

'Faction Fighting', the Mchunu Royal Family and Isaiah Shembe's Nazaretha Church in Natal of the 1930s

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In the mid-1990s, an elderly member of the Nazaretha church, Gogo MaDhlomo, delivered a sermon to her congregation in the Mchunu area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa - also known as 'emaChunwini', or place of the Mchunu. EmaChunwini is situated in the district of Msinga (see Map 1), and for much of the nineteenth and twentieth-century has popularly been known as a region of ongoing warfare. [1]Gogo - a member of the Mchunu royal family, as well as a respected figure in the Nazaretha church - remembered how with the coming of the religious prophet, Isaiah Shembe, The land of emaChunwini came back from the dead. And the fighting that was going on there ended. Because of the word of this Inkosi (Lord) of Ekuphakameni. [2]

Gogo had been one of the first followers of the founder of the Nazaretha church, Isaiah Shembe, who came to emaChunwini in the early 1930s. Shembe was born around 1870 in northern Natal into a family of labour tenants. As a young man he lived and worked in the Harrismith area, and was there baptized into the African Baptist church. From an early date Shembe

spoke of the visions and messages he received from Jehovah. A key strand in these early visions seems to have been Jehovah's commandment that Zulu Christians continue to adhere to their 'traditional' ways of life. Around 1906, Shembe broke with the African Baptist Church and moved to Durban, on the coast of Natal. There he continued his ministry of preaching, baptizing and healing, and gradually built about him a small band of followers who became known as Ibandla lamaNazaretha, or Church of the Nazaretha. In 1914, Shembe had gathered enough money from his followers to buy a plot of land about 10 miles north of Durban. Here he established the Nazaretha headquarters, the holy village of Ekuphakameni (literally, the 'elevated place'). Much of the years until Shembe's death in 1935 were spent travelling throughout Natal and Zululand seeking converts, and in the early 1930s he visited the Msinga district, and the region known as emaChunwini. [3]

During his time in emaChunwini Shembe issued a strong critique of violence, and a corollary exhortation towards peacefulness. [4] Contemporary opinion had long characterized the Zulu people, and more generally the African 'tribes' of South East Africa, as innately disposed towards violence. This typing was the result of a complex interaction between indigenous and European perceptions of African warfare and identity. In disputing that Natal's African population was innately violent, Shembe sought to redefine the basis of Zulu identity by locating it within a Nazaretha worldview which emphasized an alternative ethos of peacefulness. In this vein, and in common with a number of other early twentieth-century Zulu patriots, Shembe thereby drew upon notions of 'tradition' in order to legitimate his own project (including incorporating key Zulu political figures such as hereditary chiefs within the church). But in doing so he located Zulu identity within a Nazaretha virtue tradition which stressed cultural fidelity, but as transformed by an ethos of peaceful purity.

For the Mchunu royal family, converting to the church offered an opportunity to recast their chiefly legitimacy, which had been deeply undermined through the colonial administration. Previously, Mchunu history had stressed the military autonomy of their chieftaincy. This emphasis was strategic; depicting the Mchunu as war-like served to assert their independence both from the

Zulu kingdom and from white colonial rule. But by the 1930s, a violent succession conflict within the Mchunu chieftaincy - one of the largest and most powerful 'tribes' in twentieth-century Natal - meant that the land of emaChunwini lived in a 'reign of terror'. [5] And in the same period, the chieftaincy converted to the Nazaretha church. Mchunu converts interpreted the violence as evidence of malignant supernatural forces, positioning Shembe's Nazaretha church as the only social force capable of restoring health to the ruptured chieftaincy. This fresh reading of violence reformulated existent Mchunu narrative traditions. Through the telling of these stories - frequently recounted in sermons such as the one Gogo MaDhlomo gave in the mid-90s - royal Mchunu historians proposed a new basis for their chiefly authority, now found in the legitimation of Shembe's peaceful rule and the eschewal of violence.

Discourses upon Violence

Recent studies document European stereotypes of 'innate' African violence. These works also emphasize that violence is rarely an intrinsic ethnic predisposition, but rather a product of contingent socio-historical factors. [6] It has also been contended that these characterizations were key to colonial domination. Typing African subjects as intrinsically warlike allowed European colonials to justify their intervention in African political affairs. Whilst these studies demonstrate that claims of innate violence should be read through the colonial agenda, they nonetheless leave unexplored what Carolyn Hamilton has termed the 'limits of historical invention'. [7] That is to say, this reading of colonial agency leaves little space for an African agency which sculpts its own historical identity, and thereby limits the European imagination. The narrative traditions of the Mchunu royal family (existent in both oral and written forms) offer evidence of a lively indigenous debate over notions of both violence and peace. These stories draw upon pre-colonial Mchunu traditions of warfare, engage with the colonial discourse and also actively reshape Mchunu identity in light of the chieftaincy's conversion to the Nazaretha church in the 1930s. But firstly, a brief word as to European perceptions of the Mchunu tradition of violence. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, colonial officials associated the Mchunu people of the Msinga district of Natal with violence. In

1855, the Anglican missionary John William Colenso described Pakade of the Mchunu, the most powerful chief of the day in Natal, as 'very much that of an ogre in a nursery tale - as grim and gristly as the most ardent little giant-fancier could desire to have pictured. [8] Indeed Colenso reported that he had seen amongst Pakade's people 'deeds of ferocity and cruelty', that were 'native barbarism in its purest form, precisely similar...to those formerly exhibited by Chaka and Dingaan,' [9] two previous Zulu kings renowned amongst colonial commentators for their violence. [10] Writing some seventy years later, in 1929, Arthur Bryant - a respected local authority on Zulu history - reiterated a similar theme in his account of the Mchunu: the 'emaCunwini clansmen were by nature a fierce and fractitious lot.' [11] Colonial administrators shared this opinion, also maintaining that the endemic 'faction fighting' of the Mchunu was deeply irrational - stemming from the innate disposition of 'tribes' to fight each other, a murky past of retaliatory vengeance, as well as a perverse pleasure in fighting. In this vein, a Native Commissioner posted to Msinga in 1931 commented of the Mchunu civil war that 'the reason for most tribal disturbances and fights dates back to ancient feuds and vendettas.' [12] And the Native Commissioner commented in the 1930s that Msinga residents spent their 'time at beer drinks with fights to relieve the monotony.' [13] Contemporary anthropological opinion confirmed this. The government ethnologist, van Warmelo, remarked that 'the southern Bantu tribes are particularly inclined to become violent and even regard fighting as a form of recreation.' [14] These perceptions bolstered the agenda of European officials who governed the Mchunu. [15] Their explanations minimized the role of colonial involvement in triggering the violence. Instead, violence was depicted as stemming from 'ancient' vendettas, detached from the modern world of colonial rule. European accounts also stressed the deviance of the Mchunu, frequently describing the fighting as 'abnormal', and the Mchunu as 'mad'. [16] In 1933 the Msinga Native Commissioner remarked that despite his perpetual attempts to 'preach the gospel of unity and goodwill' to his subjects, they are 'an abnormal and difficult crowd...they are determined not to bury the hatchet.' [17] Interpreting faction fighting as both intrinsic to the character of the Mchunu and a perverse departure from norms

of civilization allowed the government to legitimate their own interference in the affairs of the tribe; without their 'assistance', the amaChunu would immolate themselves in a bloody civil war. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the Native Affairs Department engaged in substantive 'engineering' of chiefly politics - a keystone of indirect rule. Whilst part of their mandate was to appoint chiefs who would be able to exert control over the warfare, much of the chiefly reshuffling was determined by which chief would prove most loyal to European rule.

