

Game Conservation in Zululand

1824–1947

Changing Perspectives

Introduction

This study aims to examine the attitudes of successive administrations in Zululand towards the conservation of game. It also looks at the actual measures taken to preserve game in any way and it attempts to interpret the interplay of forces which influenced the introduction and implementation of the measures. The particular period chosen is one of great change in the relationship between human and wild animal. It covers the period from the arrival of the first hunter-traders up to the formation of the Natal Parks Board. During this time the administration of Zululand passed from Zulu hands to those of the colonial and then provincial government. As there is relatively little documentary evidence for the period of Zulu administration, the main weight of the study falls upon developments during the colonial and provincial periods.

1824–1887

During this period Zululand was ruled by successive Zulu kings who exercised a certain degree of control over game resources. This was mostly in the form of restrictions on hunting activities for purely utilitarian reasons. A few selected species were regarded as royal game which would have limited their destruction. These included elephant, lion, leopard and otter.¹ This protection of royal game was expedient for the kings for both political and economic reasons. Elephant provided the ivory for a flourishing ivory trade, first through Delagoa Bay and later through Port Natal. Ivory was therefore a source of wealth to the king but it was also a means of extending political power. Leopard and lion provided artefacts which were used to denote status so their protection was for political ends: a chief could be distinguished by his leopardskin cloak, whereas a necklace of lion claws belonged exclusively to royalty.² It is possible that other animals such as buffalo were also protected.³

Although the Zulu kings limited their own people's destruction of big game, right from 1824 onwards they seem to have allowed white hunters considerable freedom. While they had to obtain permission to hunt from the king, who then designated a particular hunting area, a suitable array of presents bought one enormous rights. To kill 150 sea cows and 91 elephant constituted a 'splendid' hunt to such whites in the 1850s.⁴ White hunter-traders sought to exploit the wild animals of Zululand as a source of revenue. They obtained ivory (both elephant and hippo), buffalo and hippo hides, animal horns and other skins. While the annual *Blue Books* of Natal do not reflect the quantity of these products that came specifically from Zululand,⁵ the contemporary hunting

Appendix 1: Table showing revenue derived from animals for the period 1861–1875

		1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
<i>Animals</i> (wild living)	No.	4	32	7	12	11	5	40	1 620	217	25	19	8	7		3
	£ :	140	486	105	105	239	131	331	938	2 618	525	345	233	49		75
<i>Hides: Buffalo</i>	No.	70	27	73		671	172	468	584	935	1 098	1 206	760	1 154	3 253	4 444
	£ :	71	25	80		842	237	554	815	1 060	714	789	433	795	1 386	2 248
Hippo	No.		8	8		7	138	251	178	221	104	9	32			
	£ :		23	23		19	113	348	402	403	140	10	75			
<i>Horns: Buck</i>	Pairs:					5	54	14	91	62	36	84	28	73	3	16
	£ :					5	25	4	62	15	18	25	9	25	1	(pkgs) 157
Rhino	No.	94	1 161	1 019	201	735	282	433	348	727	1 289	2 470	371	310	317	17
	£ :	120	729	874	129	626	260	449	388	808	1 029	1 721	221	135	236	(lbs) 15
<i>Ivory:</i>	lbs.	75 545	101 016	183 014	125 874	79 395	28 738	21 618	29 690	35 969	41 806	46 872	34 628	48 863	25 755	23 912
	£ :	22 825	27 059	40 736	26 254	19 154	6 546	5 908	8 077	10 449	12 051	12 140	9 022	17 168	8 580	8 289
<i>Skins:</i>	No.	25	46	60	39	1 591	2 076	1 879	197	53 924	174 340	314 446	417 014	345 109	222 728	194 443
	£ :	36	66	42	56	324	239	540	31	10 537	34 652	62 405	90 068	84 124	46 336	41 028
<i>Specimens of Natural History</i>	Pkgs:	32	27	34	36	51	34	22	21	51	28	55	31	16	54	39
	£ :	181	174	282	249	306	293	111	156	227	182	538	283	95	666	199
Total revenue from animals:		£23 373	28 562	42 142	26 793	21 515	7 844	8 245	10 869	26 117	49 311	77 973	100 344	102 391	57 205	52 011
Total export for products and manufactures of the colony:		£101 892	118 826	153 831	208 774	201 486	196 875	218 095	266 641	351 920	359 101	505 737	591 480	596 480	678 976	733 642

accounts indicate that Zululand's contribution was large. It seems quite possible that the kings gave permission for hunts without realising just how destructive the white hunters were.

After the British occupation of Natal, government officials, military personnel and tourists were quick to follow the paths established by the hunter-traders into Zululand. Big game hunting became a status symbol of the leisured classes. John Dunn, a European resident in Zululand, led hunting parties of British army officers to St Lucia Lake,⁶ and other private parties were frequent. John Dunn himself killed 203 hippo in one season.⁷ So although the Zulu kings theoretically had control over the hunting of big game animals, they appear to have allowed white hunters far too much latitude. Game resources must therefore have diminished alarmingly.

