited and policed migrant workers for mining industries in the twentieth century. The research to complete this project requires extensive field work in southern African archives, and the collection of oral history from former recruiters and migrant laborers in Zimbabwe and South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

A body of historical work, influenced by Marxist theory and African nationalism, claims that agents of capitalism such as labor recruiters and their enforcers delivered Africans into modern exploitation. But this argument obscures indigenous strategies of adapting to dramatic social change. Black labor recruiters, for example, maneuvered within colonial systems that dispossessed (forcibly removed migrants settled in cities to "tribal" homelands) and subjugated (through segregation and apartheid) Africans according to ethnicity and race. Long before radical political movements promoted emancipation from European oppression, labor recruiters may have provided Africans with an escape hatch from rural areas that suffered the brunt of white rule.<sup>2</sup>

My project poses these questions: What incentives beyond personal advantage inspired labor recruiters to cooperate with colonizers? How were recruiters received by the communities in which they operated? By opening opportunities for rural Africans to earn income, how did recruiters shape power relationships between elders, women, and youths in the countryside?

The complexities of African "collaboration" surfaced while I was writing my book, Blood from Your Children. It tells how encroaching white rule in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Natal usurped the privileges of male elders and sparked bitter conflicts between generations. As sons and daughters saw the colonizer seize their birthright of land and cattle, with the apparent collaboration of "loyalist" African

patriarchs, youthful defiance fueled a revolt in 1906. In this uprising known as “Bhambatha's Rebellion,” young African men confronted “traitorous (amambuka)” patriarchs who acquiesced to colonial demands and white troops dispatched to quell the violence. Some historians herald Bhambatha's Rebellion as the last war of liberation in southern Africa until the late 1960s, when the African National Congress (ANC) and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) launched their insurrections to overturn colonial domination. These guerilla insurgencies, along with other protest movements, helped bring about democratic governments in Zimbabwe (in 1980) and South Africa (1994). This study probes the extent to which African “collaboration” and its specific structures were factors in the absence of armed struggle in the first half of the twentieth century as well as its rise during the last half.<sup>3</sup>

#### Collaboration in the Historiography of Southern Africa

In the 1970s, Marxist and African nationalist historians argued that the late-nineteenth-century discovery of diamonds and gold and ensuing capitalist developments were pivotal in intensifying colonial power in southern Africa. Marginal settler societies, fragmented into antagonistic Boer and British territories, saw a flood of immigrants and capital from Europe; a few white newcomers made fortunes from mining while Africans were confined to menial jobs. New cities emerged, with a small white bourgeoisie and a vast oppressed black working class. Great Britain asserted imperial control, fighting wars to incorporate independent African polities such as the Zulu kingdom and rival Boer republics. By 1900, white settlers, funded by the arch-imperialist Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company (BSAC), had subjugated chiefdoms in a region just north of South Africa and established the colony of Southern Rhodesia. That Rhodes could claim his own territory suggests how much capitalist interests propelled imperialist designs in southern Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Under consolidated white rule, Africans in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia lost their economic vitality and political sovereignty. Colonial authority levied increasingly onerous taxes on Africans (compelling them to earn wages to pay the obligations), appropriated their land and cash crops, enforced

compulsory labor, and deposed recalcitrant chiefs. In the twentieth century, traditional ways of life were said to have been disfigured more and more by the capitalist profit motive.<sup>5</sup>

In a departure from more orthodox Marxist and African nationalist scholarship, over the past two decades, social historians have inserted cultural perspectives into the study of political economy, emphasizing the uneven impact of white rule. Their monographs of community life explored less visible African resistance (i.e., flight from tax collection) and neglected concepts including gender relations.<sup>6</sup> One subtle anti-colonial expression that is vital to my study was the withholding of African labor. The erratic flow of wage-seekers worried colonists endlessly; they demanded further regulation of African workers. In keeping with British "indirect rule," white officials sought compliant African patriarchs in the labor recruitment process. The common ground for this alliance was a defense of traditional patriarchy. Certain African men--frequently called "loyalists" by settler regimes--replenished and regulated (forcibly if needed) the pool of labor in return for remuneration and government recognition of their enhanced "tribal" power within rural communities. For colonial officials and white employers, collaborative African patriarchy meant order.<sup>7</sup>

Labor-intensive mining industries relied on African recruiters and enforcers such as police "izinduna" to foster labor migrancy in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia; through persuasion and coercion, rural patriarchs were urged to send young men into the wage economy. Recruiters marketed the advantages of straddling city and country. However, they were regarded in ambiguous ways by their communities, sometimes perceived as "sheltered in the armpit of white rule."<sup>8</sup>

