

History of the Natal Native Horse

Introduction

At the time of the Bhambatha Rebellion R.C. Samuelson¹, the writer of this document, expressed to the Natal Prime Minister, C.J. Smythe, his opinion that most Africans were loyal, and that he could raise a force of 2 000 from among the Christian Africans. Accordingly he was empowered to do so. He undertook the task on condition that the men would be treated with ‘the same consideration’ as white soldiers, that they would be armed with rifles and that their remuneration would be agreed on before they enlisted.

As the men he recruited were from communities which had supplied scouts for the Imperial Forces in the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), it was brought to his attention by his potential recruits that they had always been willing to assist the government, but had never received the rewards promised for their services in that war. They wished to make it clear that they would go solely on condition that Samuelson took charge of them and went with them.

Horses were a serious problem as only about half the recruits had their own, and even when mounts were hired from African chiefs, there was a shortfall.

When Samuelson returned from recruiting he was informed by Col. H.T. Bru de Wold, the Commandant of Volunteers, that he had decided that the men should not be armed. Thereupon Samuelson refused to accompany them and Bru de Wold reported him to the Government. The two were called before a government Minister, J.G. Maydon and two others, neither of whom Samuelson knew, and he had to defend his stand. He stated he ‘positively refused’ to go unless the men were properly armed and equipped. Maydon supported him and ordered Bru de Wold to see that ‘the best was done for the men’. A few days later Samuelson was told to call on Bru de Wold, who informed him that Captain (later Major) Moe² was to be the OC, and that he would be Adjutant and second-in-command. Samuelson, in his memoirs, writes that this was a surprise, but attributed it to his clash with Bru de Wold. Some fellow Carbineer officers expressed the opinion that had they been treated thus they would have refused the assignment. However, Samuelson realised that, had he done so, his recruits would not have turned out, and could possibly have been punished by the government. Also, had the refusal become publicly known it would have strengthened the rebel cause.

Samuelson maintains that the loyalty and good behaviour of the NNH converted Bru de Wold, and he later tried to get the government to honour the promise of Col. J.R. Royston³ to the scouts at the time of the relief of Ladysmith (some of whom had afterwards enrolled in the NNH) to make them the nucleus of a 'Native Corps' which could be used by the government should similar circumstances arise in the future. But, according to Samuelson, the then ministry 'had only weakling members who feared their own shadows', so nothing eventuated. James Stuart in his *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906*, describes the NNH's conduct as exemplary and deems them 'thoroughly reliable and serviceable'. He also saw the value of such a corps on a permanent basis, rueing the fact that, had their training been of longer standing (i.e. in existence before the crisis), they would have been more valuable.

An accolade for the NNH from an essentially civilian source comes from the American missionary Dr James McCord⁴, who was prevailed upon to enlist as the NNH's medical officer. Because of bureaucratic blundering on the part of the Medical Corps, McCord had not received his orders to proceed with his regiment up to the time when the last of them left Dundee on active service. Temporarily, therefore, as needed, he assisted with medical duties in other regiments. His observation was that those regiments which contained 'a large proportion of youthful Colonial rowdies', made him realise that by comparison the NNH were 'essentially gentle and kindly men'.

From McCord's memoirs one also gets an opinion of the calibre of the white officers. He considered that, with the exception of Moe and Samuelson (who were trained soldiers), they were chosen more for their knowledge of Zulu and the African people than their military expertise. He deemed Samuelson a good soldier, 'both with his military experience and his civilian viewpoint, making him an invaluable officer for such a regiment as ours'. He drove his three white lieutenants 'unmercifully' until the men could drill, ride and shoot 'with at least passable skill'. He also ensured that supplies never ran short and that the troops' basic needs were met.

Samuelson's account of the NNH follows.

SHELAGH SPENCER

History of the Natal Native Horse

On the 14th February 1906 the Minister for Defence commissioned Robert C.A. Samuelson to enrol 1,000 men from the Native Communities of Edendale, Driefontein⁵ and other Communities, who were known to him to be loyal beyond question, for the purpose of having them trained in arms and drill and holding themselves in readiness for certain eventualities which might arise. The enrolling proceeded and at the end of March 1906 nearly 1,000 men had been enrolled and on the 2nd April 1906 Mr Samuelson reported to the Government and asked for arms and ammunition so that training of the said men might take place.