How did the Mchunu themselves engage with these contemporary characterizations? It has already been argued that external construction depends not only upon the might of the inventor, but also upon pre-existent locally held beliefs. Straddling notions of 'tradition' and 'invention', this is the recognition that indirect rule was not only imposed from above, but was also, of necessity, shaped by the dynamics of African societies themselves. [18] In this vein, colonial constructions of ethnicity and violence were only possible insofar as they resonated with local idioms of authority and identity. The conversion of the chieftaincy to the Nazareth church offers a glimpse into how key cultural brokers amongst the Mchunu - chiefs, headmen, storytellers - themselves interpreted their own traditions of violence. Further, Mchunu narratives also offer insight into how their creative use of notions of both violence and peace. [19] In particular, the peaceful narrative of below discussion highlights how religious identity was a key component within their discourse of peaceableness. Shembe's teachings offered continuity with those aspects of Mchunu tradition which stressed creativity, healing and building. In the midst of adverse social circumstances, the Mchunu, a people who had been characterized in terms of their militaristic ferocity both by outside and internal commentators, forged a new identity which stressed the virtue of peaceability. [20]

Mchunu traditions of violence and identity

Whilst outsider observers viewed them as 'abnormally' fractious, the Mchunu's own internal traditions have emphasized their military valour as evidence of their resistance to incorporation into both the independent Zulu kingdom (before its demise in 1879), and in the twentieth-century, their refusal to

subordinate themselves to white officialdom. As one of the largest chieftaincies in colonial Natal, nineteenth century traditions of the Mchunu royal family demonstrated the tension between the Zulu and Mchunu, asserting the Mchunu as the military superior of the Zulu. Evidence suggests, however, that warfare was not the only - or even the key - component of nineteenth century Mchunu identity. Idioms of healing and medicine making also recur in Mchunu accounts from this period. But from the early twentieth-century onwards, Mchunu identity underwent a crisis. Their chief, Silwane, was deposed in 1909 for suspected disloyalty to the government. The Mchunu people and their lands were divided between a number of subordinate relatives of Silwane. Sporadic fighting throughout the first decades of the twentieth-century, a violent civil war in the early 1930s, as well as endemic drought and famine, further weakened the Mchunu chieftaincy. By the 1930s the foundations of Mchunu identity were several weakened: no longer could it assert itself as politically autonomous and militarily strong. The chieftaincy was ripe for a new formulation of its identity.

Agrandissement of Pakade in early colonial rule - Lambert article, p9.

Mchunu royal family tradition depicts the Mchunu as the military superior of the Zulu people (where is this from? Interviews with Mchunu family? James Stuart archive? Cite John Lambert article, 'Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal', JSAS, p7 - Mchunu were amantungwa - subordinate to the Zulu. Used the war between Dingane and Mpande - Breaking of the Rope - to assert themselves as independent.) As a representative of this chiefly tradition, the present-day head of the Mchunu of the Escourt district (see map) emphasizes the high esteem that Shaka held the Mchunu people in. In seeking to conquer rival chief, Zwide, he asked the Mchunu chief Macingwane for medicine to strengthen him, as well as military aid. Although this led to Zwide's defeat, family tradition relates that Shaka soon became jealous of the superior military and ritual power Macingwane enjoyed, leading him to begin plotting against the Mchunu chief. Mchunu royal tradition emphasizes that the Mchunu were undefeated by Shaka; they freely left Zululand rather than be subordinated to Zulu rule. [21] Mchunu tradition is silent about Macingwane's years of wandering around Natal under threat of extermination from the Zulu

forces. The Mchunu sided with the British in the Anglo-Zulu war, further evidence of their desire to define themselves as autonomous from the Zulu kingdom. [22]

In addition to depicting themselves as resistant to assimilation by the Zulu kingdom, the Mchunu also attempted - unsuccessfully - to assert themselves against British rule. The Mchunu and their then chief, Silwane, remained loyal to the government during the 1906 Rebellion, although Silwane only managed to deliver 600 men to fight with the British against the rebels, out of a promised 1000 troops. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, however, an outbreak of tick fever and East Coast fever led to the widespread killing of Mchunu stock by the Department of Agriculture. The Mchunu became 'openly rebellious'. Aspersions on Silwane's loyalty to the government were made against him by his pro-government chief induna. [23] Silwane then had at his disposal over 10,000 fighting men, [24] making his one of the largest and most powerful chieftaincies in early twentieth century Natal. The colonial administration was doubtless aware of the potential threat he posed to their control. In 1909 the British administration deposed Silwane - ostensibly on the grounds of insolent behavior to the Magistrate - and divided his people into five sections, placed under minor members of the Mchunu royal family. [25] Yet even in this early period Mchunu chiefly tradition demonstrates counter tendencies within this overall militaristic identity. Cite Bryant and Stuart on iron making, medicine making, healing. This demonstrates that Mchunu chiefly identity was not homogenous; rather its identity was a composite of diverse elements. Violence was only one 'strand' within an overall identity. There were also counter elements to this which emphasized the healing, generative power of the Mchunu. Can I find any examples of rain makers? Healers? Medicine men?

Silwane's deposal initiated a crisis in Mchunu chiefly authority, undermining the coherence of royal family traditions which had previously stressed Mchunu autonomy. In the late nineteenth century, colonial policy worked against the integrity of chieftaincies such as the Mchunu. It sought to 'disintegrate native tribes', with the 'idea that tribal jealousies would prevent a combined rising of the natives against the Europeans.' (WHERE IS THIS FROM?) During this

period, chiefly loss of power was also felt through the loss of access to land, and hence corresponding ability to allocate it to their followers. What was dubbed 'faction fighting', both between and within tribes, related largely to severe shortage of land [26] (CAN I FIND SOMETHING WHICH DESCRIBES MSINGA - NATIVE RESERVE - POOR LAND - SMALL - CROWDED - Welsh, Roots of Segregation + Duminy and Guest, 'Natal and Zululand'.)The problem was compounded by the fact that Msinga was bordered by Weenen district, a largely white farming area. The large influx of people into Msinga during the depression years of the 1930s was supplemented by the steady eviction of labourers from the Weenen district, further stretching Msinga's sparse resources. [27]

