

A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising) as reported by J. L. Dube in *Ilanga Lase Natal*, with special focus on Dube's attitude to Dinuzulu as indicated in his reportage on the treason trial of Dinuzulu.

Moses Muziwandile Hadebe

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Faculty of Human and Social Sciences
University of Natal
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Declaration

I Moses Muziwandile Hadebe, hereby declare the content of this thesis is entirely my own original work.

Moses Muziwandile Hadebe
June, 2003

Dr Keith Breckenridge
June, 2003

Abstract

The thesis explores not only the history but also the competing histories of 1906. It is however no claim to represent the entire history - undoubtedly a period of great complexity, and a time of tragedy for the African people that culminated in their conquest. My exploration of the history relies heavily on the reportage of J. L. Dube in his newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*. A close analysis of Dube's reports points to a number of crucial aspects, such as the fundamental importance of the *amakhosi*/chiefs, the clear determination of the Natal settler government to break and undermine the power of the *amakhosi*, the central significance of the issue of land and the closely related matter of taxation. All these are contextualized in the African setting - homesteads and cattle, with their profound traditional influence for many reasons in Zulu culture. My exploration and analysis has been carried out by looking concurrently at the usage of metaphor, words and language in the newspaper, the impact of which is mesmerising. The translation and interpretation of the *Ilanga* texts needs someone inside the culture to understand Dube's attitude and insight into the events centred around Dinuzulu, whom the amaZulu looked up to as their legitimate monarchy from the lineage of the Zulu kings. The petition of Dube on behalf of amaZulu, urging Dinuzulu's innocence, clearly demonstrates the power of the intensely symbolic, metaphorical and rich isiZulu language, used by the editor in the service of their king. One gets a sense of a strong Zulu nationalism rooted in the history of the kingdom, well captured in Dinuzulu's obituary. The thesis explores *Ilanga Lase Natal* as a contrasting voice in relation to the

colonial mainstream historiography of James Stuart's monograph: *A History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906 and Dinuzulu's Arrest, Trial and Expatriation*.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

J L Dube, Editor of *Ilanga Lase Natal* and Dinuzulu's "Imbongi"¹

¹ "Professional praiser, one of whom is attached to the court of every ... chief, to proclaim publicly the praises of this latter ... on certain grand occasions or public festivals." See A. T. Bryant. *A Zulu-English Dictionary*. Mariannhill Mission Press: Pinetown, 1905, p.46. In an interview with Sunday Tribune journalist Bheko Madlala the King Zwelithini's *imbongi* – praise poet Buzeleni Mdlethse defines *imbongi*

This thesis unpacks and explores the reports in a local Durban IsiZulu-language newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, about the so-called 'Bhambada Rebellion'. The use of a contemporary IsiZulu-language source in this research, supplemented by interviews with descendants of some of the players involved, enables me to offer a new perspective on the violent events that took place in Natal and Zululand in 1906.

My choice of terminology is influenced by my main sources. Although the name of Bhambada² is spelt variously as Bambata or Bhambatha in the official documents, versions that seem to have been accepted by earlier scholars, in this thesis I will use the spelling Bhambada except in quotations. In conversation with people on the ground in Greytown (in particular Ngome where the Zondi chiefdom is situated) uMsinga and Weenen areas I have found that this spelling is more generally used. The 1906 upheavals are referred to as *impi yamakhanda*³ in this work, the term by which it was popularly

(praise singer) as “one of the most trusted people close to the king. He should be loyal at all times and should not be venal because if he is, he could be bribed by people who have sinister motives. A praise singer provides a link between the king and his ancestors. Every day he has to wake up early in the morning and talk to ancestors. In a way, a praise singer acts as an adviser to the king and a prophet because he has divine powers to tell what the future holds for the present ruler. Praise singing is our traditional way of communicating with our ancestors. When a king goes to sleep, a praise singer should first talk to ancestors”. See *Sunday Tribune*, March 23rd 2003.