Towards the end of April 1906 the Government instructed Mr R.C. Samuelson to inform the enrolled Natives to hold themselves in readiness and he did so. No arms were, however, supplied and no training took place till the men were actually called out. On the 26th April 1906 George Moe, Captain U.M.R. was appointed O.C. and Robert C.A. Samuelson, a Lieutenant of the Militia Supernumerary List, was appointed Adjutant with the rank of Captain. The Corps was named by Lieut Colonel Wales⁶ "the Natal Na-

tive Horse” and the Government decided that it should be only 300 strong, but later on permission was obtained from the Government for 26 more men to be taken on, which made the N.N.H. 326 strong. Under Government orders these men were called in to Camp for equipment and training and on the 26th April 1906 the Edendale men took to Canvas in a Camp arranged at Edendale. A central Camp was then arranged on the old Bisley at Mountain Rise for the receiving, equipping and training of this Corps and the Edendale Camp was removed to the old Bisley ground aforesaid where Natives from Bulwer, from Chief Isaac Mkize’s tribe of Cedara⁷, from Acting Chief Thabane’s tribe, the Amangwane, from Chief Timothy Gule’s⁸ tribe, Newcastle Division, and three men from Driefontein came to join to make up the number required; but recruiting was completed at Dundee. P.A. Comrie of the B.M.R., G.F. Kirby of the Natal Carbineers, and W.J.H. Muller of the Natal Carbineers were appointed Lieutenants, being one Lieutenant for each 100 men; H. Pope was appointed Regimental Sergeant Major, W. Oliver Quarter Master, with Carlyle Anfield as Q.M. Sergeant: the Non-Coms were also appointed and from the respective Communities to which they belonged, care being taken to appoint men of known experience from each Community.

The following were appointed Squadron Sergeants Major viz: Stephen Molife, the eldest son of the famous Scout, Jabez Molife of Edendale, who served against the Bushmen in 1866, Langalibalele in 1873, Zulu War 1879, Boer War in 1899 and right through, highly distinguished himself in all: this Stephen Molife was Scout all through the Boer War of 1899 and at one time was in sole charge of the Edendale Scouts under Marquis Tullibardine; Walker Sopela, whose father was killed at Isandhlwana serving the Government; this man was one of the first Scouts used in the late Boer War, was through the siege of Ladysmith and subsequently served right through the Boer Campaign: Naphthali Gule, the son of the late Chief Gule of Nyanyadu, who is now Chief of the Nyanyadu people in place of his father, the said Chief who died in August 1906.

Among the sergeants were viz:

Q.M. Sergeant Enoch Msimang⁹, one of the Edendale men, who was under Colonel Durnford at Isandhlwana with the Edendale Horse in 1879; Petros Malinga one of the leading men of Chief Timothy Gule’s Tribe, and Hleletwa Hlongwana one of the brothers of the late Chief Ncwadi of the Amangwane tribe.

Among the Sergeants were as follows:-

James L. Molife another son of Jabez Molife abovenamed who was also a Scout in the late Boer War. A.A. Kumalo, the son of Luke Kumalo a Zulu War medal holder, who was the special attendant on and Interpreter of General Buller and also served as guide for General Buller: Charlie Dhlamini of Edendale; Mkize Hlongwana and Sidwedwe Hlongwana, sons of the late Chief Ncwadi; Charlie Hlatshwako [*sic*] of the Amangwane tribe: Ngidi Hlongwana one of the late Chief Ncwadi’s brothers; Dili Hlongwana relative of late Chief Ncwadi; Isaac Mkize the only son and heir of Isaac Mkize, the Chief of Cedara; W.G. Mini, the third son of the late Stephanus Mini¹⁰ of Edendale, own brother of the present Chief of Edendale: this man was one of the 1st Scouts and Intelligence men engaged in the early stages of the late Boer War, served right through the Siege of Ladysmith and through the Boer War after the Siege, in Natal, Zululand and Transvaal. Abraham Kunene the Assistant Chief of Edendale, a man who served through the Zulu War and holds the medal for the same, and right through the late Boer War including the Siege of Ladysmith where he was in special charge of a small body of Scouts: he

behaved with distinction all through these Campaigns. Adam Amsterdam of near Bulwer, who was also a Scout in the late Boer War. Robert Mtembu of Driefontein, who had some exciting adventures during the late Boer War in which he acted as Scout. Michael Cele of Chief T, Gule's tribe who also served as a Scout in the late Boer War through Natal, Zululand and Transvaal.