#### Controversies of African Collaboration

The provocative phrase, "sheltered in the armpit," demonstrates graphically the negative connotations of African loyalty to colonial authority. Adu Boahen, a nationalist historian sensitive to the context of Vichy France's collusion with Nazi Germany, dismisses -- as too Eurocentric -- African collaboration during white rule, arguing that a collaborator sacrifices the interests of his nation. How were

certain Africans to become collaborators, Boahen asks, if they did not have nations after being colonized? Yet the Vichy standard, itself controversial, raises critical questions about the legacies of accommodation in colonial Africa. François Mitterand was a policeman in the Vichy administration that sent Jews to death camps and executed members of the communist-led French underground. After 1945, he denounced fascism and rose to be the socialist President of France. Can we compare Vichy with African collaborators who turned the exigencies of foreign occupation into strategies of advancement, or does that render the term collaboration meaningless?<sup>9</sup>

To censure or deny African collaboration closes a debate that has never fully emerged. Many historians have portrayed African collaboration as political behavior imposed from above by white rulers, overlooking the motives of indigenous authorities. It is misleading to suppose African labor recruiters, for example, expressed unwavering allegiance to colonial power. After white invasions, Africans may have been more eager to demonstrate loyalty to the occupiers. Several decades later, indigenous authorities who recruited workers may have insisted on greater command of local affairs, particularly when meeting obligations to destitute Africans pursuing benefits of the cash economy and when rivalries over access to labor flared between employers (i.e., between commercial farmers and mining enterprises). The historiography on labor recruitment focuses on oppressive state and market forces that turned African peasants into workers, a process called "proletarianization," while scholars have yet to investigate fully how recruiters and the labor they marshaled manipulated these systems of coercion in their own interest.<sup>10</sup>

### Research Plan

Archival research and interviews in South Africa and Zimbabwe are integral to this project. While conducting field work in southern Africa in the 1990s, I located primary sources on twentieth-century African recruiters and labor migrancy. This evidence includes official correspondence by and about African recruiters, government and industry reports on labor migrancy, and local documentation of recruitment drives. The impact of wage labor on family relationships is documented in court cases, police dockets,

public health commissions, and related sources. To augment these records, I will collect oral testimony. By integrating the life histories of retired African recruiters and migrant workers and their kin, I seek to add depth and nuance to my narrative.

## Endnotes

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3. For scholarship on liberation struggles in late-twentieth-century South Africa, see: A. Marx, Lessons of the Struggle, (Oxford, 1992). For Zimbabwe, see: N. Bhebe and T. Ranger, eds. Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War, (Harare, 1993).
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8. For examples, see: C. Bundy and W. Beinart, Hidden Struggles.
9. "Too Eurocentric": A. Boahen, African Perspectives on Colonialism, (Baltimore, 1987), 41. Vichy and Nazi collaboration during World War II: M. Marrus and R. Paxton, Vichy France and the Jews, (Stanford, 1981); E. Hoffman, Exit into History, (New York, 1993).
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## Introduction

**BLOOD FROM YOUR CHILDREN** is a tale of betrayal and revenge, of the diminishing authority of elders and the surging power of youths, in an isiZulu-speaking African society. In late-nineteenth-century South Africa, rivalries between African and colonial patriarchal systems kindled conflicts between African elders and youths and between older African husbands and their young wives. This book explores the ensuing generational strife as it intensified during thirty years of encroaching colonialism up to 1910, when four British colonies of southern Africa joined under white rule to form the Union of South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

From 1843 to 1879 the rugged landscape of thorns, ridges, and forests in the lower and middle Thukela basin—the region of this study—served as a frontier zone between two patriarchal political powers, the Zulu kingdom to the north and the British colonial possession, Natal, to the south. The Thukela River was an official boundary between Natal and Zululand, but Africans saw the river as a fictive and porous border, one readily forded for purposes of farming, herding, and trading. During the final decade of the nineteenth century, the white Natal government extended a minimal administration over the Zulu kingdom, which British imperial forces had conquered in 1880. Only a scattering of colonial courts and plots owned by missionary orders and white settlers dotted the divisions, or districts, of the lower and middle Thukela basin. In the rest of Natal to the south, clusters of British immigrants had carved out vast holdings, and government magistrates exerted tighter jurisdiction over African affairs (map 1).<sup>2</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century, as environmental disasters were crippling agricultural production, Natal colonists compelled Africans to give up more and more land, labor, and taxes. Slipping farther into poverty, the great majority of African subsistence producers, *amabhinca*, strained to uphold homestead practices like polygyny, through which a husband supported multiple wives. Even the rare commercially successful farmers of the small African Christian community, *amakhholwa*, saw their progress slowed. The wages young African men earned as migrant workers on South Africa's commercial farms and mines enabled their families to buy supplies for only the barest existence.



straddling two worlds, the African homestead and settler society. African sons confronted both a Natal government that took their wealth and their own male elders, many of whom detested white rule yet appeared to acquiesce in its creeping disruption of family life.