While Zulu men relished a hunt, their hunting activities were restricted by several factors. As game provided a source of protein, it was important that it was not eliminated. This was ensured by political control, for while any individual could hunt by himself, a group hunt could be called only by the most important person in the neighbourhood.⁸ Given the Zulu hunting aids of assegais, knobkerries, poisoned blades, traps, snares, pits and fences, an individual was unlikely to kill much. A co-operative activity, however, would be far more successful. Such hunts appear to have been held about six times a year in any given locality.⁹ Also, after the death of an important person the ritual *ihlambo* hunt would be held to purify the mourners; also certain animals were hunted to provide material for use in sympathetic 'magic'.¹⁰

There was an area of Zululand where no hunting occurred. This was the traditional Zulu valley, from which Shaka moved in 1823. It seems that the valley was kept as a sacred place and no hunting was allowed in it. This ban still existed in 1873, for Theophilus Shepstone commented then that the valley was 'sacred and is preserved from all desecration'.¹¹

With the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, the disruption impacted on game resources in several ways. First, the number of guns in the country increased dramatically.¹² These the Zulu turned on each other and the game, probably driving the bulk of it northwards.¹³ The exile of Cetshwayo, with the subsequent appointment of thirteen kinglets, meant that even the theoretical control over game no longer lay in one person's hands. And as the commissioners sent to settle the new boundaries moved through Zululand they commented on an insect that was to have a profound effect on game conservation in the area — the tsetse fly. The presence of tsetse in Zululand had been known of for decades.¹⁴ According to the commissioners they expected to find it in Somkhele's location near St. Lucia, in Mlandela's from the north of the Mfolozi river to the junction of the Black and White Mfolozi rivers, and in Zibhebhu's along the Mkhuze river in the north. However, they were not troubled by tsetse and concluded that 'the obnoxious insect has followed on the track of the big game and gone further northwards'.¹⁵

After years of procrastination a complete change in the administration was effected in Zululand. It was annexed to the Crown in 1887, with the Governor of Natal, Sir Arthur Havelock, becoming Governor of Zululand as well, and Melmoth Osborn becoming Resident Commissioner. Among many other things, the new administration had a different attitude from that of the Zulu towards game. It had already developed a limited policy of protection towards certain species of game and as this policy came to apply to Zululand it is necessary to consider it.

Until 1866 no legal restrictions on hunting in Natal existed. Years of heavy

exploitation, especially by white settlers, had resulted in a marked diminution of the game. This caused no public concern because, by then, hunting was a pastime of the leisured classes only.¹⁶ Natal's first game law, Law No. 10 of 1866, was promulgated because the sporting élite wanted some protection given to the species they liked to shoot.¹⁷ The law included three schedules, the first two with open and close seasons, theoretically to protect the animals during the breeding season. A permit from the resident magistrate was necessary to destroy these animals. To shoot animals listed in Schedule C the permission of the governor was needed. The schedules were as follows:

Schedule A (Close season 15 September – 15 April)

All the birds known as: partridge, pheasant, pauw, korhan, guinea fowl, crane.

Schedule B (Close season 15 August – 30 November)

The buffalo quagga,¹⁸ bonte quagga (or zebra), hares, impala, reedbuck, steenbuck, oribi, bushbuck, blue duiker, klip-springer, duiker, rheibuck:

Schedule C

Eland, hartebeeste, ostrich, secretary-bird, turkey buzzard (known as the *insingisi*).

Those convicted under this law were subject to a fine or imprisonment.

In 1884, Law No. 23 repealed the Law No. 10 of 1866. The close seasons were extended so that they became the following:

	1866	1884
<i>Schedule A:</i>	15 Sept – 15 April	15 August – 30 April
<i>Schedule B:</i>	15 Aug – 30 Nov	30 June – 31 Dec

The contents of the schedules were altered slightly. Wild duck were added to Schedule A, rabbits to Schedule B, but buffalo, quagga and zebra were removed from it. Schedule C, the equivalent of royal game, was extended to include the following: hippo, kudu, springbok, rietbok, and blesbok. Once again public interest seems to have been minimal. The *Natal Witness* featured a small article on 'The New Game Laws' where it listed the schedules and made no further comment.¹⁹

One animal which was not protected in either law was the elephant. While these were no longer found in Natal, they were still present in Zululand. Their protection was urged by the former big game hunter, William Drummond:

The inhabitants of Africa will grieve, when it is too late, at the short sighted policy which has allowed for the purpose of immediate gain, to kill down the only animal capable of becoming a beast of burden through the tsetse-infected districts.²⁰

So once again, the rationale for protection was purely utilitarian.

By 1887, then, the game resources of Zululand were in the hands of a white administration which had no aesthetic appreciation of game. The Natal game law of 1884 which now applied in Zululand too, served the interests of a select few. It did not offer wide protection of game.

1887–1896

The political unrest in Zululand during 1887 and 1888 made any rigid implementation of the game law unwise. Havelock went so far as to authorise Osborn to grant shooting permits freely.²¹ Osborn replied that the resident magistrates had directed their attention to the law; because the Zulu were accustomed to such restrictions he did not anticipate any difficulties in enforcing it, especially as the magistrates would explain that the intention of the law was to protect the listed animals during the breeding season.²² Evidence exists that the Nqutu magistrate, for one, made an effort to acquaint people with the law.²³

Osborn appears to have had a genuine concern for the preservation of game. As a contributor to the correspondence columns of the *Natal Witness* was to record years later, 'During Sir Melmoth Osborn's time, the game was strictly preserved'.²⁴ Osborn pressed for far greater protection to be given to large game, including elephant and rhinoceros, which had not been included in the schedules previously. As the man on the spot he was able to advise the governor that there were 'very few head of large game still remaining in Zululand'.²⁵ Accordingly, he began refusing shooting applications from whites.

Osborn's warning was taken seriously by the new governor, Sir Charles Mitchell. He responded to it by proclaiming Zululand's first game law, Zululand Proclamation III of 31 March 1890. The new law differed from the Natal one in three ways. Following Osborn's request,²⁶ elephant were not protected, with a fine ranging from £50 to £100 for shooting them without the governor's permission. The schedules were increased with a new Schedule D attached. Schedule D, for which permission to shoot came from the governor only, now included all the animals recommended earlier by Osborn. This meant that far more big game was protected. The new schedules were:

Schedule A (close season 31 August – 31 March)
Partridge, pheasant, korhan, guinea-fowl and crane.