Among the Troopers who were satisfied to do their work as such were:-

Hezekiah Kumalo, the eldest son and heir of that noted and loyal Chief Johannes Kumalo¹¹ of Driefontein, this man went as father and adviser of the men who were detailed as guides and Scouts for Colonel Dick¹² and his Rangers under Lieutenant W.J.H. Muller, and who served in that capacity with the distinction to end of the rebellion, being ably assisted by Sergeant Michael Cele aforementioned, and Ebenezer Gule another son of the late Chief Gule; as to the service of these particular men see the report of Colonel Dick hereunto annexed¹³: this Kumalo holds a Zulu War medal, and also served as Scout in the late Boer War. Simon Kumalo third son of Chief Johannes Kumalo, and one of the leading men of Edendale, who died from a cold contracted while he was on duty at Nazareth¹⁴ during October 1906.

James Molife the brother of Jabez Molife abovementioned, that famous Scout who during the late Boer War performed such daring feats of scouting by passing so frequently through the Boer lines during the late Boer War carrying information between the besieged in Ladysmith and General Buller, that he was mentioned in the papers of those days and photographed in those papers. Stephen Mini¹⁵ and Thabane, the Chiefs respectively of the Edendale and Amanqwane tribes went out with their men but would not take any rank as the highest available rank for the Natives was Sergeant, as they felt they would do themselves harm with their people by taking rank equal to that given to their men: these Chiefs had great influence with their people and contributed materially to the success of the Regiment. These two Chiefs were, as many others of their men, out as Scouts in the late Boer War and did excellent service. I may add that all of the Communities abovementioned who provided men for the N.N.H., sent out their Chiefs, Chief's sons and the best of their men, and would have sent out more and better had they not been rushed. After receiving and equipping these men and giving them such training in drill and arms as possible under the very limited time at the disposal of the Officers the N.N.H., the Regiment was ordered up to Dundee, and it entrained for Dundee on the 14th May 1906. At Dundee the Regiment was brought up to its full strength from recruits from the Amanqwane and Chief T. Gule's tribes, and completing equipment, getting remounts, and training was proceeded with. The question of getting remounts was the most troublesome, so much so that a few men had eventually to go to the Front as dismounted men. Many more good men desired to join the Corps but could not get horses. When the men were beginning to learn how to move together in a body, skirmish successfully, and handle the Carbine, and on the 27th May 1906 Major Moe was ordered to take part of the Regiment and proceed with it to Ginginghlovu, and from there take and convey to the troops at Inkandhla certain 200 remounts for the said troops. Major Moe consequently warned A Squadron consisting of Edendale men to hold themselves in readiness to go with him on this business, and left instructions with Captain Samuelson as regard the balance of the Regiment at Dundee. When the Regiment heard that they were to be broken up in sections they respectfully protested on the grounds that they were just beginning to know one another and felt if they moved together in one body

they would be able to cope with any body of the enemy, but they soon ceased protesting when they were reminded it was the wish of the Government.