The early decades of the twentieth-century saw several other factors which rendered Mchunu chiefly power vulnerable. In 1932 the rains failed for the second year running. The Msinga magistrate proclaimed the drought 'the worst within living mens' memory' [28] In 1932 he reported an almost total failure of crops; the government had 'to introduce large quantities of maize to prevent starvation amongst the people.' [29]Peoples' health suffered: there was a 'great increase of scurvy and kindred disease.' [30]About 35% of livestock perished in the drought, a catastrophe for people who lost 'their only realisable assets in a year of economic stress and famine.' [31]And in 1932 unusually heavy rains ended the drought, but prompted fears amongst the European administration that even more severe fighting would be the result. Good rains meant more beer would be brewed, and beer was drunk at wedding celebrations, the occasion when much so-called 'faction fighting' took place, or at least started. [32]In addition to the drought, consequent famine and death of livestock, there was a severe malaria epidemic in Msinga in the 1930s, leading to heavy mortality rates. [33]

One symptom of the declining power of the Mchunu chieftaincy, and chiefly power in general throughout this period, was the increasing autonomy of young men. [34] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Msinga magistrates frequently commented on how 'the younger generation have become intolerant of control by their chiefs and elders', citing the frequent complaints he received from chiefs that they 'cannot do anything with the young men.'

[35] In 1934, a chief remarked that the Mchunu fighting could be contained if the chiefs 'attended wedding festivities more frequently in order to exercise better control over their headmen, particularly over the leaders of young men, termed 'amagoso'.' [36] These amaGoso were young men who had traditionally coordinated the martial dancing at social functions such as weddings. [37]In the Msinga district, however, they had powers that apparently exceeded the authority exercised by recognized tribal headmen. [38]

Once chiefs' power base - their ability to allocate land to their followers, to arbitrate in serious disputes, compounded by an economic crippling of the region throughout the 1930s - had been almost entirely eroded, it became safe for the European government to strengthen them as a key resource in the 'governance of native peoples'. (**REFERENCE? Lambert, 'Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal', p271, p272) From these years onwards, chiefly authority was deliberately bolstered by the Native Affairs Department; its policy became to 'encourage the governance (of the native peoples) by hereditary heads who should be given even fuller powers than are enjoyed by chiefs in the province today.' [39] In this vein, the government began to reintegrate tribes which had been divided up several decades earlier. Seven years after Silwane was deposed, colonial authorities restored a measure of power to Silwane's heir, Muzocitwayo, in 1916. [40]In 1924, two districts of the Mchunu were amalgamated under Muzocitwayo.

But the colonial policy of amalgamation paved the way for a severe succession dispute, which served to further weaken the Mchunu chieftaincy. After a short illness, the young chief Muzocitwayo died in 1927. As his heir, Simakade, was only three at the time, the chieftaincy passed through a number of regents. The government's appointment of an initial regent (they chose a candidate whom they perceived as loyal to government interests) met with opposition from a section of the royal family. [41]The chieftaincy was split into those who supported the government appointment, and those who backed the royal contender - the late chief's brother, Giba. The principal wife of the late chief and mother of the chiefly heir, MaNgubane, supported the government appointment. [42]By 1930, Giba was informing the Mchunu

people 'to brew beer (in preparation for the coming celebrations) as he was shortly to be appointed chief of the Mchunu tribe.' The Magistrate warned Giba that 'such rumours will lead to bloodshed.' [43]

In June of 1931 blood was indeed spilt. Over the course of the next two years a low-grade civil war between the two factions of the royal family broke out. Scores of lives were lost as supporters of each side burnt down homesteads of the other and slaughtered livestock. [44]The government stationed a special detachment of police forces in the district to help in checking the disturbances; [45]the Chief Native Commissioner of Natal banned all public gatherings of the tribe taking place without his permission, including wedding ceremonies, and ordered that 'the blowing of war horns was to cease.' [46]A neighbouring Native Commissioner, HN Braatvedt, was seconded to Msinga for several months to assist with the crisis; he described the situation as a 'reign of terror'. [47]

The government's attempted solution to the crisis produced yet more warring sections within the royal family, further weakening the chieftaincy. A Board of Inquiry recommended that a son of the late chief, a nineteen-year old boy Bulawayo, replace the divisive acting chief. Because of his inexperience, and in an attempt to heal the breach between the two factions of the tribe, the government appointed a 'Giba-ite' to act as his deputy chief. Two factions crystallized: one focused around Bulawayo and his headmen known as the 'Ndela'. The other faction, the Giba-ites (although Giba had been deported from the district) [48]were known as the 'Telamali', and consisted of important Mchunu royals who contested the legitimacy of chiefly government appointees[49] Conflict between the two royal groups continued: Bulawayo complained that his deputy chief - who was a Telamali - travelled around the country, ignoring him and receiving the royal salute which was rightfully his alone. [50]

Towards the end of 1933 a third rift within the royal family emerged, this time between Bulawayo and MaNgubane, the mother of the heir, Simakade. The focus of Telamali opposition was not so much to Bulawayo, as to the child heir, Simakade, whose interests Bulawayo represented. The Telamali soon began to make efforts to recruit Bulawayo to their cause, claiming that as

Muzocitwayo's eldest son, Bulawayo was the true successor to the Mchunu chieftaincy and Simakade was an illegitimate heir. His mother, MaNgubane, lived with Bulawayo in the Mchunu royal kraal, Zondehleka, and complained frequently to the Magistrate about Bulawayo [51] -that he was keeping money from hearing cases of the Mchunu people that should rightfully have gone into Simakade's estate, that he was starving her, and most seriously, that she feared for her life and thought Bulawayo behind the plot to oust Simakade. [52]

This crisis in Mchunu chiefly authority created a hiatus in their internal self representation. Through this, opportunities for fresh narrative representation emerged. The vulnerability of the Mchunu chieftaincy during this period led to their willingness to ally themselves with Shembe and draw upon the symbolic capital of the church to construct a new narrative of Mchunu chiefly power, and in particular, to forge with the church a fresh interpretation of the violence and instability afflicting the royal family. And in the Nazaretha church, the Mchunu royal family encountered a community intensely interested in the resources of narrative in drawing upon past events to construct present day identity. Within the Nazaretha tradition of story-telling, violent events could be taken up as part of a creative process of forming social and moral identities. The resulting Mchunu-Nazaretha hybrid authority drew upon and emphasized elements of Mchunu identity that emphasized healing and peace-keeping. The steady loss of military and political autonomy, for long a central component of Mchunu chiefly identity, became an opportunity to comment obliquely upon the negative consequences of colonial rule and to re-craft the form of the new Nazaretha chief.