White settlers named that insurrection "Bhambatha's rebellion," after the chief who was said to have sparked it. To many rebels, however, the outbreak was instead the "war of the heads," *impi yamakhandu*, an expression of their rage against the poll or "head" tax and the prevailing exemplars of patriarchy, for it was upon the heads of the unmarried young men, not the fathers who urged compliance with the new law, that the colonial government had imposed this latest onerous responsibility. *Blood from Your Children* tells the story of the "war of the heads," using it as a lens through which to view a dimension of social change largely overlooked in African historiography: the generational and related gender struggles that reconfigured domestic power relationships.<sup>3</sup>

Homestead crises were not new in a society where a small number of homestead heads shielded their power from rivals, but the mounting family turmoil in the decade before 1906 exposed patriarchs' inability to contain assertive young men and women. Although scholars have emphasized the rigid control of African wives and youths within precolonial society and their subordination under white rule, this book focuses on the competition between African and colonial patriarchies that both narrowed and broadened life prospects for young Africans.<sup>4</sup>

One feud between a father and son from the Mondisa clan displays the shifting power relationships between African generations. The setting was a chief's residence in Nkandla, a magisterial division in the middle Thukela basin. The dispute pitted a young man, Gudhla, against his father, Chief Matshana kaMondisa, a polygynous homestead head, *umnumzane*. Matshana was both the custodian of his own kinship network of wives, children, and relations and the political ruler of the *Sithole* chiefdom, a territory of homesteads. On the eve of the "war of the heads" in 1905, father and son argued their differences before a white colonial magistrate. Gudhla said that adversity had spoiled his relationship with his father; he had been desperate to find food for his mother during a decade when the rains were scarce and the earth brittle, and when crops were consumed every second year by locusts. The harsh droughts and the worst insect infestation in living memory had propelled him to leave his family to toil for white settlers. His wages bought provisions and livestock that helped replenish his homestead herd after the virulent rinderpest epidemic of 1896 and 1897 ravaged cattle across



southern Africa. With his savings, Gudhla paid the tax on his mother's hut. But in his father Matshana's eyes, Gudhla was wantonly disrespectful in calling the neighboring male elders *abafokazana*, "persons of no account" or "weaklings."<sup>5</sup>

Gudhla was walking a dangerous line by flaunting his freedom to acquire and be recognized for his own wealth and breaching a code of generational deference. Older people were typically seen as possessing wisdom or other special attributes, and youths like Gudhla who disgraced their elders could incur the scorn of public criticism and the fury of ancestral spirits as well.<sup>6</sup> Patriarchs could try to curb willful behavior by invoking divine retribution; they mediated between the temporal and spiritual worlds, communing with departed ancestors on behalf of the living.

Matshana rebuked his son, but to no avail, and in 1905 he informed the Nkandla magistrate that Gudhla deserved to be disowned. Matshana, "too old" to travel to the colonial magistrate, sent messengers to the courthouse to plead that the complaint be adjudicated in his own homestead. Since Matshana was known for his loyalty to the colonial government, the magistrate acceded to his request; at the chief's residence about one hundred people gathered to hear the case, among them Matshana's nearly twenty advisers, fifty followers, and his family members.

Matshana spoke first to "the Government's Magistrate . . . so that [he could not] be disputed afterwards"; then he addressed his son: "Your mother was never placed in any position in my kraal [homestead], you only hold the rank of any of my ordinary sons, and even if you had behaved yourself, you would have not been entitled to consideration." He charged that Gudhla had "dared to interfere with my daughters [by] incit[ing] them to run away to the Mission Station" in an effort "to thwart and upset my arrangements for the marriage of my daughters, and ma[k]e them treat me with contempt."<sup>7</sup> The runaway daughters meant a loss of labor and *ukulobola*, the bridewealth cattle the young women would bring into Matshana's homestead at their marriage.<sup>8</sup>

Matshana's position and identity, symbolized by his revered headring, had been called into question by his son Gudhla's recalcitrance. The headring was a token of Matshana's status as *ikhehla*, a member of a broad group of male elders, *amadoda*, who were obliged to promote the well-being of their homestead. Gudhla's behavior, his father said, had poisoned the Mondisa homestead and threatened to disturb his followers in the *Sithole* chiefdom. If a chief could not govern his own family, how could he command his followers?