Major Moe left with A Squadron, consisting of 85 men on the 29th May 1906 and successfully carried out the business of transferring the remounts. The day after his arrival at Inkandhla a general advance through the Inkandhla Forest was ordered by the O.C. Troops in which Major Moe with A Squadron took part; during which they bivouacked one night near Cetywayo's grave. During the drive a few of the N.N.H. were detailed to look after the horses, and one of them Henrick Mkabela, single handed, deprived some rebels of 21 head of cattle and brought them to Lt. Colonel Shepstone, Provost Marshal¹⁶. In the meantime the balance of the Regiment left at Dundee was subdivided and sent to other parts. On the 29th May 1906, one Micah Mkwanzani, also one of the N.N.H. Sergeants, a man of sterling qualities, a born Scout, and also one who had been in charge of the Nqutu Scouts during the Boer War of 1899, and his eldest son were detailed to go with, and went with a portion of the Rangers, and they acted as Scouts and guides to these Rangers till late in July after which they rejoined their Regiment at Nazareth. On the same date the 29th May 1906, Lieutenant Muller was commissioned to take charge of 36 men mostly of Nyanyadu, and accompany Colonel Dick to do scouting and guide work. These men under Lieutenant Muller served in the said capacities right through the Campaign and most successfully. On the 31st May 1906 Captain Samuelson, acting on instructions from Colonel Wales, sent off under Lieutenant P.A. Comrie assisted by Acting Chief Tabhane [*sic*] and his brothers and nephews, who were holding responsible Non-Coms positions, 100 men of the Amangwane tribe to proceed to Emangeni and work with the Rangers under Captain Forsbrook¹⁷: annexed is the report of Captain Forsbrook about Lieutenant Comrie and the men under him¹⁸. About the 3rd June 1906, acting under instructions from Colonel Wales, Captain Samuelson sent off under the charge of Regimental S.M. Pope, 82 Non-Coms and men to Helpmekaar to O.C.H.F.F.¹⁹ and he was then left with 16 men in charge of the N.N.H. base at Dundee. On the 11th June 1906, obeying orders from Major Moe, the Dundee camp was struck and Captain Samuelson proceeded to join Major Moe at Nqutu on the 13th June. On the 14th June Major Moe with the balance of the men from Dundee and the A Squadron left Nqutu to join Colonel McKay's²⁰ column at Qudeni, with the view of taking part in a driving move against the rebels in and about the Qudeni, and on the way thither C Squadron, under Lieutenant Comrie, joined A Squadron and the whole pushed on to the said objective. On the Qudeni, the N.N.H. which were now for the first time in a body of 200 men, since the N.N.H. began to be subdivided at Dundee, encamped for a few days on the Qudeni awaiting orders to drive the Qudeni Forest and while there encamped, the Regiment had the satisfaction of being reviewed by Colonel McKay who kindly expressed his high satisfaction with the movements and appearance of the Regiment; the said Officer will be able to say what he thought of the Regiment. After being on the Qudeni a few days the N.N.H. were ordered to retrace their steps and operate in the Msinga Division. The Regiment subsequently reached Helpmekaar and on orders from O.C.H.F.F. operated in the Waschbank Valley, Nahlabá and at various places in the Msinga Division, capturing rebels and their stock and handing over to the proper authorities — and on many occasions sending bodies of men in charge of surrendered rebels from Pomeroy to Dundee, and also guarding the Border against the introduction of tickfever infected cattle.

The B Squadron under R.M.S.M. Pope and afterwards under Lieutenant Carlyle Anfield, had in the meantime, about 7th June 1906 been sent down to Rorke's Drift to erect a fortified place, garrison it and guard against cattle crossing into Natal and deal with rebels and any rebellious move in that locality, until the 21st August 1906 when they were ordered to rejoin the main part of the Regiment under Major Moe, at Pomeroy, on their way home for disbandment. On returning to Natal from the Qudeni the 200 men were divided into three parts:- 10 men to assist Colonel Wales at Helpmekaar; 35 Non-Coms and men under R.S.M. Pope to garrison Pomeroy, relieving the N.R.R.²¹ under Captain Mackenzie²²: these were sent in at the end of July 1906. The larger part of the said 200 men were located at Nazareth three miles from the Buffalo River thence to scour the country, capture rebels and their stock, which they did most successfully. On the 18th August the N.N.H. at Nazareth under Captain Samuelson was ordered by Major Moe, who was then O.C. Msinga, since Colonel Wales left, to join him for the purpose of going to P Mburg for disbandment. On August 27th 1906 the main part of the Regiment left Pomeroy for Disbandment, and were reviewed by the Commandant, Militia, and the Honourable the Colonial Treasurer before disbandment: these gentlemen will be able to say what they thought of the N.N.H. Regiment. Thirty-one Non-Coms and men were detailed by Major Moe to remain until further order as a garrison at Pomeroy, and were left under RSM Pope who was then promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. After disbanding the main body Major Moe returned to the men left at Pomeroy, accompanied by Lieut. P.A. Comrie, and on the 16th September 1906 the balance, with the exception of Major Moe, Lieut. Comrie and two Natives, were disbanded.

