

Division in which Tribe resides.	Name of Tribe.	Name of Chief or Headman appointed.	Number of Huts.
Lower Tagela ...	Amagwabi	Umzwangedwa ...	202
Unlazi ...	Tolani	George Ogle ...	524
Ixopo and Ipoela ...	Bekani	"	185
"	Amacunu	Gande-duze ...	659
Umsinga ...	"	Sandanezwe ...	237
Klip River ...	"	"	174
"	"	"	517
Ixopo and Ipoela ...	Abambo	Maranie ...	691
Weenen ...	Amabaso	Ufaku ...	147
Umsinga ...	Amaganya	Ukwengco ...	2,429
"	Amashiya	Myombi ...	203
Klip River ...	Amahlubi	Umsiti ...	341
Newcastle ...	"	Unkubana ...	1,273
Ixopo and Ipoela ...	"	Maivane ...	99
Weenen ...	Amabele	Undomba ...	1,020
"	Amangati	Usigeyana ...	191
"	Abasutu (Hlubi)	Stoffel ...	110
Ixopo and Ipoela ...	Ehlangwini	Umdaza ...	189
"	"	Umnyamana ...	681
Alexandra ...	Umbelelela	T. Joyce ...	71
"	Izinkumbi	George Fynn ...	967
Alfred ...	"	Charles Fynn ...	329
Alexandra ...	Izembe	Umakama ...	512
Alfred ...	Amatikwe	Jojo ...	179
Ixopo and Ipoela ...	Amaduna	Sakayedwa ...	314
"	"	Ramuewana ...	478

Totals : — Tribes 31 }
 Deduct Tribes }
 counted amongst Hereditary Chiefs... 15 }
 — 16 }
 Appointed Chiefs or Headmen ... 46 }
 Number of Huts, 24,727.

Division in which each Tribe resides.	Name of each Tribe.	Name of Headman in charge.	Number of Huts.
Umgeni ...	Amacakwe ...	Silwana ...	151
Alexandra ...	Amacele ...	Mabotshana ...	395
"	Amabele ...	Umabiyi ...	198
"	"	Umxindo ...	53
"	Amahombo ...	Umtakuleli ...	134
"	Amadlange ...	Umtabela ...	81
"	Amahlala ...	Umhlova ...	136
"	Amahlongwa ...	Ubafo ...	66
"	Ulutyaba ...	Umboitywa ...	119
"	Amanyafu ...	Umdimindwana ...	97
"	Esinyameni ...	Unkaiyana ...	146
"	Abakanewana ...	Uzulu ...	48
Upper Umkomanzi	Abakwabele ...	Uzuko ...	192
"	Amaganzi ...	Ushindi ...	168
"	Ehlangwini ...	Ukaiyshani ...	87
			2,071

Making Identities in the Thukela-Mzimvubu Region c.1770–c.1940

John Wright

The region between the Thukela and Mzimvubu rivers constitutes the southern portion of what is now the province of KwaZulu-Natal and the northern portion of the province of Eastern Cape. Since the 1920s and 1930s, the African inhabitants of the KwaZulu-Natal portion have been widely categorised by scholars, administrators and politicians of all stripes as belonging to a more or less homogeneous 'tribal' grouping labelled 'Zulu', and those of the Eastern Cape portion as belonging to a somewhat less homogeneous, but still distinctive grouping labelled 'Xhosa'. These have not necessarily always been identities claimed by the people to whom they are applied. The identity of the Zulu as a group is commonly supposed to date back to the Zulu conquests under Shaka in the 1820s, while the origins of Xhosa identity are supposed to lie in a more remote period now lost to traditional knowledge. These notions quite fail to capture the fact that for more than two centuries collective identities in the region have been shaped and reshaped in a series of complex historical processes that have brought into being and given a variety of collective names to a wide range of social groupings. Their amalgamation into two broad 'tribal' categories by the early twentieth century is itself a product of these processes. Drawing on academic research conducted since the 1960s, this essay examines the history of identity-making in the region, with a view to identifying and explaining the best-documented changes that took place during the period from the late eighteenth century, when they first become visible in the historical record, to the 1920s and 1930s, when modern 'tribal' identities became more or less fixed.

Before the 1960s the assumption was mostly unquestioned in both scholarly and popular thinking that African people had 'traditionally' (that is, always) lived in bounded 'tribes', each of which was made up mostly of members who shared a common descent and a common tribal culture and identity.¹ The existence of tribes seemed to be unproblematically rooted both in observational evidence and in what African people had to say about their own histories and their own group identities. It was only in the 1960s and 1970s that Africanist and other scholars began to mount a sustained critique of essentialist ideas of 'tribe' and to open the way for the development of historicised notions, not only of African political and social organisation, but also of cultural consciousness and – by extension – of collective identities. It is significant that critiques of tribal identities as

Figure 1 (opposite).
 Page 45 from the official list of 'tribes' in Natal. Natal Government, *Report of Natal Native Commission, 1881–2*, Pietermaritzburg, 1882, Schedule No 3A to Appendix G

¹ P. Skalnik, 'Tribe as Colonial Category' in *South African Keywords: The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts*, edited by E. Boonzaier and J. Sharp, Cape Town: David Phillip, 1988, pp. 68–70; N. Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815–1854*, Harlow: Longman, 2001, pp. 6–8, 344–6.