² “The name should more correctly be spelt Bambadha, and not Bambata”. See H. C. Lugg. *Historic Natal and Zululand*. Shuter and Shooter: Pietermaritzburg, 1949. p. 72. It is interesting to note that Lugg did not use the correct spelling throughout his book although having been exposed to the correct one; he decided to go along with the mainstream history of the establishment. The first African historian Magesa M. Fuze spelt the name as Bhambada in his book: *Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa Bavela Ngakona*. Pietermaritzburg: City Printing Works, 1922. p. 244. Other texts are: A. T. Bryant. *Olden times of Zululand and Natal: Containing Earlier Political History of the Eastern – Nguni Clans*. Longmans, Green: London, 1929. *A history of the Zulu and the neighboring tribes*. Struik: Cape Town, 1964, p. 367.

³ The two versions of the spelling of Bhambada and my decision to call the ‘1906 incident’ *impi yamakhanda* are central to my thesis and I go fully into their explanation later, but throughout the thesis I shall use the terms used by Dube and his newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal* as well as the terms used generally by black people with reference to the events of 1906 both then and even today. This I hope will go to the core of my thesis, the IsiZulu view versus the conjured official one.

known amongst the black people, and the term by which it was described in *Ilanga Lase Natal*. I consider the term *impi yamakhanda* appropriate because the imposition of British imperialism in Natal and Zululand (perhaps everywhere in Africa) had long been accepted as an accomplished fact, thus the ‘resistance’ in 1906 occurred within a colonial state. It was not an attempt to topple the government.

For the purposes of this research, the role that *Ilanga Lase Natal* and its editor (John Langalibalele Dube) played in informing the public has been investigated, interrogated and interpreted. Many historians have written extensively about *impi yamakhanda* from different perspectives, but very few have been equipped with the IsiZulu language to be able to understand the nexus implicit in Dube's newspaper articles, reports and the letters that he published.

Thus a detailed analysis of *Ilanga Lase Natal* is the major thrust of this thesis, in which I will seek to use the newspaper as source for a particular approach to and perspective on *impi yamakhanda*. I will attempt to validate my assertions by giving brief contextualizing historical facts regarding the sequence of events in the period 1906 to 1913 which have a bearing on Dube's background, journalistic content and style and the response of *Ilanga's* amaZulu readership. Dube was of the *ikholwa* (Christian believer) elite who at that time in history may be seen as giving a voice to the illiterate majority of his people. The newspaper will provide a prism through which to examine the multi-faceted perspective of *amakholwa*, the elite, on the issue of *impi yamakhanda* and its aftermath. A very close analysis of the editorial policy of *Ilanga Lase Natal* will give an insight into the viewpoint of John Langalibalele⁴ Dube whose newspaper effectively

⁴ His name means the Scorching Son.

became the 'voice of the voices' that is to say the voice of the majority. At times the articles in the newspaper reflected the voice of the majority as the 'voice of the voiceless'. I believe, therefore, that it will be very exciting to subject *impi yamakhanda* to a new fresh analysis in this thesis.

John Langalibalele 'Mafukuzela' kaJames kaDabeka kaDube kaSilwane Ngcobo was born in Natal in 1871. He was “named after the Hlubi chief whose innovative spirit James (J. L. Dube’s father) admired”.⁵ He belonged to the royal family of the Ngcobo people (who are also known as amaQadi), as he was iQadi. It must be indicated that J. L. Dube’s name Mafukuzela⁶ is not to be confused with the *abakwaDube* (Dube people); he was not Dube but Ngcobo. He was named after his grandfather Dube as indicated below in the family tree of the Ngcobo royal family. Inkosi Mqhawe kaDebeka kaDube kaSilwane Ngcobo was his uncle. His father Reverend James kaDube Ngcobo was one of the first ordained pastors of the American Zulu Mission, and Mafukuzela himself was educated at Inanda and the Amanzimtoti Theological School (later Adams College). His father James died in 1878.⁷ In 1887 J. L. Dube went abroad to the United States of

⁵ Heather Hughes. “Doubly Elite: Exploring the life of John Langalibalele Dube”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, (2001), p. 449.