Schedule B (close season 1 October – 31 March)
Pauw and wild duck.

Schedule C (close season 1 September – last day in February)
Hares, rabbits, rheibuck, steenbuck, oribi, bushbuck, blue duiker, duiker.

Schedule D
Rhino, buffalo, waterbuck, roan antelope, wildebeest (black and blue), quagga, zebra, impala, klipspringer, inyala, hippo, eland, hartebeest, kudu, reedbuck, springbuck, blesbuck, ostrich, secretary-bird, turkey buzzard.

The buck, which came under the new schedule D, were now protected in the late part of the breeding season. This consideration could well have been prompted by the petition received by the governor, requesting this protection, because hunting parties had killed doe which were heavy with young.²⁷

Lord Knutsford, the Secretary of State, fearing that enforcement of the law would intensify the existing friction in Zululand, requested an explanation from Mitchell.²⁸ Mitchell's reply contained several reasons for his action, including the fact that the Zulu were already accustomed to restriction.²⁹ He

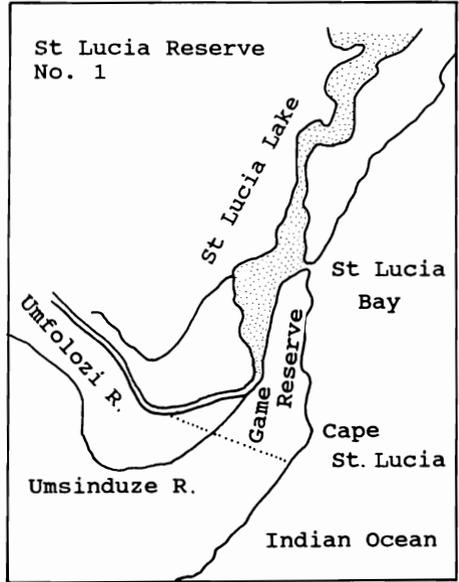
stated that Osborn had represented the case as being serious and had pointed out that several hunting parties had applied for permission already because of the approach of winter. Mitchell concluded by saying he would take great care to avoid difficulties in applying the law. He requested Osborn to instruct the resident magistrates to take great care in applying the law and desired Osborn to constantly keep this matter within his notice.³⁰ That Osborn did this is attested by a case from Lower Mfolosi, in August 1890, where thirteen men were convicted for killing a buffalo and were fined £10 each by the resident magistrate.³¹ Osborn intervened, and had the fine reduced to £5, reminding the magistrate of the warning he had circularised on 20 June.

As the British presence in Zululand expanded through the establishment of new magistracies, the reports of these officials gave the Resident Commissioner a far clearer picture of life in Zululand. Their comments included observations on tsetse fly and the mortality of cattle through nagana.³² The magistrate at Ndwandwe felt strongly that the cattle deaths were linked to the tsetse fly and big game, attributing the nagana outbreak to the increase in big game through preservation.³³ The Zulu asserted that the disease was caught by cattle grazing where big game abounded, eating the saliva of the latter left on the vegetation, while white traders and hunters maintained it was caused by the bite of the tsetse fly.³⁴ Commissioners settling boundaries in 1891 noted the presence of fever and 'Unagane' near St Lucia and at the junction of the Mfolosi rivers, where game abounded.³⁵

If stability was to be maintained in Zululand, the British government could not permit the Zulu to suffer a cattle disaster, for the cattle were a vital factor in their way of life. It was not surprising then that by Zululand Proclamation No. V of 1893, previous game legislation was repealed and the schedules reshuffled so that much of the big game now fell into Schedule C. That this was intended as a measure against nagana was emphasised by a despatch from Lord Ripon, the Secretary of State, 'I trust that the Proclamation will have some effect in checking the disease known as "Nakana." . . .'.³⁶ The proclamation also extended the open season for Schedule A by six weeks. This proclamation is interesting in that it was a measure for decreasing the amount of protection afforded to big game in response to a serious threat to the interests of cattle keepers living in the vicinity of the game areas. It therefore established a precedent.

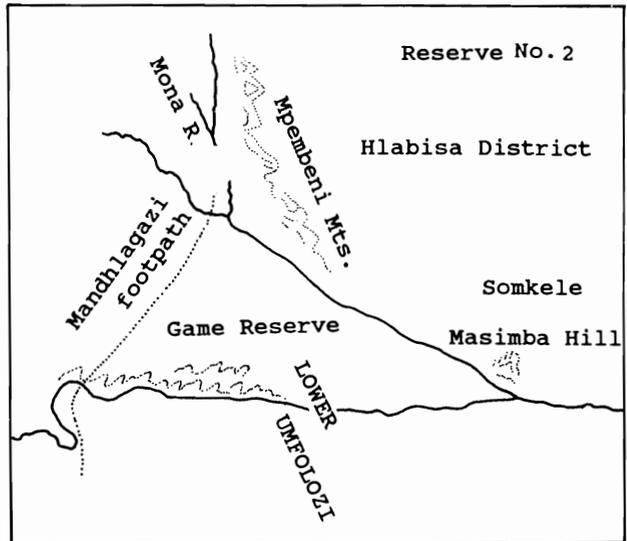
The seriousness of the nagana outbreak led to the appointment of Surgeon-Major David Bruce to investigate the disease. By December 1894 he was at work, based at Ubombo. The importance of his work was grasped by Marshall Clarke, Osborn's successor, who commented to the governor that the question of nagana and tsetse fly 'must affect future game legislation in Zululand'. The Zulu were confident that the spread of nagana corresponded with the increase in big game. Bruce lost no time, for by the end of 1894 he had already identified a 'haematozoan' in the blood of the diseased animals.