Isaiah Shembe and the Mchunu chieftaincy

In the early 1930s Shembe arrived in the emaChunwini region of Msinga. After gaining a number of Mchunu converts, he made his way to the royal Mchunu homestead of Zondehleka. Nazaretha tradition remembers the state of warfare he found upon his arrival. However, the tradition also recounts that with his arrival Shembe put an end not only to the fighting, but also to the several-year long drought. The royal family rapidly converted to the Nazaretha church, and the deceased chief, Muzocitwayo, was posthumously baptized by

Shembe. The incorporation of the Mchunu chieftaincy into the church prompted a re-evaluation of the basis of their chiefly authority: rather than defined by warfare, Shembe and the Mchunu royal family recast Mchunu identity as epitomizing virtuous peace and ushering in social healing to the troubled emaChunwini region. This new representation of Mchunu chiefly authority was primarily produced through the Nazaretha trope of izindaba - stories recounted amongst the faithful in sermons during Nazaretha sermons, and transmitted more widely in both written and oral form.

From the earliest days of the church, stories, or *izindaba* in isiZulu, played a key role in the formation of Nazaretha identity [53] An elderly minister of emaChunwini, Mr Chonco, describes how old members were encouraged to tell stories; this was to keep alive their memories of Isaiah Shembe's arrival in the region in the 1930s:

We who had heard stories of Grandfather (ie Isaiah Shembe) were charged by Ilanga (Isaiah's son and successor, Johannes Galilee) to preach on the Sabbath. He would allocate slots of time to us...sometimes you forget these stories of God, they just leave you, you just forget...and they they will just suddenly re-appear to you. You remember that no, this is what happened, and that is what happened. My gift is to remember stories. They are more than my hair. [54]

From the Nazaretha church's earliest days, the telling of stories during sermons was the focal point of the Sabbath service. This article draws upon a body of current traditions circulating within the Nazaretha temples of emaChunwini. In the ritual year of the church, the month of August is traditionally spent at the emaChunwini temple, eMzimoya (place of the winds), located immediately next to the old Mchunu royal homestead. During the Sabbath sermons of this month-long meeting, stories are recounted about the deeds of Isaiah Shembe as well as of his now deceased successors Johannes Galilee and Amos, and of the present leader of the church, Vimbeni Shembe. For the Nazaretha, the fleshly body of each particular Shembe was merely a 'coat' covering the eternal spirit of 'Shembe'; in this sense stories about all four Shembes are judged equal. However, in the emaChunwini temple, as in other Nazaretha regions, stories of Isaiah Shembe have a

special status because of the great age of those Nazaretha who can still recall memories of him. And Isaiah was umQaliwendlela, or the beginner of the way. In the emaChunwini temples, these stories offered accounts of Shembe's peacekeeping in the emaChunwini region and the conversion of the royal family. Drawn upon as evidence of the transforming power of Shembe, their Lord, the stories hence form a catechism of belief in him. The specific historical acts committed by Shembe justify the present day faith of the church, and also ground the hope that the same power is at work today. Recounting highly formed church narratives of historical deeds is an important means of generating contemporary Nazaretha commitment.

Amongst the most important Mchunu story-tellers were a brother and sister, both of the Dhlomo family. The boy, Petros Dhlomo, met Isaiah Shembe in the 1930s when he first visited the Dhlomo family in amaChunwini. Petros, who was literate, rapidly became one of Shembe's first amanuenses, writing down hymns composed by Shembe. There was a precedent for this; evidence suggests that from an early period (CAN I FIND A DATE? SEE INTRO TO PHD) Shembe had engaged the services of several Nazaretha scribes who would write down his hymns, prayers and 'counsels' - a sermonic type of address. [55] In the 1940s, after Shembe's death, his son and successor Johannes Galilee, continued the project of capturing his father's teachings in textual form. Petros was charged by Johannhes Galilee to start writing down the stories, izindaba, of Isaiah's deeds, lest people forgot them. [56] Until his death in the 1980s? 1990s? (CHECK - HEXHAM?), Petros Dhlomo remained at Ekuphakameni (later Ebuhleni) acting as the church's chief secretary and archivist. [57] Thus as well as the stories told in sermons, this article also draws upon stories of individual Nazaretha members, recorded by Dhlomo. A fire in the 1970s destroyed many of these documents; throughout the 1980s Dhlomo painstakingly re-gathered much of the material. Thereby, on the whole, stories recorded textually date only to the 1980s. [58] Earlier textual forms include the Nazaretha hymnal (first published in 1940) and a series of prayers and counsels whose present-day form might date back to the 1930s. [59] Shembe's deeds in the emaChunwini region are the subject of a number of these early hymns, prayers and texts.

Petros Dhlomo's sister, known in later life as Gogo MaDhlomo, was one of the virgin girls to accompany Shembe in his travels throughout emaChunwini in the early 1930s. But Gogo was also a member of the Mchunu royal family: in the same period, Gogo MaDhlomo married the brother of the Mchunu chief of Escourt, the district neighbouring Msinga. [60]She was both a highly respected womens' leader, or umkhokheli, in the church, and a member of the Mchunu royal family. Both in formal sermon settings and in the home talking with members of the church, Gogo was frequently requested to re-tell her 'stories'. Her daughter remembers that Gogo was 'like a tape recorder...she didn't forget anything. She didn't ever get tired of telling stories.' [61]Gogo's extended family and Nazaretha faithful who heard her sermons would then in turn take up the stories and tell them in their own home temples.[62] Today sermons told in the emaChunwini region bear evidence of incorporating traditions that are traceable to Gogo MaDhlomo. From its earliest days, Nazaretha were interested in both committing stories to writing - recognizing the power inherent in literacy - and in circulating narratives in oral form through their re-telling in sermons and conversation - 'tape recorders'; the two Dhlomo siblings exemplified both practices. Indeed, many of the story traditions that this article draws upon may be found in both Dhlomo's written collection and also circulating in oral form in sermon and conversation. And the 'owners' (although the free circulation of stories elides notions of strict authorship) of many of these stories are Nazaretha who are also members of the Mchunu royal family. The stories of MaNgubane, Muzocitwayo's wife, and Shembe's first royal convert at the Zondehleka kraal, survive through the memories of her son, the present chief Simakade. Simakade's memories of stories told him by his mothers have gained canonic status. He is considered the authoritative Mchunu historian, all the while locating his family's story within their conversion to the Nazaretha church. When requested to tell 'stories', senior Nazaretha ministers of the emaChunwini region will defer to Simakade's superior knowledge. The culmination of the annual Nazaretha meeting held in emaChunwini is the chief's sermon. It follows then that a large number of emaChunwini stories work on two levels; they are both evidence of

the historical work of the Nazaretha, as well as the memories of the Mchunu chieftaincy

In this vein, the emaChunwini stories stress the warm relationship between the Chunu royal family and Shembe. They draw upon Chief Muzocitwayo's unfavourable reception of Shembe's subordinate minister, contrasting this to the chief's eagerness to accept Shembe himself. [63]Shembe himself had only arrived in emaChunwini in 1933, but he sent an advance deputy, Petros Mnqayi, to emaChunwini in the early 1920s. [64]Gogo MaDhlomo was one Mnqayi's earliest converts; she remembers that Babamkhulu would send subordinate ministers ahead to do the preparatory work of gaining converts, whom Shembe would later baptize, as well as heal. [65]However stationed in far flung places for several years, Nazaretha ministers would frequently come to regard their converts as their own, being reluctant to turn them over to Shembe for baptism by him. [66]In the mid-20s, Shembe travelled to emaChunwini to recall Mnqayi. [67]. Mnqayi refused to return, and remained in emaChunwini preaching a rival ministry. [68]When Mnqayi visited the Chunu chief, Muzocitwayo, at his royal homestead, Zondehleka, the Nazaretha minister attempted to baptize the chief. But Muzocitwayo refused, saying,

You will not baptize me. That one who will baptize me is still coming, he is the one of whom you are not even fit to tie the laces of his shoes. [69]

Likening Mnqayi to a subordinate John the Baptist figure, Muzocitwayo's grandson remembers how his grandfather felt as a chief it was beneath his status to be baptized by a deputy minister - 'he wanted the owner'.