Gudhla replied that he was no errant child. Indeed, he blamed his father for neglecting the reciprocal obligations that justified the obedience of young men and women to their elders. When Gudhla had wed for the first time he had not relied on his father, as had been customary, to sponsor his marriage. Instead, with his own wages he had purchased his bridewealth cattle to offer to his new wife's homestead. His father weakened his own authority, Gudhla implied, by failing to procure enough food or collect enough hut tax money for the entire homestead. As for the flight of his sisters, Gudhla would accept no blame. In the face of patriarchal reproach, Gudhla flashed the unruly temperament of the *abatsha*, the "younger generation [who said] old people gave into white people."<sup>9</sup> Since the late 1890s the *abatsha* had increasingly inspired gang fights, raucous beer parties, and worse—so went the protests of fathers—blatant sexual escapades.

Matshana urged a halt to the hearing: "It is useless to talk on this subject any more." The Nkandla magistrate agreed and approved Matshana's request to exile his son.<sup>10</sup> Colonial officials, as expected, had sanctioned the rule of male elders. The chief's legal victory turned out to be illusory; within a year, Matshana "was obliged to sleep in hiding away from his kraal," fearful of losing his own life since young men from the emerging anti-poll tax movement prowled the bush around his homestead. He felt especially vulnerable because no fewer than five of his sons had joined the rebel bands raiding the homesteads of *amambuka*, those African patriarchs perceived as traitors for their loyalty to the colonial government.<sup>11</sup>

The Gudhla-Matshana schism defines the nucleus of *Blood from Your Children*. This book begins by outlining the climactic processes from the late 1700s to mid-1800s that transformed African political patriarchy in and around the Thukela basin. Drawing on the comparatively abundant primary documents generated during white rule, this narrative then concentrates on the late-nineteenth-century collisions between African and colonial patriarchal systems and their ripple effects on homestead power relationships. By the 1905 court case escalating African generational conflict had led to the episode in which a son's defiance enmeshed the women of his father's homestead, who were also seeking security and greater autonomy. Pulled into the judicial fray were Gudhla's mother, whom he said he supported financially; his wife, whom he boasted he had married without requiring his father's bridewealth cattle; and his runaway sisters, who had escaped on the eve of their arranged marriages, undeterred by fear of their father's wrath. Sons and daughters, children and parents, husbands and wives, vied—or cooperated—with one another in pursuit of power.

Bonds between generations shaped gender relations and vice versa; colonial intervention further tangled these familial alliances. The mutually reinforcing relationships of generation and gender effectively maintained patriarchal authority but also weakened it. White officials like the Nkandla magistrate had a stake in checking domestic unrest and, where possible, bolstered African patriarchs who were responsible for raising homestead taxes and for mustering youths to labor for colonists.

Roughly three decades ago, scholars began to interpret evidence of such local turbulences as a sign of gathering opposition to European subjugation, harbingers of a clash between Africans wedded to precapitalist relations and colonists bent on imposing capitalist relations by military conquest, taxation, and wage labor. Contemporary historians like William Beinart, Colin Bundy, and Jeff Peires demythologized notions of steady and united African resistance. Their work showed that indigenous societies in the eastern Cape coped with colonialism by alternating between forms of accommodation and confrontation.<sup>12</sup> As for Bhambatha's rebellion, it has been portrayed as the culminating battle between Africans protecting their imperiled traditions and white settlers attempting to turn African labor into a commodity, a process some scholars call "proletarianization."

To Shula Marks in her landmark 1970 book, *Reluctant Rebellion*, the origins of the 1906 revolt can be traced to the excessive colonial demands for land, labor, and taxes from homesteads and to magistrates' encroachment on African authority. In a 1986 essay, "Class, Ideology and the Bambatha's Rebellion," Marks modified her earlier findings to demonstrate that poll tax insurgents also evoked martial symbols of the Zulu kingdom to galvanize popular support for restoring a historical rampart against the trespasses of capitalism. Persistent white settler aggression, she writes, inspired Africans' subversive "consciousness" but also doomed the 1906 outbreak. A populace staggered by colonial meddling—thus, irresolute about joining an imminent confrontation—failed to heed Bhambatha's cry for a sweeping revolt.<sup>13</sup>