The nagana outbreak did not deter a certain well-known sportsman, C. D. Guise, from pressing for greater preservation measures for game in general and the white rhino in particular.³⁷ He suggested that the habitat of the white rhinoceros should be beacons off as a game reserve. His suggestions impressed the governor, who then asked for Clarke's opinion. Clarke's reply was to submit a draft proclamation, including rhino as royal game.³⁸ The resulting proclamation was signed on 16 March as Zululand No. V.



BOUNDARIES

The range of Hills and Lagoons bounded on the north and west by St Lucia Lake and the Umfolozi river, on the east by the Indian Ocean, and on the south from a point on the sea coast four miles south of Cape St Lucia in a direct line to the southernmost point of the Umfolozi river.



BOUNDARIES

The country between the Black and White Umfolozi rivers from their junction to the Mandhlagazi.

In other parts of southern Africa, exciting moves in game conservation were being initiated. The first game reserve in South Africa was proclaimed in 1894, in the Phongolo area, by President Paul Kruger. A contributor to the *Natal Witness* pointed out that the strip of land between the Mfolozi rivers was a natural game reserve and needed but to be proclaimed.³⁹ D. W. Montgomery JP, also wrote to the governor on the matter.⁴⁰ Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, the new Governor of Natal, responded by discussing the possibilities of game

sanctuaries with Clarke, who subsequently submitted proposals of which the governor approved. Clarke had suggested too that the Zululand police force be enlarged to enable it to help patrol, and that European conservators be appointed.⁴¹

By Zululand Government Notice No.12, gazetted on 30 April 1895, five reserves were proclaimed:⁴²

- 1) St Lucia
- 2) Umfolosi Junction
- 3) Hluhluwe Valley
- 4) Umdhletshe (Hlabisa District)
- 5) Pongola-Umkuzi area

In these five natural pockets of game, killing of game was strictly prohibited. To check on this the boundaries of the reserves were to be patrolled. Maps of the reserves were available from the Secretary for Zululand. By June two conservators had been appointed at £10 a month each. D. Tweedie was in charge of the Entonjaneni and Hlabisa districts and S. Silverton of Lower Umfolosi.⁴³ While the establishment of the reserves seemed to arouse little public interest, for only a small article appeared in the *Natal Witness* announcing the news,⁴⁴ the governor recognised the seriousness of the need for conservation. As he commented to Clarke: 'We may be within measurable distance of the total destruction of game in Zululand'.⁴⁵ It seems that the proclamation of the reserves had come just in time to prevent this.

In a bid to block President Kruger's access to the coast, Britain annexed more territory adjoining Zululand. The area to the west of Tsongaland became the magistracy of Ingwavuma, while a British Protectorate was established over Maputaland (Tsongaland). So two more areas reputedly rich in game came under British control.

1897–1910

In November 1897 Tsongaland was annexed by Britain and added to Zululand, which was annexed to the Colony of Natal. Charles Saunders was appointed Resident Commissioner. By then a new game law was being enforced, Zululand Proclamation No.2 of 1897. White rhino were now placed with elephant as especially protected game, and several alterations were made to the schedules:

Schedule A

Partridge, pheasant, korhan, and guinea fowl.

Schedule B

Pauw and wild duck.

Schedule C

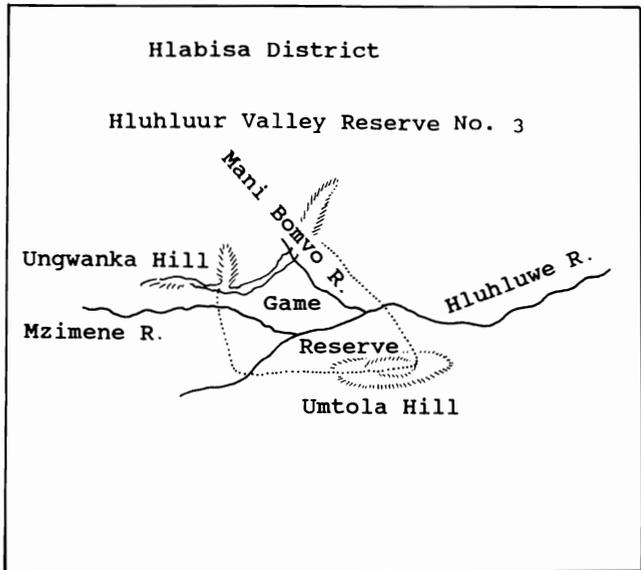
Hares, rabbits, buffalo, waterbuck, wildebeest (black and blue), kudu, klipspringer, inhlegane, redbuck, steenbuck, reedbuck, bushbuck, blue duiker, and duiker.

Schedule D

Roan antelope, impala, oribi, inyala, quagga, zebra, eland, hartebeest, springbuck, blesbuck, ostrich, secretary-bird, and turkey buzzard.