[70]Muzocitwayo died in 1927; the church maintains the chief was a devout believer who died un-baptized only because Shembe did not arrive in time. The tradition of Muzocitwayo refusing baptism from Mnqayi both asserts Shembe as Mnqayi's superior and implies Shembe's equal footing with a royal hereditary chief. It was only Shembe who was fit to 'touch the head' of the prestigious Mchunu chief. [71]

In 1933, at the peak of the Mchunu civil war, Shembe returned to the region.[72] But he only visited the royal homestead in early 1934, choosing instead to first strategically establish a network of converts in the region and

build a number of temples. One of the first homes Shembe visited in 1933 was that of the Mathe family, whose young son had died some years before [73]Church tradition tells that as the Mathe boy was dying he told of a man who would come and 'preach to the Mchunu people that they should stop shedding blood.' [74]Throughout 1933 and the start of 1934, Shembe and his followers were frequent visitors at various homes of sympathetic locals: the Dhlomo, Nxumalo and Sokhela families all hosted him during this period. The temples of iNsabalele, eZazi and eZilipha were established during this period upon the properties of hospitable homesteads such as these. [75]Gogo MaDhlomo was healed of an illness in her womb by Shembe and came to be part of the group of young girls who travelled with him throughout emaChunwini. She describes how they criss-crossed the emaChunwini by foot - distances so large that 'these days you ride them in a car'. Nazaretha story tellers describe the civil war which gripped the Chunu chieftaincy in the early years of the 1930s, and the 'hard-headed' Chunu people. The violent succession dispute to the chieftaincy was still raging. As was the custom with chiefly heirs, Simakade had been sent away to live with his mother's people, the Bomvu royal family, [76]In his absence, various claimants from the royal family attempted to unseat his own lineage, that of MaNgubane. When Shembe arrived, the inhabitants of the Zondehleka royal homestead were in a state of siege. The royal family had reported that they 'were living in fear of their lives' and had requested guards from the Magistracy to protect them. [77]Church tradition has it that Shembe, recognizing the difficulty of the area he was entering, was told by God in a vision that his usual white cotton gown would not suffice here. For these 'hard-headed' (WHERE IS THIS FROM?) people, he was told to wear a harsh robe made of khaki sacking. Gogo MaDhlomo remembers how 'people's hearts in this area of emaChunwini were so stubborn that he needed to wear this strong dress.' [78]

A number of Nazaretha traditions dealing with contemporary chieftaincies are similarly critical of their histories of bloodshed. These traditions also assert the power of Shembe to confer peace upon ruptured communities. For example, the Qwabe chieftaincy in Maphumulo district had been involved in the 1906

Zulu Rebellion. As punishment, the Qwabe chief, Meseni, was deposed and stripped of subjects and land. When Shembe visited the Qwabe royal homestead in the early 1920s he posthumously baptized Meseni (who had died in 1914), proclaiming that he was cleansing the Qwabe chieftaincy of the pollution it had incurred through its involvement in the Rebellion. In particular, Shembe depicted the Zulu monarchy as irremediably violent. He maintained that the blood-letting of the Zulu kings had led to Jehovah's displeasure, and hence the downfall of the Zulu kingdom at the hands of both the Boers and the British. [79]Shembe's characterization of chieftaincies and the monarchy offers evidence of African debates over notions of violence and ethnic stereotyping. African commentators, no less than European colonists, could style a people as intrinsically inclined towards violence; a 'hard-headed people'. [80]And as with colonial projects, such characterizations were generated to position the church as a contemporary institution of weight and influence. It was only the Nazaretha church which could mediate on behalf of the people to Jehovah, and Shembe who could teach the Zulu people ways of peaceful and virtuous living.

Nazaretha stories remember Shembe as a mediator who traversed the divisions within the warring Mchunu. Shembe's arrival is remembered as forecast in dream. MaNgubane described how as her husband Muzocitwayo was dying, she had a dream where a man came and sat over the cross beam of the roof of her hut and told her 'Don't worry, the chief is going.' And when Shembe came for the first time to Zondehleka, the royal homestead, MaNgubane looked at his feet, and 'recognized that these were the same ones which had come down from the cross beam when our father was sick.' [81] Shembe's feet would cross areas previously considered too dangerous to enter. The war dictated respective 'no go' areas for the Ndela and Telamali factions. A sermon preached in 2008 by the minister of the emaChunwini temple tells how Shembe arrived in the Telamali region. Garbed in his rough sackcloth, he fearlessly crossed the invisible boundary into Ndela territory:

Shembe came to our land at a time when there was great fighting between the Ndela and the Telamali; each said the other side smelt very bad. When

Babamkhulu first came to emaChunwini, he first arrived at Sithole's place, who lived in the Telamali section and said they couldn't go to Zondehleka (the heart of the Ndela faction) because if they did there would be fighting. Babamkhulu said it would be fine and told Sithole to put on his sack gown...they arrived at the Ndela royal kraal, and there was no talk of the bad stink of a Telamali fighting. That was the end of that hatred. [82]

Within Mchunu memory, Shembe's arrival at the royal kraal signaled two things: the conversion of Muzocitwayo's wives to the church (as well as the posthumous baptism of the late chief into the church), and the cessation of the civil war. When Shembe arrived at the Zondehleka royal kraal, he is said to have pronounced that 'all faction fights and droughts will come to an end...and then it started raining.' [83] The rains that year were in fact exceptionally good.[84] The royal family rapidly aligned itself with the church. All the wives of the late chief Muzocitwayo converted. MaNgubane in particular remained a committed follower of the church until her death, and frequently left emaChunwini to spend the month of July - an important annual Nazaretha dance festival - at Ekuphakameni. [85]As well as gaining the royal wives as converts, Shembe posthumously incorporated the deceased chief Muzocitwayo into the church. He 'visited his grave, prayed there and sprinkled holy water on the grave...he then painted the stones white.' [86]The Nazaretha practice of painting grave stones white was intended to demonstrate that those who had died had travelled to the heavenly Ekuphakameni. Muzocitwayo, who had refused baptism whilst alive from Mnqayi, was in death integrated within the alliance of the royal family with Shembe and the Nazaretha church.