John Lambert, in *Betrayed Trust*, reexamines the late-nineteenth-century colonial incursions that undermined both the homestead economy and the authority of chiefs and homestead heads. He pinpoints "the processes of alienation, impoverishment, and proletarianization" as inciting Bhambatha's uprising. Like Marks, Lambert concentrates on hostile encounters between Africans and whites over the control of production and labor, and the accumulation and distribution of resources.<sup>14</sup> These intricate analyses of the political economy of colonial Natal, however, do not venture extensively into homestead entanglements. *Blood from Your Children* seeks to under-

stand the dynamics of family life in an African society stumbling into the "war of the heads" and counters the scholarly perspective that poll tax rebels had disavowed proletarianization for the glory of rehabilitating the Zulu kingdom. My narrative shows that young men in the lower and middle Thukela basin revolted to defend progressive strategies for their own social advancement. For many rebels, this meant embracing, not renouncing, proletarianization.

For the first half of the twentieth century, two eyewitness accounts written by white participants in the 1906 revolt provided the basic story line of Bhambatha's rebellion. Both describe plucky colonial soldiers marching into rebel country and routing hordes of African warriors. The first account was Captain W. Bosman's 1907 book, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. The second, *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, written six years later by James Stuart, a colonial official fluent in isiZulu, was far more nuanced. Stuart was sympathetic to African patriarchs who protested the Natal Colony's failure to bolster homestead elders' dwindling status. He solicited many views not only from African chiefs but also from captured poll tax rebels.<sup>18</sup>

*Blood from Your Sons* relies on the ethnography I constructed from the archival materials of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and from the contemporary testimony of isiZulu-speaking Africans. Crucial among the primary sources is the correspondence of the Natal government, especially that of officials of the Department of Native Affairs who became alarmed at the challenges from young Africans. Emergency telegrams, for example, reveal in flashes, as other sources rarely show, recurring violence in outlying districts. Records show that magistrates, stung by the realization that so much disorder was occurring on their watch, consulted with homestead patriarchs for suggestions of reform. These historical documents are, of course, encumbered by bias, particularly by the tendency of colonial transcribers to mute the voices of Africans themselves. In keeping with native customary law, homestead women and children were treated as wards of the male guardians who spoke for them.

However, the African perspectives that survive on paper, including rare statements of women and youths, provide far more evidence of power relationships than the accounts of anthropologists who described indigenous society as an unchanging relic in the modern world. In the magisterial divisions abutting the Thukela River, colonial officials noted homestead disputes involving bridewealth cattle, succession, and vendettas. These reports relied on local information gathered by local Africans and communicated in some version of isiZulu and English.

The pool of evidence can be significantly enlarged, too, by reports in newspapers, by photographic images of homestead life and of events during the "war of the heads," and by accounts in missionary letters and private papers of colonists concerned with "native affairs." In testimony before periodic native affairs commissions of the Natal government, African fathers, dismayed by the erosion of respect for rank and age, recall a rosy past in which their status was secure; their lamentations tend to confirm a suspicion among colonial officials that "tribal" supports were crumbling as youths' disrespect grew. The most illustrative such material is the legal record of Thukela basin divisions, where, from the 1880s to the 1890s, magistrates and isiZulu-speaking court interpreters detailed accounts of simmering discord within homesteads and chiefdoms. This documentation is replete with spousal statements from divorce proceedings, rulings from "faction fights," and judgments from cases dealing with violations of sexual mores that African patriarchs claimed were once widely honored. Another source that vividly reflects the intensifying generational struggles is the docket of treason trials, in which elders testifying for the Crown prosecution revealed how their unruly sons inflamed the poll tax protests.<sup>19</sup>

The ethnography in *The James Stuart Archive*, a four-volume set of interviews with African elders from Natal and Zululand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, offers more than a thousand pages of testimony on varying interpretations of the customs, rituals, and regional history of southeast Africa. Stuart sought out Zulu sages as informants and meticulously inscribed their responses in isiZulu and in English. His career in the Natal colonial administration, as a magistrate and, in 1909, as the assistant secretary for native affairs, did not keep him from venting criticisms of white rule.<sup>20</sup> Further ethnographic data are available on audiotapes and in typed transcripts from an oral history project by university students who two decades ago interviewed aged Africans about their memories of life at the time of the 1906 revolt.

The field interviews I myself conducted, between 1990 and 1997 during extended stays in the lower and middle Thukela basin and elsewhere in Natal and KwaZulu, demonstrated continuities of past cultural expressions of homestead authority. The persons with whom I spoke were almost all commoners I selected because of their (and their forebears') long residence in a particular magisterial division. Their oral testimony brought archival records to life in subtle and substantial ways.