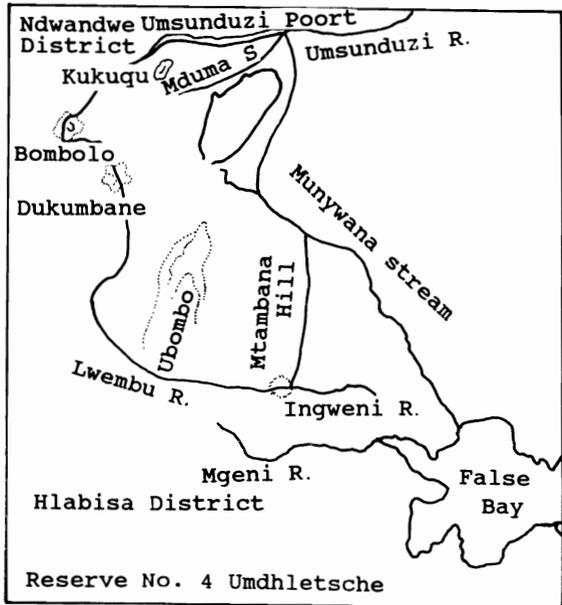
Schedule E

Hippo and black rhino.



BOUNDARIES

A straight line from the highest point of the Zankomfe ridge to the Mpanzakazi hill; from thence to the present sites of the kraals of Umdimdwane, Mantunjana, Saziwayo, and Umswazi; from the latter kraal to the nearest point of the Mzinene stream; thence to the Mehlwana hill, south of the Hluhluwe river; thence to the Mtolo hill; from thence in a direct line with the same hill to the Hluhluwe river; and from there to the highest point of the Zankomfe hill.



BOUNDARIES

On the south by the Ingweni stream from its source near the Dukumbane hill to a point near the Tambana hill, from thence in a direct line with the Dumbeni store to the Munywane stream; thence up the course of that stream to its source; thence on to the Bombolo range, and along its watershed to the Umsunduzi River; thence up the course of that river to its source; thence in a straight line to the Bombolo hills; and thence in a straight line to the source of the Ingweni stream near the Dukumbane hill.

Permission to shoot animals listed in Schedule E could be obtained only from the governor or resident commissioner. Given this written permission, the resident magistrate for the particular area would issue a licence, costing £10. This was the first time any sort of fee was charged for shooting. Presumably the relatively high fee would limit the destruction of animals listed in Schedule E. Despite the possibility of gaining considerable revenue through this, the government followed its policy of protecting game by stipulating that no one person could kill two of either of the Schedule E animals in a given year.

By clause 18, the governor and resident commissioner could allow protected game to be killed in the close season when it was proved to their satisfaction that the game was doing damage to crops or that food was scarce. This sort of consideration was necessary because conditions in the previous years had been harsh. In 1894–5 there had been a bad drought and Zululand was invaded by locusts, so that the crops suffered extensively. Rinderpest followed, killing off most of the cattle owned by Africans. With the new game law, game could become an alternative food source, although it could not fill the vital role cattle played in the African economy.

Clause 14 allowed for the formation of reserves, from time to time, by the governor publishing a notice in the *Government Gazette*. Resident magistrates could issue licences, costing ten pounds each, to shoot in certain of these reserves, provided that the governor approved. This meant that the reserves were no longer sanctuaries, as they had been in 1895. However, there was a limit to the numbers of animals shot, for under one licence no one could shoot more than four head of buffalo, waterbuck, wildebeest or kudu. By Government Notice No. 16 (Zululand), four reserves were proclaimed:

1. Umdhletshe
2. Hluhluwe
3. St Lucia
4. Umfolosi

The maps indicating the boundaries of the reserves were identical to the ones used in 1895. Shooting permits were given for reserves proclaimed in 1895, but with one now omitted. It lay in the area where Bruce was working on tsetse fly disease, which presumably was the reason for its being omitted.

The Rinderpest outbreak, which seemed to last until 1904, ravaged domestic stock and game. The magistrates' reports indicated extensive losses of buffalo and kudu, while at Ubombo 'koodoo, waterbuck, buffalo and reedbuck are practically extinct'.⁴⁶ The government reacted to the outbreak by announcing that no permits would be issued during 1898 for killing royal game.⁴⁷ As royal game fell under Schedule D, it meant that neither kudu nor buffalo were included.

To many in Zululand, there was a definite relationship between game, tsetse fly, nagana and rinderpest. Where there was game, there were tsetse flies, and cattle suffered from nagana: where there was Rinderpest, game died and the incidence of nagana seemed to decrease. David Bruce discovered that the adult fly acted as a carrier of a living parasite, which was in the blood of the wild animals.⁴⁸ In areas like Entonjaneni and Hlabisa, nagana practically disappeared after the rinderpest outbreak, while in Mahlabatini and Lower Umfolosi, both rich in game, nagana persisted.⁴⁹

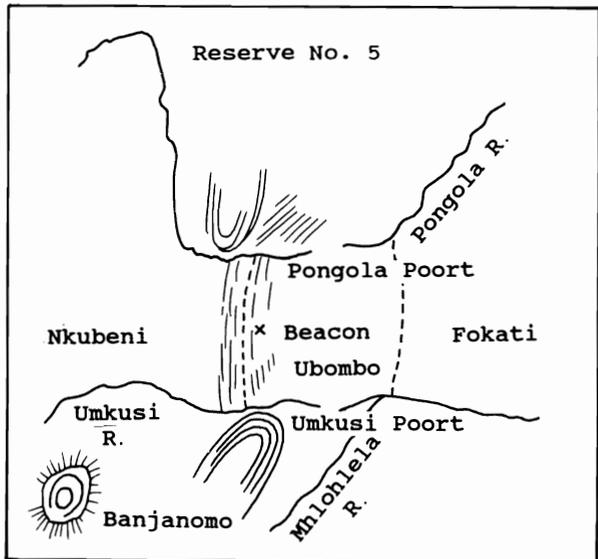
A few years later, magistrates' reports showed that game numbers had

started picking up again.⁵⁰ Kudu, buffalo, zebra and waterbuck appeared to be flourishing, while a comment on the white rhino indicated that the numbers could have been reduced to as few as fifteen head in the whole of Zululand.