⁶ *Fukuzela* (a verb) means: lift the head up continually, as a person bobbing along under a heavy load; hence, be heavily laden, with a burden, load of ornament, passion, be strenuous, exert one’s-self, to do any thing; be heavy with clouds, as the horizon, when a storm is at hand=*Hloma*, but be stronger. See Rev. J. W. Colenso. *Zulu-English Dictionary*. P. Davis and Sons: Maritzburg and Durban, 1884. p. 144. uMafukuzela: an energetic person. See R. C. Samuelson. *King Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary*. p. 111. uMafukuzela: praise-name of Dr. John L. Dube. See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. Compiled by C. M. Doke, D. M. Malcom, J. M. A. Sikhakhane and B. W. Vilakazi (Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg) p. 475. I feel tempted to point out that, “it is common in Zulu society to have both one’s real name and a praise name or names. Praise names often describe one’s heroic achievements or outstanding quality of behavior”. Thus Dube is referred to as uMafukuzela - the one who works tirelessly or an industrious man. See Mazisi Kunene. *Emperor Shaka The Great, A Zulu Epic*. Heinemann: Johannesburg, 1979, p. xxviii.

⁷ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, (2001), p. 450.

America with a Natal missionary W. C. Wilcox of the Congregation of the American Board Mission. He studied at Oberlin College for five years, doing odd jobs in order to finance his education. While abroad Booker T. Washington profoundly influenced him.

He was “a Pastor of the American Board of Missions”. He was “a brilliant man” who in 1903 “started the newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal*” which means the Sun of Natal. He also founded Ohlange Institute Industrial School in 1904 along the lines of Tuskegee Institute of Washington in Alabama. On the broader political front he was also one of the founder members of the Natal Native Congress. Dube was “the first African to be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of South Africa”.⁸

The first edition of *Ilanga Lase Natal* has other significant strengths that bring words to life. Dube’s words cannot do justice to their power and beauty. They are words selected by Dube creating a work of art in themselves. Dube's designs create the perfect backdrop to the columns/episodes that tell the story. Dube identified and translated the essentials of great design to the requirements of traditional isiZulu story telling. When one reads Dube’s articles/editorial columns written about ten decades ago, it is interesting to note that some were written up in pithy, direct speech that reads like a film script. He would write as if he was talking to the black people. That was clearly conveyed by the use of poems of excellence written by black people. A good example of this is *izibongo zeNkosi uDinuzulu* – the heroic poems (poems of excellence⁹) of King Dinuzulu, and

⁸ T. V. Bulpin. *Natal and the Zulu Country*. Cape Town, Cape and Transvaal Printers Limited, 1966. p. 338.

⁹ “Poems of excellence are so designated because of their social strategy – namely that of elevating highest desirable qualities in society. They have been wrongly described as praise poems. However they do more than praise and are more complex. Rather, they project an ethical system beyond the circumstances of the individual. Thus, individuals are heroes so long as they fulfill the roles defined for them by society. If they become arrogant and disrespectful of elders (guardians of social order) they are mercilessly lampooned and demoted. This is summarized in the saying: ‘Never praise anyone when they

indeed Dinuzulu's praises appeared in a number of editions of *Ilanga Lase Natal*, in particular when Dinuzulu was charged with high treason and incarcerated. This might indicate that Dube adopted the role of *imbongi* – bard for the amaZulu but in a more modern way, using the latest technology (print media) of the time. Just like a shield and a spear have come to be an embodiment of Zulu tradition, praise singing is an ancient art, which has been practised for centuries in Africa.

I feel inclined to point out that the expression of poems of excellence in a Zulu culture is not without significance. As suggested above, by including *izibongo zikaDinuzulu* in a newspaper Dube acted as an *imbongi*¹⁰ (bard/professional praiser) for Dinuzulu and he had a specific purpose. Dube included what Professor Kunene calls “fragments, since their full meaning can only be realized through a performance in a social context. They may seem obscure to those readers unacquainted with Zulu history but they are so inherently a part of Zulu life that omitting them in a Zulu historical epic would reduce its quality”.¹¹ Therefore I shall attempt a close analysis of Dube’s use of idioms and select choice of words so as to derive a new insight into *impi yamakhanda*. A major difficulty in this thesis is that English translations cannot do full justice to the power and beauty of Dube’s use of IsiZulu idioms. However, I hope that the translations will give a better understanding of the events as they unfolded.

are still alive’. The greatest exponents of this social doctrine are the poets whose freedom of speech is jealously guarded by society. The national poet is not a court poet who is hired by and speaks for the aristocracy, but a representative of the society”. See *Emperor Shaka the Great, A Zulu Epic*. p. xxix-xxx.