Shembe's arrival is also remembered to have signaled the cessation of conflict within the Mchunu chieftaincy. This is characterized as a transition from death to life. MaNgubane offered Shembe a piece of land immediately adjacent to the royal kraal, Zondehleka, to build a temple. Shembe said of Zondehleka that it had been 'the home of warriors'. It was thus necessary to establish an alternative locus of royal power in what would become the Nazaretha temple of eMzimoya. Nazaretha tradition contrasts eMzimoya to the violent strife of Zondehleka. Shembe is said to have announced that this

temple would 'be their (the royal family's) protection...all who will escape to this village will be safe.' This would be where the 'chief and his great wife will worship'. Shembe then planted a tree in the midst of the temple and said, 'this seedling which I plant here will never be torn out.' [87] Church tradition reiterates the contrast between the diseased old social order and the regeneration found in following Shembe. In a sermon preached by Shembe when he 'wanted to go to the Mchunu chieftaincy', he described himself as a 'fertile field', exhorting his listeners that if they desired peace and prosperity for their communities they should, 'come to me and you will get all you want. If you want to plant on it come to me and till the ground and you will get it all. There is nothing that is impossible.' [88] In a similar vein, Gogo MaDhlomo remembers how Shembe had been told by people in the region that 'this land to which you are now going (ie the Mchunu royal area) is dead because of the fighting between Ndela and Telamali.' But when Shembe arrived:

That day the fighting ended. And the rain fell. And the ones who had not ploughed because they thought there would be no rain, got food from the ones who had ploughed because there was so much food. The land of emaChunwini came back from the dead. And the fighting that was going on there ended. Because of the word of this Inkosi (Lord) of Ekuphakameni. [89

A distinctive element of this community 'brought back from the dead' was the inclusion of the deceased as well as the living. As Muzocitwayo's posthumous baptism suggests, the incorporation of the dead into the church was considered key. A hymn Shembe wrote in 1933 (Hymn 199), whilst travelling through emaChunwini with Gogo MaDhlomo and his group of female virgins, demonstrates this. The Hymn's first verse is,

The children of God
Love one another.
They may not separate
And they may not quarrel...
If they fight, to whom do they belong?
There is no fighting in heaven!

[90]

The Hymn exhorts Nazaretha to desist from warfare by emphasizing the parallel, yet interconnected, worlds of heaven and earth. As the ancestors are

at peace, so are their earthly descendents to make peace amongst themselves. From an early date, the incorporation of ancestors into their liturgy had marked the Nazaretha out as distinct from contemporary Zulu Christians. And not only were aggrieved ancestors the cause of sickness, but also the cause of violence and unrest. A 1944 battle between the Mchunu and the neighbouring Thembu was identified by Chief Simakade as the cause of much of the violence in emaChunwini. The Mchunu chief claimed the spirits of the deceased hadn't adequately been laid to rest, and thus continued to trouble the living through aggravating warfare amongst them. According to Simakade, 'the Lord of Ekuphakameni said that if people died fighting, then they would stay armed in the next life.' [91] It is these 'armed spirits' who cause trouble in the generations to come. In order to bring peace, it is necessary to offer prayers for these souls, something the Nazaretha church presented itself at excelling in. [92]

The Nazaretha counter narrative of peacefulness appears to have coincided with a genuine cessation of fighting. By 1936 the Magistrate was able to report that the affairs of the Mchunu tribe were relatively peaceful: 'former animosities among section of this tribe continue to the dormant.' Tension still simmered between Bulawayo and MaNgubane, [93] but after 1945 when Simakade came to power, the violence surrounding the succession conflict came to an end. [94] Disputes as to the legitimacy of his chieftaincy appear to have entirely dissipated. Simakade, still the highly respected chief of the Msinga Mchunu, has had some sixty years of uninterrupted reign. [95]

Throughout Simakade's reign, the Nazaretha 'counter-narrative' to the endemic violence continued to act as an imaginative template for the Mchunu chieftaincy. The following decades saw more acute violence. [96] Msinga's high murder rate, poverty, epidemic drought and famine are infamous in South Africa. [97] It has also been the centre of Natal's illegal gun and marijuana trades. [98] Amidst this desperation, the Mchunu chieftaincy, allied to the Nazaretha church, has continued to assert its distinctive form of peaceable living. The Mchunu chieftaincy personified violence as a 'demon' stalking the land of emaChunwini. As in the earlier period of the 1930s, Shembe is cast as the salvific hope of the Mchunu people. In the mid-1980s - a particularly

violent period - Chief Simakade related how he would calm the 'demon' of fighting by collecting offerings from his people in return for Shembe's prayers of intercession; the Nazaretha practice of 'nikela':

I was suffering from faction fights in our tribal area. In one year, I ordered all the people to pay one shilling each. I brought this offering to Ekuphakameni and said that my tribe had sent me to cry for this state of war. The Lord Shembe told me to put all the money into the offering basket at Getsemane. Thereafter it was calm in Mchunuland for five years. And when this demon waked again, I always went to the Lord to report it. Then the fighting would stop. [99]

As well as petitioning the 'Lord' to quiet the demon of fighting, the Mchunu chief also engaged in secular peacekeeping measures. Throughout the violence of the 1980s, Chief Simakade and his headmen would travel to conflict areas, mediating between disputing families and wards. Chief Simakade remembers that he 'would go to the place where people are fighting and ask for the reason of the fight.' The chief's practical peacekeeping efforts were located within the moral discourse of violence and peace offered by the church. The Mchunu chief could both act as a secular mediator and simultaneously hold prayer services to put to rest the deceased spirits of the Battle of Ngongolo who walked the earth like 'demons'. [100]

Conclusions

For Mchunu story-tellers, Isaiah Shembe's intervention in the civil war of the 1930s initiated a new formulation of Mchunu identity. To tell the Mchunu royal family history through the interpretative lens of its redemption by the church was to recast a chiefly authority which had found itself deeply undermined throughout the twentieth-century. In converting to the church, the ailing Mchunu chieftaincy - afflicted by internal succession disputes and a colonial policy hostile to autonomous chieftaincies - severed itself from its old narratives of legitimacy, stories which stressed military valour and independence. Instead the chieftaincy integrated its family story within the wider Nazaretha narrative of sin and redemption which Shembe told. Family

histories redeployed violence as the backdrop for Shembe's miraculous intervention. Whilst Pakade had been renowned for his 'deeds of ferocity and cruelty', his great-grandson Simakade became known both in emaChunwini and further afield as a great peacekeeper.