Another factor that was to bedevil game conservation was introduced when Zululand was opened up for white settlement in the early 1900s. The Delimitation Commission allocated about one third of the territory for alienation by the Natal Government. No mention was made of the existing game reserves in the report. As far as can be made out, the position was as follows: Umfolosi Junction Reserve lay completely within the alienable section as did the Umdhletshe Reserve. A very small part of the Hluhluwe Reserve and about half of St Lucia lay in 'Native Territory'. The Umfolosi and Hluhluwe reserves alone covered about 111 700 acres. This meant that not only was there less alienable land available than expected but also that, as the reserves were in the alienable section, then some settlers would inevitably have to settle near to the reserves. This was to have far-reaching consequences later.

In 1906 Game Act No.8 was passed which applied to both Natal and Zululand. Although it repealed earlier game legislation, it did retain the Zululand reserves. There was now to be only one open season for the different schedules, unless the governor in council decided otherwise concerning a particular species. Zebras were put back into the open schedule, for 'it had been strongly recommended that the numbers, both of zebra and wildebeest, should be kept down, in order to prevent the spread of tsetse fly'.⁵¹ For Zululand, Schedule C now contained the following animals: hippo, hartebeest, eland, kudu, female rietbuck, impala, inyala, blesbuck, oribi, red bushbuck, buffalo, waterbuck, rhinoceros, Java or Mauritius deer, and ostrich. A ministerial permit was required in order to shoot these animals.

To shoot animals in reserves and those listed in Schedule D, one needed a permit costing £10, and there was also a specific rate to pay per animal: hippo



BOUNDARIES

The country between the Pongola and Umkusi Rivers and the Bombo Mountains, bounded on the east by a line from where the Pongola makes its sharp northern bend to where the Umkusi is joined by the Mhlohlela stream.

and black rhino — £20; buffalo and kudu bull — £10; eland bull — £5. Each applicant was allowed only one permit per year and the permit had to be endorsed by a magistrate. There was also a limit per person on the number of animals shot. While the fee for a permit had been introduced in 1897, the idea of a rate for these larger animals was new. The Prime Minister asserted that it was to go towards the expenses of keeping 'watchers'.⁵² As in 1897, allowances were made for the killing of game (but not game in Schedule E) during the close season if they were damaging crops or if food was scarce. Criminal Record Books again show that this new law was enforced.⁵³

Between 1905 and 1907 several changes were made regarding game reserves. A new reserve in the Hlabisa district, Reserve No. 5, was proclaimed and in April of 1907 both Reserves Nos. 1 and 5 were abolished. The *Report of the Game Reserves Commission 1935*, stated that the reserves were abolished because of the complaints of the transport riders, whose cattle were being killed off by tsetse.⁵⁴ This indicates how susceptible the government's game protection policy was to public pressure.

By 1910 another aspect of game protection was under public scrutiny. With the existing game law, a resident magistrate could refuse others permission to hunt, while he himself hunted when he liked. Several complaints arose over alleged cases of abuse of this authority.⁵⁵ It was clear that some other body with the authority to grant permits was needed. The obvious solution was the employment of a chief conservator who could co-ordinate all information concerning game. With the Act of Union, control of wildlife was given to the provinces. It was therefore up to the new provincial administration of Natal to resolve the continuing problems and re-evaluate the existing policy on the protection of game in Zululand.

1911–1929

The early years of this period saw three important changes relating to game protection in Zululand. In the first place, a select committee appointed by the provincial council to inquire into the game laws recommended that a head game conservator should be appointed to live in Zululand.⁵⁶ This need was recognised by the administration and the post was advertised.⁵⁷ Frederick Vaughan-Kirby was appointed to the post in August 1911.

Secondly, by Government Notice No. 23 of 1912, a new reserve was established in the Ubombo District. It lay to the south of the reserve proclaimed near there in 1895. Also, the boundaries of Reserve No. 2 were altered slightly and it became known as the Hluhluwe Reserve.⁵⁸

Thirdly, Ordinance No. 2 consolidated all pre-Union game measures for Natal and Zululand and it divided game into three groups:

- Schedule A:* ordinary or small game
- Schedule B:* specially protected game
- Schedule C:* royal game

The schedules were all added to and, in particular, the list of royal game became: crested crane, impala female, inyala female, kudu female, eland female, roan antelope, tsessebe, blesbuck, springbuck, buffalo female, black rhino female, white rhino, elephant. There was now one close season from 16 August to 30 April for both Schedules A and B. To shoot ordinary game, a licence costing £1 had to be obtained from an 'officer'. Those considered

'officers' were a game conservator, assistant game conservator, game guard, any police officer or any other officer appointed by the administrator. The administrator issued the licence required to shoot specially protected game for a fee of £1 plus the particular fee listed for the animal. There was a limit to the big game that could be killed under one licence. Theoretically royal game could not be killed except by special permission of the administrator. All licences were to be returned on their expiry, with details of the game killed. The ordinance gave the administrator wide powers: he could alter schedules, establish reserves, declare animals vermin, and in times of scarcity he could permit the killing of protected game.