¹⁰ *Imbongi* is a person whose vocation is to utter in a loud demonstratory voice the praises of kings, heroes and ancestors. See *King Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary*. p. 34. Mdletshe (a praise poet of the current king of amaZulu King Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu Cyprian kaSolomon Maphumuzana kaDinuzulu kaCetshwayo) says a praise singer looks at different events – happy and sad in the life of a reigning monarch and gives meaning to them by way of praise singing. See *Sunday Tribune*, March 23rd 2003.

¹¹ See *Emperor Shaka the Great, A Zulu Epic*. p. xxx

The contemporary colonial authorities debated amongst themselves whether to close down the newspaper, as the Natal government was suspicious of Dube. He was thus summoned a number of times to give some account to the colonial officials for the articles that appeared in his paper. It might have been his strategy to play hide and seek with the authorities by employing the art of playing with words.

Dube's attitude in selecting specific terms in describing the events will be analysed so as to get his own political perspective or own understanding of the events. He regularly used eight to ten specific terms when referring to *impi yamakhanda* as will be demonstrated in the thesis. The eight terms that he frequently used were: *isidumo*,¹² *uthuli*,¹³ *isikhwishikhwishi/isikhwishi*,¹⁴ *umsindo*,¹⁵ *uchuku*,¹⁶ *iziyalu*,¹⁷ *isiphithiphithi*¹⁸ and *udweshu*.¹⁹ There were a number of times (but not as frequently as the eight terms listed above) that he used *ukulwa* (fighting) and *impi* (war especially when he referred to the fighting at Nkandla). At times Dube used the word *impi* when referring to the black

¹² *Isidumo* means: "Sudden disaster; cataclysm; brawl; riot; great commotion". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 174.

¹³ *Uthuli* means: "Dust; commotion; disturbance; general quarrel". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 805.

¹⁴ *Isikhwishikhwishi* means: "strong, gusty wind; commotion". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 427.

¹⁵ *Umsindo* means: "quarrel; uproar". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 758.

¹⁶ *Uchuku* means: "quarrelsome; irritating nature, that which continually cause variance or faction; trouble; fighting; disturbance; brawl". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 116.

¹⁷ *Iziyalu* means: "unintelligible; muddle-up affair; commotion (of people or animals)". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 873.

¹⁸ *Isiphithiphithi* means: "confusion; commotion; swarming about; muddled; confused affair". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 666.

¹⁹ *Udweshu* means: "endless quarrel; vendetta". See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 179.

forces.

Amongst the black people *Ilanga Lase Natal* was seen as 'an authentic representation' of their history, judging by the letters sent to the editor about *impi yamakhandu*, and about the arrest and the treason trial of Dinuzulu, his incarceration as well as his death. The newspaper was a mouthpiece for the black people, seemingly not only for the people in Natal and Zululand but also for black people beyond the borders of these territories. *Ilanga Lase Natal* provided the black people with a forum where they aired their views/grievances and engaged in consultation with one another. It served as a new *ibandla* – council/assembly whereby men discussed various issues related to governance, administration, family matters, topical issues and many other matters. Thus *Ilanga* created a space for the voiceless to be heard. The newspaper had a very wide circulation amongst the blacks in Natal Colony, Zululand and in other colonies (which were later provinces after the formation of the Union of South Africa in May 1910). One feels obliged to argue that Dube's intention about Dinuzulu seemed to be rooted in the needs and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the colonised people, namely the colonized people of colonies such as Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Cape Colony, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. It is arguable that he believed that these people needed an icon such as Dinuzulu so that in some way they could be aware of their colonial past.