The behaviour of the Regiment was from start to finish exemplary in every way. Out of the whole Regiment only 15 men committed slight misdemeanors. The anxiety of the whole Regiment was to have a chance of meeting the enemy and proving what it was made of. To show the care with which these men handled their Carbines there was not a single instance of anyone firing off by accident or anyone being damaged by a Carbine. Their zeal for improving was most marked, so much so that their shooting at the end of their service could compare very favourably with the shooting of most volunteer Corps. On their disbandment at P Mburg these men gave a very successful Concert and their special song *The Path of Duty*, "*The Natal Native Horse Refrain*" the words of which are hereto annexed represents the yearnings of most Natives but more especially these men and their relatives who have since 1866 gone out to assist the Government in the troubles of the Colony, but have not yet, in spite of repeated prayers, been formed into a standing portion of the defence forces of Natal. These people have once and for all refuted the slanders against them that they are not worthy of trust: they have been once more out against their own flesh and blood.

It may be interesting to some to know that the Communities from which the N.N.H. were recruited have supplied men to assist the Government in most Native and other troubles of the Colony, and more especially against the Bushmen in 1866, Langalibalele in 1873, the Zulus in 1879, the Boers in 1899, the Natives in the Rebellion of 1906. At Sandlwana there were 100 men called the "*Edendale Horse*" which also served through the Zulu War. When the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York visited the Colony in 1902, 150 men drawn from these Communities were equipped and drilled by R.C. Samuelson under orders from General Dartnell, and took part with other Volunteers in doing honour to the Royal party for which they received high praise together with the

other Volunteers who took part. When the Duke of Connaught visited this Colony, 50 of these men were equipped, drilled and presented to the Duke who, among other things he said to these men, praised them for their appearance.

N.B. Omitted from the Sergeants

Revd Elijah Mdolomba²³ a Native educated in the Cape Colony was the Chaplain of the N N H with rank of Sergeant. [*Added in ink—now in Cape Colony—refer to Stephen Mini who is his father-in-law*] This man proved himself of sterling qualities, and so far as Character was concerned certainly came out as the best of the N N H. His preaching was of the highest order and he also acted as a soldier.

[signed] R. C. Samuelson Capt.
Adjt to N N H

The Path of Duty

“Natal Native Horse Refrain”

The path of duty we have followed,
A true citizens' pride and goal,
Our bodies and blood we have given
For our King and country always
With pure hearts loyally we served,
Shoulder to shoulder we stood,
Side by side our bodies sleep
Together with our English Braves
For ever and aye we are prepared,
For old England and our King,
To battle against every foe
Opposed to our Sovereign and country.
As the flower to heaven upturned,
For life-giving dew's descending,
So to our rulers we hopefully look
For a true and loyal citizen's reward.
Oh what more can be done,
To earn the recognition of our King,
Than to give our life for King and country;
Oh may we receive loyalty's fair reward –
The faith and confidence of our rulers.

NOTES

1. Robert Charles Azariah Samuelson (1858–1934) [Natal Carbineers]. Son of Revd S.M. Samuelsen (1828–1916) who came to Natal in 1851 as a Norwegian Lutheran missionary, but by 1858 had joined the Anglican Church and was missionary at the Umlazi Mission Station, and later at St Paul's Mission Station in Zululand. Robert was an attorney in Pietermaritzburg, and in 1908–9 was Chief Dinuzulu's solicitor during his trial after the Rebellion. As could be expected, coming from missionary stock, Robert had a good understanding of and *rapport* with African people. With the climate of the time being what it was, Samuelson's legal practice suffered serious damage because of his advocacy for justice for Africans. Robert's elder brother Samuel Olaf was the Permanent Under-Secretary for Native Affairs at the time of the