Despite the earlier complaints against them, resident magistrates were still authorised to issue shooting licences, as could game conservators, and district police officers. To enforce the new ordinance, twenty officers for Natal and Zululand were appointed in July 1912.⁵⁹ There is evidence that the new ordinance was indeed implemented.⁶⁰

In 1913 the administrator exercised his right to declare certain animals as vermin.⁶¹ The list included wild dogs, leopard, cheetah, jackal, crocodile, baboon and mamba. Provided one produced proof of the kill one could collect a reward, specific for the species killed. This was the first measure of its kind to be applied to Zululand, although Natal had had a similar law between 1866 and 1868, the Noxious Animal Law of 1866.

By 1912 tsetse fly had reappeared on the Somkele-Hlabisa road and was apparently rife in the Ubombo District.⁶² Over the next few years tsetse affected the existing game protection policy profoundly. Schedules were altered, fees reduced, travellers were given the right to destroy certain animals such as zebra and blue wildebeest near the roads, and special shooting areas were made in some of the districts. But the reserves remained untouched. The public felt that by reducing the charges for shooting, the government had admitted that game was the cause of spreading the disease, so permission for a big game drive was sought in a petition sent to the administrator by the farmers of Lower Umfolosi.⁶³ Similar drives had been held in the past, when farming interests had been threatened by nagana outbreaks.⁶⁴ As the settled white community grew in Zululand it became a vociferous body, able to pressurise the administration through public meetings and through the representation of the local members of the provincial council. A game drive seems to have been held in 1917, where the black reserves in Ubombo and Ingwavuma districts were thrown open to game destruction, except of inyala, hippo and rhino.⁶⁵ It was estimated that 20 000 wildebeest alone were killed.

The question of tsetse investigation and control was complicated at the administrative level. While the protection of fish and game was in the hands of the provincial governments, the departments of agriculture and entomology were under the central government. The field of scientific investigation into tsetse fly therefore lay under central control. Accordingly, a research officer, D. T. Mitchell, was appointed to investigate the nagana position in Zululand. A copy of his first report appeared in the *Zululand Times*.⁶⁶ From his investigation he concluded that the fly belts were areas where there was warmth, moisture, shade, and food with game as the carrier. He classified game into 'localized' and 'wandering' types and suggested shooting around reserves to create buffer zones. This was discussed with Vaughan-Kirby, who felt the scheme was workable.

In 1919 the Ntambanana settlement was opened up for returned soldiers. The area was around the Ntambana river near its confluence with the Mhlatuze

river. The newcomers began farming cotton and cattle, and some farmers were already established when the winter months came and their cattle died of nagana. There was a great public outcry at this and the government was forced to consider the settlers' interests. Therefore in May the Umfolosi boundary was altered, so that the area in the south, near the settlement, that had been added in 1907, was deproclaimed. In August the Umfolosi reserve was abolished.

As a result of large public meetings held in Durban, where discontent at inefficient governmental help against tsetse was voiced, the central government again became involved. In 1921 it appointed R.H.T.P. Harris to investigate the tsetse problem. For five years he based himself at a site overlooking the Mfolozi River. There he discovered the importance of bush to the thicket-loving species of tsetse, *Glossina pallidipes*.

During the 1920s there were many alterations to schedules, fees and special shooting areas — all attempts to eliminate tsetse. Despite the ravages of tsetse the provincial government did not believe that the case against the reserves had been proved. A new reserve, Ndumu, was established in 1924. This was in the northernmost part of Zululand on the Usutu River and covered about 25 000 acres. The reserve was particularly interesting in that it was the chief breeding ground of inyala and impala.⁶⁷

The administration's concern over the tsetse problem led to the holding of a conference in January 1925. Present at this conference were the members of the Provincial Executive Committee, the Minister of Agriculture, and representatives from the divisions of Entomology and Veterinary Research, and from the Department of Native Affairs as well as from Settlers' Associations. The Minister of Agriculture promised to allow the research to continue, for with the allotment of farms in the Mkhuze and Hluhluwe areas the position became more serious. The measures which had so far been employed against tsetse were the clearing and burning of areas (to reduce the undergrowth), the shooting of game or else the erection of game fences around settlements and the scientific investigation into the tsetse bionomics. In 1927 a patrol was formed to prevent game from straying from the Umfolosi reserve to the Ntambanana settlement.⁶⁸

In 1928 a Game Advisory Committee, representing the various interests, was appointed by the administration. Included in this were provincial councillors and representatives from all the Farmers' Associations, the Wildlife Protection Society and the South African National Society. At the first meeting of this committee it was decided to request through the Administrator of Natal that the Minister of Agriculture second Harris for a further three years of tsetse research in Zululand. Since Harris had retired in 1926, further work had been done by officers C. Fuller and M.C. Mossop who wrote short entomological notes after eight weeks' observation at the Umfolosi River in 1927.⁶⁹

The return of Harris in 1929 began a new phase in the battle against tsetse. For his experimental work he needed the game to be concentrated in the Umfolosi reserve. To effect this, Harris suggested that a buffer zone around the reserve be cleared. Accordingly, in 1929, an enormous game drive was begun. 'Within eighteen months 26 162 head of game had been killed around the periphery of the Umfolosi Game Reserve'.⁷⁰

In 1928 Vaughan-Kirby retired and Roden Symons became the chief conservator. He stayed only one year and was succeeded by Captain Harold Potter. Potter established himself in Hluhluwe so he was right in the heart of a reserve.

The 1920s had seen the deproclaiming of the Umfolosi reserve, and the

holding of massive game drives. White settler opinion in Zululand had been adamant that the game had to go. St Lucia too was disestablished in 1928 by Proclamation No. 20. Amidst all this controversy and destruction it is heartening to note that the administration had taken the opportunity in 1927 to proclaim a Bird Sanctuary in the St Lucia area.⁷¹ Birds had never been connected with the spread of tsetse or nagana in any way so there could be no public complaint over this.