The Natal government itself had restricted African testimony in the late 1800s and early 1900s to declarations of elder men, and in writing down their responses, colonial officials probably paraphrased and distorted what

was actually said. In researching *Blood from Your Children*, I have had to rely, nonetheless, on such documentation published by whites for accounts of homestead relationships. African patriarchs, shorn of their privileges, were often deliberately circumspect when speaking before whites; at native affairs commissions, most African witnesses, virtually all men of senior rank, answered questions with a variety of respectful, abbreviated, and evasive responses. Fear of punishment for expressing criticism doubtless outweighed candor about the troubles they encountered in trying to balance colonial demands against obligations to their youths and women. Moreover, Africans appearing in courts had to give testimony in an adversarial atmosphere, where, as defendants, they were required to abide by European judicial procedures. Thus, court appearances were formal and intimidating occasions for Africans unaccustomed to meeting colonial officials and lacking fluency in English.

Yet not all Africans called to an official public assembly were intimidated into concealing the wrongs committed against them. Elders who aired grievances spoke wistfully of a gilded age when youths and young wives were deferential. Their accounts, peppered with accusations against white settlers and unruly juniors alike, focused on an array of hostile forces. They complained of juniors' increased mobility as well as of environmental disasters that, when combined with colonial exactions, imposed a pernicious pattern of hardship.

Such glimpses of African domestic life in written documents, photographs, and recorded oral testimony capture the vitality in homestead power relationships. When these threads of history are woven into the analytical fabric of competing patriarchy, the resulting narrative can approximate a forceful, if not definitive, story of rising generational turmoil. *Blood from Your Children* explores how Africans' personal frailties, strengths, and jealousies turned allegiances, rooted in blood and obligation, into bitter rivalries that threw a society into fundamental social change.

# Notes

*Note:* Abbreviations in the endnotes are keyed to principal sources and archival locations. Most of the cited primary documents are located in the Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Other South African archives cited are the Transvaal Archives, Pretoria; William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; Killie Campbell Library, Durban; KwaMuhle Local History Museum, Durban; Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg; and Natal Society Library, Pietermaritzburg. Also cited is Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut. The location of principal sources outside the Natal Archives appear in parentheses.

## *Abbreviations*

### *Archival Locations*

KCL	Killie Campbell Library
NAP	Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
TAP	Transvaal Archives, Pretoria
WCL	William Cullen Library

### *Bibliographic Categories*

GR	Government Records
PT	Papers and Transcripts

### *Principal Sources*

AGO	Attorney General's Office
BB	Blue Books
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
COM	Commissions
GH	Government House
GNLB	Government Native Labour Bureau

LTG	Lieutenant Governor
MR	Magistrates' Records
OHP	"Oral History Project Relating to the Zulu People"
PM	Prime Minister
PR	Proceedings
SNA	Secretary for Native Affairs
YB	Year Books
ZA	Zululand Archives
ZGH	Zululand Government House

### *Numerical Notation*

The numbers in parentheses (e.g., 1/1/2/2) at the end of bibliographic citations refer to call numbers of document collections in archives.

### *Journals*

<i>Annals</i>	<i>Annals of the Natal Museum</i>
<i>IJAHS</i>	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of African History</i>
<i>JNZH</i>	<i>Journal of Natal and Zulu History</i>
<i>JSAS</i>	<i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Radical History Review</i>
<i>SAHJ</i>	<i>South African Historical Journal</i>

### *Other Abbreviations*

Mag.	Magistrate
Min.	Minute
MinP	Minute Papers
Rep.	Report

### *Sample Entry*

A sample entry, with the translation in brackets, follows: Min. [minute] Mag. [magistrate] Lower Tugela, 11 Aug. 1894, 4/1/5 [call number of Lower Tugela Minute Papers in Natal Archives] 719/94 [number of a document in a large set], MR [Magistrates' Records]/GR [Government Records].



## Introduction

1. In the early nineteenth century, a Zulu chiefdom forced some weaker chiefdoms (also known by lineage names such as *Bomvu* and *Cele*) in southeast Africa to adopt a Zulu identity. To avoid confusion over the names of many chiefdoms, and to avoid debates over terminology, I use "African" instead of "Zulu."