Nazarethu - Mchunu stories of their transformation from warriors into peacekeepers discloses a community's own internal debate over notions of violence and identity. More widely this suggests that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Africans actively engaged with colonial perceptions of violence - whilst simultaneously drawing upon pre-colonial traditions - in order to favourably situate themselves amidst the bureaucracy of the Native Affairs Department. Mchunu story tellers, frequently linked to the royal family, built up a corpus of narrative traditions which rivaled the accounts of colonial and apartheid administrators and bureaucrats. Circulating in both oral and written forms, these stories offer evidence of an energetic reformulation of Mchunu identity, precipitated through its alliance with Shembe's Nazarethu church. As the old foundations of chiefly authority were progressively eroded during the twentieth-century, the Mchunu royal family turned to the production of alternative narratives of legitimacy. These stories evinced the creative agency of both the Nazarethu church and the Mchunu chieftaincy in producing a peaceful moral imagination amidst the de-habilitating circumstances of war.

Notes:

i[1] The Natal Story - Anthea Jeffreys - p5?.

i[2] Gogo MaDhlomo, 13 November 1993, sermon given at temple in emaChunwini, KwaZulu-Natal (tape recording).

i[3]Cite sources. My Phd; Gunner; Vilakazi; Dube; Papini; Hexham.

i[4]Evidence for this? The prayers of the 1920s against violence of the monarchy?

i[5] H.P. Braatvedt, Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), 94.

i[6]W. Beinart, 'Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography', Journal of Southern African Studies, 18, 3 (1992). R.

Thornton, 'The Shooting at Uitenhage, 185: The Context and Interpretation of Violence' in C. Manganyi and A. du Toit (eds), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (London, 1990), 132. For similar conclusions in Somalia, Mozambique and Northern Uganda respectively, see C. Besteman, *Unraveling Somalia: Race, Violence and the Legacy of Somalia* (Philadelphia, 1999), 1-11; C. Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story* (Philadelphia, 1997), 5-7; S. Finnstrom, *Living with Bad Surroundings: War and Existential Uncertainty in Acholiland, Northern Uganda* (Uppsala, 2003), 112-119. Taussig?

i[7] Cite Carolyn Hamilton's book.

i[8] Reference

i[9] J.W. Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal: A Journal of a first tour of visitation among the colonists and Zulu kafirs of Natal* (London, 1855), 106.

i[10] For colonial and black nationalist perceptions of Dingane, S. Ndlovu, *The Changing Perceptions of King Dingane in Historical Literature: A Case Study in the Construction of Historical Knowledge in 19th and 20th Century South African History* (PhD thesis, Johannesburg, 2001).

i[11] A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Natal and Zululand* (London, 1929), 261.

Bryant draws heavily upon James Stuart - does he? Check..

i[12] Braatvedt, *Roaming*, 94.

i[13] Natal Archive Repository (hereafter NAB), 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, Native Commissioner Msinga (hereafter NC Msinga) to Chief Native Commissioner (hereafter CNC), Annual Report on Native Affairs 1930.

i[14] Beinart, 'Historiography', 458.

i[15] Reference the Clegg article. The Mchunu have continued to be viewed as warlike up to the present day. In the 1930s, violence in the region was used as a justification for European interference in tribal affairs; by the 1970s and 1980s, exactly the opposite argument was being propounded. Apartheid's policies of 'separate development' (in reality a legitimation for 'under-development' of so-called independent areas) was the only solution for 'faction fighting'. Innate 'tribal' tendencies needed 'tribal' solutions, not 'white' ones.

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- i[16] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, NC Msinga to CNC, 1 February 1933; 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, Report of meeting between NC Msinga and acting chiefs of Mchunu tribe, 14 February 1933.
- i[17] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, NC Msinga to CNC, 15 February 1933.
- i[18] William Beinart, "Chieftaincy and the Concept of Articulation: South Africa circa 1900-1950" in *Segregation and Apartheid in 20th Century South Africa*, edited Beinart and Dubow, 176. (London: Routledge, 1995).
- i[19] Nordstrom writes of the Mozambiquan context that 'indigenous civil traditions operated quietly in all this chaos to dismantle systems of violence' Nordstrom, *War Story*, 5.
- i[20] Cite article on Counter Cults to violence in Mozambique, against Renamo.
- i[21] Interview with Inkosi Nduna Mchunu, eMdubuzweni, KwaZulu-Natal, 24 August 2008; Interview with Nkosinathi Sithole, Hlathikhulu, KwaZulu-Natal, 24 June 2008.
- i[22] They supplied the troops them with substantial number of troops. J. Clegg, 'Ukubuyisa isidumbu - "Bringing Back the Body" - An Examination into the Ideology of Vengeance in the Msinga and Mpofana Rural Locations, 1882-1944', in P. Bonner (ed), 171.
- i[23] Silwane complained that his induna was hoping to increase his own influence through deposing Silwane. S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford, 1970), 321.
- i[24] *Ibid*, 321, 355.
- i[25] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, Compilation report by various magistrates, September 1940.
- i[26] Clegg, 'Bringing Back Body', 178.
- i[27] Clegg, 'Bringing Back the Body', 184.
- i[28] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, 28 January 1932.
- i[33] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, Annual Report on Native Affairs 1932.
- i[30] *Ibid*.
- i[31] *Ibid*.

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- i[32] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, Report of Native Constable South African Police, 6 June 1934; 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, NC Msinga to CNC, 11 April 1934.
- i[33] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, Annual Report on Native Affairs 1932.
- i[34] T. McClendon, *Genders and Generations Apart: Labour Tenants and Customary Law in Segregation-Era South Africa, 1920s to 1940s* (Oxford, 2002), 20.
- i[35] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, Annual Report on Native Affairs 1929.
- i[36] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/3, CNC Notes, 23 November 1934. See McClendon on amagoso.
- i[37] McClendon, *Genders and Generations Apart*, 152.
- i[38] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/3, NC Msinga to NC Weenen, 6 December 1934. H. Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930* (London, 1987), 46. AmaGoso were also active in the neighbouring Estcourt and Weenen districts. McClendon, *Genders and Generations*, 152-3. As well as generational insubordination, chiefs of this period were also suspicious of independent preachers who were perceived to 'steal' womenfolk from their homesteads, and male control. NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/3, NC Msinga to CNC, 6 October 1934.
- i[39] *Ibid.*
- i[40] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, Notes of CNC, September 1940.
- i[41] Ref?
- i[42] Ref?
- i[43] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, NC Weenen to CNC, 13 November 1930.
- i[44] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/6, NC Msinga to CNC, Annual Report for Msinga 1932
- i[45] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/6, NC Msinga to CNC, 28 January 1932.
- i[46] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, Notes of CNC, 9 December 1931.
- i[47] Braatvedt, *Roaming*, 94.
- i[48] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, NC Msinga to CNC, 1 October 1931.
- i[49] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, Notes of CNC, 14 February 1933.

i[50] Ref?

i[51] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, Report of Native Constable SAP, 16 February 1934.

i[52] NAB 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, Statement of Cunu headman to Assistant NC Msinga, 25 May 1934; NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/1, Report of Native Constable SAP, 31 January 1934.

i[53] As will be seen in the remainder of this article, storytelling events in Sierra Leone, as in emaChunwini, are opportunities for 'people (to) evaluate, discuss and negotiate social and ethical strategies for making communal life viable in war as well as in peace'. M. Jackson, 'Storytelling Events, Violence and the Appearance of the Past', 1. (Year, where published?)