1930–1947

As the game drives had scattered the game, it became necessary to reproclaim the Umfolosi reserve in 1930 so that Harris could work with a dense game population. His realisation that the tsetse fly hunted by sight rather than smell led him to invent the Harris Fly Trap. It was a large hessian-covered wooden frame, surmounted by a netted box, designed to simulate a beast, both in size and shape. The tsetse entered the trap through an opening at the bottom.

Throughout 1930 and 1931, when tsetse was particularly bad, debate raged between the Natal Administration and the Union Government over the anti-tsetse campaign. The central government would not provide funds for fly traps, so the Natal administration paid for the first thousand set up in Umfolosi. At a conference held in Pretoria in September 1931 the Natalians wanted to keep all the reserves and trap on a wide scale, whereas the Minister of Agriculture wanted Mkhuze and Hluhluwe deproclaimed. He agreed to the financing of a limited trapping operation done for scientific purposes only.

Despite the expenses and disappointments of the tsetse campaign, the Natal Administration maintained the belief that the necessity for the total abolition of the game reserves had not been definitely established. In the mid 1930s when the drier weather had seemed to limit the tsetse outbreak, the Natal Administration initiated a policy of attracting visitors to the Zululand reserves. In the past the reserves had seemed to be places where game was preserved, in a sanctuary, closed off from the public. Now an effort was made to draw the public to the reserves.⁷² Under Captain Potter the development of public facilities went ahead and other steps were taken to encourage the public to visit. Potter lived in Hluhluwe and this reserve in particular underwent rapid development to cater for the public. Roads were made throughout the reserve to facilitate viewing. Pans near the roads were cleared out and enlarged to entice the animals to use them. The first rest huts were built at Hluhluwe in 1934. To increase the variety of animals, impala were brought in from Mkhuze, and in 1934 Potter recorded that they had settled down and that they were breeding in Hluhluwe. Impala and inyala were transferred from Mkhuze from then onwards. A pair of springbuck from Pretoria and eland from Natal National Park were other imported animals. Europeans were prohibited from shooting in a five mile zone around the Hluhluwe reserve, which preserved the game in the corridor between the Hluhluwe and Umfolosi reserves.

While continuing its interest in the inland reserves, the administration also turned its attention to the coastal areas. It proclaimed a game reserve at Richard's Bay in 1935, while in 1938 St Lucia was reproclaimed.⁷³ The boundaries were 'That area covered by water up to the high tide mark and known as St Lucia Lake, False Bay and the Estuary connecting the said Lake with the Indian Ocean, including St Lucia Bay, and all islands situated within the area'. This meant that the reserve covered about 91 090 acres. It contained a wealth of bird life as well as hippo and crocodile. In 1939 a considerable area

of land near the reserve was proclaimed a park,⁷⁴ and the area became a popular fishing resort.

As always, a shortage of staff to implement regulations remained a problem. While Umfolosi was policed by eight African game guards in 1935, their main concern was to protect the white rhino which were showing a healthy increase in numbers. A European ranger was appointed to the Umfolosi, but both Mkhuze and Ndumu were staffed only by African game guards. At St Lucia, where the fishing resort was developing, there were two European and fifteen African game guards by 1938. This phase of increasing the personnel concerned with game preservation culminated in the establishment of the Zululand Game Reserves and Parks Board in 1939.⁷⁵ The board consisted of seven members, appointed by the administration; three were to be representatives of agriculture, commercial and publicity interests. The board's functions were to control, manage and maintain the Zululand parks and reserves.

Scientific investigation on tsetse continued with Dr Henkel and A. Bayer visiting Zululand in 1935. Henkel's comprehensive report on the ecology of Hluhluwe was published in 1937. In 1936 fly trapping operations had commenced in Hluhluwe, with 3 000 traps. This required about sixty more Africans to set up and maintain the traps.⁷⁶ This trapping was in the hands of the Union Government.

From 1939 the nagana position in Zululand deteriorated so that in 1942 another intensive nagana campaign was embarked upon. The object was to eradicate tsetse by eliminating the host animals, to attack the breeding grounds of the fly by clearing the bush, to create effective barrier clearings and to remove cattle from areas where they were likely to become infected and act as a food supply for the fly. Extensive shooting occurred in Umfolosi and Mkhuze and the adjoining crown lands from 1942 to 1950, with about 70 000 animals being destroyed.⁷⁷ Only rhino were protected from this slaughter. The Hluhluwe reserve was retained, with complete protection. The campaign caused much public agitation, this time in concern for the protection of the game. The Natal Administration erected a boundary fence around the Hluhluwe reserve and the corridor, and made arrangements to fence the southern boundary of the Umfolosi reserve to prevent game from encroaching on the Ntambanana farms and adjoining African subsistence farming areas.

In 1945 experiments were begun with aerial dusting of DDT at Mkhuze, as a direct attack on the adult flies. While it was costly, it seemed to eradicate the fly. In 1947 the aerial spraying was extended to Umfolosi and Hluhluwe so that the breeding sites identified earlier by Henkel could be destroyed. This eventually resulted in the complete elimination of the disease.

In 1947 control of game passed into the hands of yet another body. Ordinance No.35, 1947, provided for the constitution of a provincial board known as the Natal Parks, Game and Fish Preservation Board. This board of nine members, appointed by the administrator, was to manage and maintain all parks, game reserves and nature reserves within Natal. The Board could take all measures deemed necessary to enforce the laws relating to game, fish and other fauna and flora of Natal, appointing officers and servants to do this.

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