He incorporated at times elements of both Western and Zulu culture, creating something new in the process 'as the events unfolded'. He moves with ease and conviction in the columns of his newspaper, moving from topic to topic in a way that might be perceived as disjointed in the hands of a less skilled writer. He helped create

the ebb and flow of the story, highlighting highs and stressing the lows with style and understanding, but never looking for sensation. There is power and commitment in his style, adding power to the effect of the whole production.

Dube made an outstanding contribution to the historiography of the province and deserves accolades for his commitment to honest reporting and ethical journalism. This is attributed to his attempts to report in detail the events as they happened. One could argue that his reportage was the first historical account of the *impi yamakhanda* starting from *isidumo sokulwa e Richmond* – the brawl of fighting in Richmond (the event that preceded the 'Bhambada rebellion'), encompassing the saga of Bhambada and the fighting at eNkandla, the events in kwaMaphumulo and other areas as well as the relationship between Dinuzulu and the Natal colonial government. His reportage on *impi yamakhanda* is a monumental work for which he will be remembered by the generations to come. Dube's work related to the events of 1906 is so huge that it would be doing him an injustice to claim that its analysis and interpretation could be covered in this thesis.

Interestingly, Dube began much earlier than the outbreak of the "rebellion" to report about the poll tax, and the reaction to it on the part of the black people. Interestingly too he believed that the poll tax should be paid, but with the proviso that in the mean time blacks should have the right to organize and send a delegation to the government authorities concerned. It is difficult to establish why he thought it was right to pay tax. Was it because he was educated in the West and therefore understood the operations of government? Was it because he understood the role of civil society and its moral obligation to the state? Was it because as a pastor he did not want war? Was it

because as an *ikholwa* he was a pacifist?

Ilanga Lase Natal treads un-trodden paths, weaves unwoven patterns and tells untold tales 'of ordinary people'. It is with the above submissions that I believe that this dissertation will bring a new fresh analysis of *impi yamakhanda*. Prominent, distinguished and well-respected historians have written much about the *impi yamakhanda*, but none of them has looked at the 'alternative voice' of 1906 because of language constraints.

No attempt is made here at all to downplay the tremendous work done by James Stuart in the field of oral history. Stuart had, it is said, an unquestionable and remarkable knowledge of IsiZulu. There is no way that one can do research regarding *impi yamakhanda* without looking at his book, *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906*, which was published in 1913. His book is far broader than Bosman's book referred to below. From 1906 to 1909 he took depositions from the so-called rebels and officials and had access to military bulletins, as well as to the views of chiefs and civil servants. Furthermore, Stuart as a participant in 1906 gives what might be called 'inside information'. His account is regarded as "reliable and authoritative" and it is the most "comprehensive account of the 1906 Rebellion".²⁰

It is interesting perhaps to note a different analysis of Stuart's book: Swart comments that, "he received a government subsidy for his book on the Bambata rebellion and despite its merits it must be borne in mind that he made it his duty to whitewash government policy throughout. In any case, as he had been personally involved he could

²⁰ Ingrid Mary Perrett. "Dinuzulu and the Bambata Rebellion." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Natal University, 1978. p. iii.

hardly be impartial”.²¹ But Stuart knew what kind of a story he wanted to tell to his audience, primarily a colonial community, and he was no fool, he had his own political agenda. It is important that this colonial history should be looked at alongside Dube's account (or an alternative voice). In fact, I plan to argue this contrast in the body of the thesis in order to thus clarify my contentions about Dube's reportage. James Stuart's book is self-evidently a colonial historiography where resistance was futile.