- Rebellion, and as such, constitutionally had no power to intervene on behalf of the Africans. Apparently, taking into account his upbringing, Africans found this difficult to understand. From Meintjes' thesis it appears that Robert and Samuel had divergent views on *amaKholwa* (Christian African) aspirations. His Zulu name was *Vuma Zonke*, i.e. 'agree to everything'.
2. Major George B.O. Moe [Umvoti Mounted Rifles]. Son of Norwegian-born Revd Johannes Moe and Auguste Johanne Adelheid Schreiber (1827–1891). Revd Moe arrived in Natal in Dec. 1859 as a missionary for the Hermannsburg Mission Society and remained with the mission until about the late 1870s. Thereafter he worked as a private missionary. By 1895 Revd Moe and George Moe were farming at *Wilge Spruit* near New Hanover. George was a farmer of *Moe's Rest*, New Hanover, at time of the Rebellion.
 3. John Robinson 'Galloping Jack' Royston (1862–1942) joined the Border Mounted Rifles in 1894, initially serving with them in the Anglo-Boer War, before joining the Volunteer Composite Regiment and then the 2nd Imperial Light Horse. He raised Royston's Horse during the 1906 Rebellion. Royston and his troop are said to have been more ruthless in suppressing rebellion than even Duncan McKenzie.
 4. McCord, founder of Durban's McCord Hospital, struggled with the idea of a missionary being involved in military service, but when he heard that captured rebels were being inhumanely treated, he decided to go in the hopes of alleviating their plight.
 5. *Driefontein* (7 436 acres) in Klip River County was bought by the Edendale community, negotiations commencing in 1867. This was a time of depression in Natal and elsewhere, and the Edendale people were, to quote the words of Johannes Kumalo who became the headman, 'in a state of poverty'. A company was formed and initially forty families moved on to the farm. The deed of trust stipulated that only heirs of the original purchasers could inherit the right to live there, and should an heir be polygynous, the right of inheritance would be forfeited. Also, shareholders could sell their shares only with the approval of the committee of management. The 1877 valuation roll of the Colony shows the land as worth £1 500, with buildings worth £120. In the 1870s when conditions improved, the syndicate bought other land in the area, viz. *Kleinfontein* in 1871 and *Doornhoek* (transferred 1879). With *Driefontein*, these three were known as the Trust farms as their trust deeds were identical. Neighbouring properties were bought later, but as individual tenure was permitted in these cases, they lacked the same cohesiveness. From Samuelson's report one learns that only three Driefontein men were recruited in 1906. Reasons included drought, poor economic conditions, and disillusionment at the Government's renegeing on its earlier promises to raise a permanent volunteer force from among the *amaKholwa*.
 6. Lt.-Col. Archibald Templer Gordon Wales [Natal Militia Force] was one of the three District Commandants of the above in 1906. He was the son of Capt. Douglas Wales (c.1809–1874), Port Captain of Port Louis, Mauritius, and Barbre Amelia Laure de Volpeliere (c.1823–1876). In 1868 Douglas Wales bought *Klein Waterval* in Klip River County, and in 1882 Archibald and his brother Douglas William bought out the interest of their siblings in this farm. In 1888 he was a lieutenant in the Durban Mounted Rifles. In 1895 Wales was resident in Durban's Brickhill Road and was a clerk. He was District Adjutant for Volunteers during the Anglo-Boer War.
 7. Cedara (apparently originally *Ncedaha*) Mission Station developed in the 1860s as one of Edendale's first offshoots. It was on the farm *Riet Spruit*, which was hired for an absent landlord. Adjoining it was *Riet Vallei*, then owned by Dr W.H. Addison. Addison had let this for mission purposes to Revd James Allison on behalf of the Free Church of Scotland. The two communities were separate but shared the same school (held in the Cedara chapel).
 8. Timothy Innyewe Gule (died 1906) was one of Revd James Allison's Swazi converts. He was headman at Edendale from 1873 to 1882. Thereafter he moved to the farm *Nyanyadu* which he and other syndicate members had purchased near Dundee. He was elected headman of this settlement.
 9. Enoch Msimang was of the Hlubi clan which had its origins in Natal's Klip river area, but was scattered by King Shaka. His grandfather sought refuge with Chief Sekonyela of the Tlokwa at Mparane in the eastern part of today's Free State, and became one of the first converts to Christianity at the mission station there. Enoch's father Daniel (born c.1828–29) began his education under Revd Allison at Mparane in about 1842. He accompanied Allison to Swaziland in 1845, was one of his right-hand men at Edendale in the early 1850s, and by 1878 was one of the three senior men heading Edendale's management. Later he became one of the first African Wesleyan ministers, and in the 1880s returned to Swaziland as a missionary. Enoch was the only one of Daniel's nine children to remain at Edendale when the rest of the family moved to *Driefontein* in the 1870s. Although not one of the headmen of Edendale or its offshoots, in 1891 he was nominated as headman in place of Stephanus Mini (who had resigned, but later changed his mind), and in 1892 was appointed one of Edendale's trustees. He was a wheelwright, carpenter and farmer, and one of the wealthier Edendale landlords. Two of Enoch's nephews, sons of his brother Joel, viz. Richard and Henry Selby, were founder members of the South African National Congress in 1906.