2. Frontier zones: Lamar and Thompson, *Frontier in History*. Thukela River as a porous boundary: Min. Mag. Lower Tugela, 11 Aug. 1894, 4/1/5 719/94, Lower Tugela MinP/MR/GR; Testimony, Ndukwana, 16 Sept. 1900, in Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive*, 4:275; BB Natal 1879, JJ12, GR; Rep. Mag. Umsinga, B50, BB Supplemental, Departmental Rep. 1884, GR.

3. For example, Beinart and Harries have examined the effects of colonialism and labor migrancy on African subsistence production and local community politics, yet a full investigation of domestic relationships is not within the scope of their work. Beinart, *Political Economy of Pondoland*; Patrick Harries, "Kinship, Ideology and the Nature of Pre-colonial Labour Migration," in *Industrialisation and Social Change*, ed. Marks and Rathbone.

4. Control of African women and youths: Hunt, "Introduction," in *Gender and History*; Iris Berger, "'Beasts of Burden' Revisited: Interpretations of Women and Gender in Southern African Societies," in *Paths toward the Past*, ed. Harms et al.; Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power*; Walker, *Women and Gender*; Peters, "Gender, Development Cycles and Historical Process"; Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies."

5. Father-son feud: *Ugudhla v. Matshana kaMondisa*, Min. Mag. Nkandla, 26 June 1905, 1/1/323 1741/1905, SNA MinP/GR. Matshana kaMondisa was the leader of the *Sithole* chiefdom in Nkandla (with followers in adjacent Nquthu). *Abafokazana* as epithet: Testimony, Mpatshana, 28 May 1913, in Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive*, 3:316.

6. Criticism and fury of ancestral spirits: Testimony, Ndhlovu, 9 Nov. 1902, in Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive*, 4:208.

7. Quotations from Matshana: *Ugudhla v. Matshana kaMondisa*, 1/1/323 1741/1905, SNA MinP/GR.

8. *Ukulobola* is a verb meaning to offer bridewealth. The noun, *ilobolo*, means bridewealth. Residents in the middle and lower Thukela basin now say that *ukulobola* was, and is, the preferred description of bridewealth cattle and the giving of it.

9. *Abatsha* and "younger generation": Testimony, Mbovu, 16 Sept. 1904, file 41, notebooks, J. Stuart, Papers of Individuals/PT.

10. "It is useless to talk": *Ugudhla v. Matshana*. For more on the proceedings, see chapter 3.

11. Intelligence Rep., Nqutu District, 12 Oct. 1906, Claim 267, Gwintsha and Umgweni, 8 Oct. 1906, 1/1/358 4208/06, SNA MinP/GR. It is unclear whether Gudhla joined the rebels.

12. Local turbulence as opposition to Europeans: Guy, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*; Marks and Atmore, eds., *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa*.

Demythologizing African resistance: Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles*; Peires, *Dead Will Arise*; Ranger, "People in African Resistance"; Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest." East Africa: Glassman, *Feasts and Riots*. Criticism of resistance paradigm: Cooper, "Conflict and Connection"; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

13. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, 308–10, 355; Shula Marks, "Class, Ideology and the Bambatha Rebellion," in *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. Crummey, 351, 353–55. Welsh's *Roots of Segregation*, published a year after *Reluctant Rebellion*, also examined the colonial policies that impinged on Natal Africans.

14. Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*, 3; Lambert, "Africans in Natal, 1880–1899," Ph.D.

15. Bryant, *Olden Times*; Bryant, *History of the Zulu and Neighboring Tribes*. Bryant's "faulty" methodology: John Wright and Carolyn Hamilton, "Traditions and Transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Natal and Zululand*, ed. Duminy and Guest, 49–ff 57. Anthropological studies of generational tensions: Krige, *Social System*; Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion*; Wilson, *For Men and Elders*; Phillip Mayer and Iona Mayer, "A Dangerous Age: From Boy to Young Man in Red Xhosa Youth Organizations," in *Anthropology and the Riddle of the Sphinx*, ed. Spencer; Murray, *Families Divided*; Werbner, *Tears of the Dead*. Elsewhere in Africa: Aguilar, ed., *Politics of Age and Gerontocracy*; Berry, *Fathers Work for Their Sons*.