i[54] Interview with Mr. Chonco, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 5 August 2008.

i[55] Sangiwe Magwaza is named as one of the first of such scribes, said to have at one time attended the girls' school - Inanda Seminary - attached to the American Zulu Mission near Ekuphakameni. Hexham and Oosthuizen, "Volume One," 181. Testimony of Nokwanela Mdluli.

i[56] Gogo MaDhlomo, 13 November 1993, sermon given at temple in emaChunwini, KwaZulu-Natal (tape recording).

i[57] His niece, Bongzi Mchunu, remembers how as a young girl she would assist Dhlomo when he was working: 'he didn't have time to cook for himself and wash and all that. That's when I would help him.' Bongzi Mchunu, 25th June 2008, emaChunwini.

i[58] Cite Hexham intro.

i[59] Cite Hexham intro.

i[60] Gogo's daughter remembers how she regretfully left her life as a Nazareth intombazane, virgin. To marry. CITE The Estcourt Mchunu chieftaincy was created when Silwane was deposed and his people divided. The first Mchunu chief in the Estcourt district was Ntando, installed after Silwane's deposal in 1909. At the time of Gogo's marriage, Ntando's son, Pewula, was chief. REFERENCE - archives? The Estcourt Mchunu

chieftaincy joined the church in the 1940s. See J. Cabrita (forthcoming) for a discussion of this branch of the chieftaincy.

i[61] Interview with Bonggi Mchunu, eMandleni, Mooi River, 26 June 2008.

i[62] The stories of Bonggi Mchunu, Gogo's daughter, are clearly based upon what she remembers from her mother's telling.

i[63] Interview with Mr Mchunu, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 4 September 2008.

i[64] Some church accounts also mention Ministers Amos Mzobe and Hadebe being sent with Mnqayi to the area. Interview with Bonggi Mchunu, eMandleni, Mooi River, 26 June 2008. Find reference to Hadebe.

i[65] Interview with Bonggi Mchunu, eMandleni, Mooi River, 26 June 2008.

i[66] Other examples? See Hexham traditions.

i[67] I. Hexham and G.C. Oosthuizen, *The Story of Isaiah Shembe, Volume Two* (Lewiston, 1997), 173-176. Stories of Philip Ngubane.

i[68] Mnqayi pleaded that he couldn't afford the train fare. Gogo MaDhlomo, 13 November 1993, sermon given at temple in emaChunwini, KwaZulu-Natal (tape recording). However, in 1932 he 'repented', and was reinstated into the church. R. Papini and I. Hexham, *The Catechism of the Nazarites and Related Writings, Volume Four* (Lewiston, 2002), 25. Mnqayi died in emaChunwini but in the 1950s Johannes Galilee brought his bones back to Ekuphakameni for burial. Interview with Bonggi Mchunu, eMandleni, Mooi River, 26 June 2008.

i[69] MaDlala, Sermon at Ntambamhlophe Temple, Estcourt, 31 August 2008.

i[70] Interview with Minister Mdlalose and Mr Mchunu, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 4 September 2008.

i[71] Ibid.

i[72] Perhaps this is linked to Mnqayi's re-integration into the church in 1932; visiting before his minister had 'repented' meant Shembe might have been confronted with converts who refused to recognize his authority, instead preferring to place themselves under Mnqayi. A story by Petros Dhlomo suggests that prior to his arrival in emaChunwini, Shembe had been in

southern Natal, in the region of Mpondoland. I. Hexham and G.C. Oosthuizen, *The Story of Isaiah Shembe, Volume One* (Lewiston, 1996), 206.

i[73]Hexham and Oosthuizen, *Early Regional Traditions*, 169. Stories of Chief Mfungelwa Mchunu.

i[74]Ibid.

i[75]Reference

i[76]Interview with Chief Simakade Mchunu, emaChunwini, 12 September 2008. Any where I can get evidence for this 'custom'?

i[77]Castle, Kathryn. *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines*. Studies in Imperialism Series. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996. 36.

i[78]Gogo MaDhlomo, 13 November 1993, sermon given at temple in emaChunwini, KwaZulu-Natal (tape recording).

i[79] J. Cabrita, 'Isaiah Shembe's Theological Nationalism', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2009, Forthcoming).

i[80] A later case of this is Gatsha Buthelezi's reference to 'faction fighting' amongst the Msinga people; part of an attempt to depict the ANC as the provoker and instigator of the violence. Find reference - Buthelezi's speeches.

i[81]Hexham and Oosthuizen, *Early Regional Traditions*, 169-171. Stories of Chief Simakade Mchunu; Interview with Chief Simakade Mchunu, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 31 August 2008.

i[82]Interview with Minister Mdlalose, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 2 August 2008.

i[83] Hexham and Oosthuizen, *Early Regional Traditions*, 169-171. Stories of Chief Simakade Mchunu.

i[84] See Msinga report for 1934/3??

i[85] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, 9 January 1934. .

i[86]Interview with Minister Mdlalose and Mr Mchunu, eMzimoya temple, emaChunwini, 4 September 2008.

i[87] Hexham and Oosthuizen, *Early Regional Traditions*, 169-171. Stories of Chief Simakade Mchunu.

i[88] Hexham and Oosthuizen, *Story of Isaiah Shembe Volume One*, 206. *Stories of Philip Ngubane and Petros Dhlomo*. This story is also told by Minister Zwelisha Mdlalose. I.Hexham and G.C.Oosthuizen, *The Story of Isaiah Shembe, Volume Three* (Lewiston, 2001), 133. A related example is the argument that in the Rwandan genocide the disequilibrium of the body politic was likened to a sick human body. C. Taylor, *Sacrifice as Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (Oxford, 1999), 101.

i[89] Gogo MaDhlomo, 13 November 1993, sermon given at temple in emaChunwini, KwaZulu-Natal (tape recording).

i[90] J.G. Shembe, *Izihlabelelo zamaNazaretha* (Durban, 1945). Hymn 199.

i[91] Find REFERENCE

i[92] Can I reference this at all?

i[93] NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/1/13, NC Msinga to CNC, Annual Report for Msinga 1936.

i[94] Although sporadic fighting continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In 1938 six were killed in an intra Chunu fight (NAB, 1/MSG 3/1/2/1, Station Commander Tugela Ferry to District Commandant, South African Police, Dundee, 3 October 1944.) In 1940 supporters of MaNgubane and Simakade's claim to the chieftaincy killed nine men who supported the rival Telamali faction. NAB 1/MSG 3/1/1/2, Notes of CNC, 28 October 1940.

i[95] Reference respect for him - CAP?

i[96] The battle of Ngongolo in 1944; land evictions in Weenen in the 1960s; scarcity of land fuelled much fighting. 1980s - murder epidemic in Msinga.

i[97] Reference - CAP Newsletters?

i[98] Reference - CAP Newsletters?

i[99] Ibid.

i[100] Reference this