10. Stephanus Mzolo Mini, headman at Edendale, 1882–1893. He was born at Fongozi, Zululand in 1825. He is said to have been an escaped Boer slave who landed up at Mparane, where he was converted by Revd James Allison. He was a catechist and local preacher by the time Allison went to Swaziland. From there he followed Allison to Indaleni, and later Edendale where he became one of the ‘inner core’ of the Church and village elders. He was one of Edendale’s busiest traders until the 1880s, but by 1891 was on the point of losing all his property. His son Stephen saved him by purchasing it. During his period of office the headship evolved to that of chief, due to the changes in economic circumstances in the 1880s and his assumption of chiefly powers. He considered that his family, part of the Mzolo clan, held a certain importance in society which should be recognised. Also by Law 19/1891 Kholwa (i.e. Christian) headmen were given the status of chiefs. His assumption of the status of a chief met with opposition among a number of Edendale residents.
11. Johannes Hlabati Kumalo (born c.1809) had been in King Dingane’s Dhlambedhlu Regiment. In 1854, when Bishop Colenso visited Edendale he met with the twelve chief men of the station. From his writings it appears that Johannes was then the headman. Revd Allison described Johannes to Colenso as ‘a very wise man. Whenever he spoke every mouth was closed, and his judgment which was never given hastily, was sure to guide the rest’. Johannes was succeeded at *Driefontein* by his grandson Joseph.
12. Major James Dick [Durban Light Infantry]. Appears as a Brevet Lt.-Col. in the 1906 *Natal Almanac* Military list. Seconded during the Rebellion to the Natal Rangers and commanded a special service battalion of 800, 300 recruited from Natal (mainly Durban) and 500 from the Transvaal. Commanded the DLI, 1914–15.
13. Not copied.
14. Nazareth Mission Station west of Helpmekeer.
15. Stephen Mini, described by Dr McCord as ‘a tall and serious native who spoke English with the utmost precision’, succeeded his father as chief in 1893. He was the second largest landowner in Edendale. In 1883 he bought *Eden* on the western border of the Mpendle Location, renaming it *Kwa Tunzi*. Complaints against him as chief arose from his frequent absences at *Kwa Tunzi* and elsewhere, his high-handedness and lack of respect in dealing with his council, his assumption of power over the exempted Africans as well as the unexempted, and his acting as middle man between the locals and white moneylenders (to his own advantage).
16. Walter Scott Shepstone (1857–1935) [Natal Carbineers]. Brevet Lt.-Col. and son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone (1817–1893). Had served as a captain in his brother Theophilus jun.’s ‘Shepstone’s Basuto Horse’ in the Anglo-Zulu War. Land surveyor. Zulu name *uKhanda* (man with brains).
17. Capt. Charles M.S. Forsbrook
18. Not copied.
19. Officer Commanding Helpmekeer Field Force.
20. Lt.-Colonel David Watt Mackay [Natal Carbineers]. Had served in the Matabele War (1896). Farmer, *Dalton*, Estcourt in 1906. Commander of the regiment’s left wing during the uprising. Commanding officer 1911–20.
21. Natal Royal Regiment.
22. Capt. A. McKenzie,
23. Revd Elijah Modlamba was Edendale’s Methodist minister in 1906.

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