16. Precapitalist household: Claude Meillassoux, "'The Economy' in Agricultural Self-Sustaining Societies: A Preliminary Analysis," in *Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology*, ed. Seddons; Meillassoux, *Maidens, Mead and Money*. See also Rey, "Lineage Mode of Production." Anthropological studies of family reciprocal obligations: Goody, *Production and Reproduction*; Maurice Bloch, "The Long Term and Short Term: The Economic and Political Significance of the Morality of Kinship," in *Character of Kinship*, ed. Goody. Different African household structures: Kuper, "'House' and Zulu Political Structure"; Stichter and Parpart, *Patriarchy and Class*; Vaughan, "Which Family?"; Guyer, "Household and Community." Meillassoux's methodology and studies of the Zulu kingdom: John Wright, "Control of Women's Labour in the Zulu Kingdom," in *Before and after Shaka*, ed. Peires; Jeff Guy, "The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society," in *Industrialisation and Social Change*, ed. Marks and Rathbone. Juniors choosing to labor for assorted patriarchs: Hammond-Tooke, "Descent Groups."

17. Eldredge, *South African Kingdom*. See also Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*. Eldredge and Schmidt reassessed pioneering analyses of African patriarchy and gender oppression: Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies"; Guy, "Analysing Precapitalist Societies." Scholars delineating a generational dimension: Beinart, "Origins of the *Indlavlani*"; Beinart, "Joyini Inkomo"; Delius, *Lion amongst the Cattle*. See also Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent*; Freund, *Making of Contemporary Africa*: John Lambert and Robert Morrell, "Domination and Subordination in Natal, 1890–1920," in *Political Economy and Identities*, ed. Morrell; Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy*; Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*. Scholars examining

generational struggles: McClendon, "Tradition and Domestic Struggle"; McKittrick, "Burden of Young Men"; Michael Tetelman, "In Search of Discipline: Generational Control, Political Protest, and Everyday Violence in Cradock, South Africa, 1984–85," in *Politics of Age and Gerontocracy*, ed. Aguilar; Thomas, "Ngaitana (I will circumcise myself)."

18. Bosman, *Natal Rebellion of 1906*; Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*.

19. Most Natal newspapers addressed a white settler audience, but *Ilanga Lase Natal*, first published in 1903, expressed the opinions of Africans in isiZulu and English. The editor, a mission-educated, African isiZulu-speaker, John Dube, urged extension to male Christian property-owning Africans of the franchise and liberal rights to buy and sell land.

20. Julian Cobbing dismisses Stuart as a white supremacist, manipulating evidence to exaggerate the brutality of Zulu rulers: Cobbing, "Tainted Well." The oral history in the *Stuart Archive* is nonetheless valuable and demonstrates Stuart's rigorous methods of verification: Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 130–67; "James Stuart and 'the Establishment of a Living Source,'" Unpublished Paper.

## 1. Competing African and Colonial Political Patriarchies

1. "Alarming suddenness": "Zulu Customs Etc. List of the More Important Mountains, Rivers," c. 1900, file 1, H. C. Lugg Papers, Papers of Individuals/PT. Climate: Rep. Resident Commissioner, Eshowe, 21 March 1895, 763 ZGH/GR; Returns, Lower Tugela and Mapumulo, BB Natal 1892–93, GR; Returns, YB Natal 1894, GR.

2. Topography and elevation: Rep. Mag. Mapumulo, BB Departmental Rep. 1904, GR; Evidence and Draft Rep. 1917–18, SNA Correspondence re: Protests and Written Evidence (1913 Land Act), GR. *Imikhovu*: Testimony, Mkando, 13 Aug. 1902, Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive*, 3:170; Testimony, Mageza, 21 Feb. 1909, *ibid.*, 2:78.

3. Soil fertility and sowing cycle: BB Natal 1880 (JJ108, JJ111), BB Natal 1886 (X6–X7), BB Zululand 1890 (X3–X4), GR; Rep. Mag. Krantzkop, 1 Oct. 1896, 3/1/1, Kranskop MinP/MR/GR; Testimony, Sibisi, 13 March 1979, tape 1, OHP, Papers of Individuals/PT. "Thorn Country": Testimony, Induna Class, 30 Jan. 1882, *Evidence, Natal Native Commission*, 1881(–2), 333, COM/GR; Rep. Natal Conservator Forests 1893, F49, BB Departmental Rep., GR.

4. Since at least 300 CE, there were homesteads in the Thukela basin: Maggs, "Ndongwane"; Mazel, "Mbabane Shelter." Sketchy census figures were a consequence of labor migrancy and mobile seasonal work. At the turn of the twentieth century, the population density among Africans in Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions was about ninety persons per square mile, about twice that in the divisions of Eshowe and Umlalazi across the Thukela River in Zululand. Arable acres available per African farmer on the coast were the fewest in the Thukela basin. The number of acres available to Africans doubled in divisions away from the coast, falling slightly as population density rose in the Thukela basin western divisions. See BB Natal 1880, JJ109, JJ113, GR; Return Popula-