Stuart reported the events as a Zulu Rebellion hence the title of his book. He concurred with the majority of the white colonists that, for instance, Dinuzulu was behind *impi yamakhanda*. It is indeed against this very argument that I think the unpacking of the *Ilanga Lase Natal* articles is relevant and appropriate. Consistently, throughout the successive issues of *Ilanga Lase Natal*, Dube maintained the innocence of Dinuzulu. In fact Dube enthusiastically embraced Dinuzulu. *Ilanga Lase Natal* even stated that if Dinuzulu had sanctioned *impi yamakhanda* the whole Zulu nation would have been involved. The amaZulu looked up to Dinuzulu as their king despite the fact that the colonial authorities had demoted him so that he was on a par with ordinary chiefs. In a number of times Dube would refer to him as Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo (the son of King Cetshwayo), Dube's usage here emphasizes Dinuzulu's lineage, he was the descended of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Dube believed that those who were enemies of the amaZulu wanted Dinuzulu to be found guilty of high treason.

Another significant factor was that *Ilanga Lase Natal* reported the events as they unfolded because it was a weekly publication. Stuart on the other hand relied on the memories of his informants some time later. Here the dispute is not about the accuracy

²¹ L. Swart. “The work of Harriet Emily Colenso in relationship to Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo culminating in the Treason Trial of 1908 – 09”. Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Natal, p. 134.

of the matter but about the timing of the events. It is an open secret that some of the informants were the 'loyal' blacks. Some witnesses were even bribed during the court trials to implicate Dinuzulu. This might make one question the veracity of their depositions.

This study of *Ilanga Lase Natal* provides an African viewpoint on the existing historiography of the present KwaZulu Natal in the period round about 1906. There was no evidence that *impi yamakhanda* of 1906 was aimed at overthrowing the Natal colonial government. This might be the reason why Dube never referred to it as a rebellion. Instead there was evidence that it was the resistance against the payment of *imali yekhanda* (to use *Ilanga Lase Natal's* terminology meaning head money/tax) - Poll Tax. All the incidents that occurred were driven by the attitude of defiance that blacks demonstrated to white magistrates that visited various chiefdoms to collect *imali yekhanda*. The participants in the *impi yamakhanda* had a secret code or greeting they used amongst themselves. One would ask: “*Utela-pi?* – Where do you pay tax?”. The response would be: “*insumansumane*²² *imali yamakhanda*”.²³ They wanted to identify themselves as being distinct from the collaborators ('loyal' blacks). From this greeting it is clear that blacks did not understand the Poll Tax. They took up arms against the payment of *insumansumane*. There was sufficient evidence from all incidents prior, during and after the trial of the participants in *impi yamakhanda* and the trial of Dinuzulu that the resistance was aimed at the payment of the poll tax. If the events of 1906 had

²² *Insumansumane* means 1. something extraordinary, absurd, incomprehensible. 2. Folk tale; fairy story. See *English – Zulu Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 600.

²³ *Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa Bavela Ngakona*. p. 247.

indeed been an attempt to overthrow the colonial government it would have required the sanction of the Zulu king, who as far as the amaZulu were concerned was Dinuzulu.

In outline the story of *insumansumane* can be summarised as follows. The actual date for the collection of *imali yekhanda* – poll tax - was 20th January 1906. On 17th January 1906 Henry Smith a farmer was stabbed to death at his home in Umlaas Road because he had forced his workers to pay *imali yekhanda* in advance. On 7th February Inkosi (Chief) Mveli warned the magistrate of uMngeni Division T. R. Bennet who was collecting tax about the presence of twenty-seven men of his chiefdom who were armed with spears. On 8th February the Natal Police arrested the men they wanted at Trewirgie farm owned by Henry Hosking in the Richmond area. When the crowd demanded their release, a conflict began; one black man was shot and killed which resulted in the killing of Sub-Inspector Sidney Hunt and Trooper G. Armstrong.

The Governor Sir Henry McCallum proclaimed Martial Law in the Natal colony on 10th February. One thousand troops under Lieutenant – Colonel Duncan Mackenzie were sent to the trouble spot and on 13th February the area was searched and the homesteads and crops were destroyed. On the following day two blacks were arrested, tried by court martial, found guilty, sentenced to death and were publicly shot. Twenty-three of them were court-martialled in Richmond between 12th and 19th March. Twelve of them were sentenced to death and they were shot in public in the presence of black people from various chiefdoms on 2nd April. This was despite strong opposition from Britain.

In Mid-Illovo the colonists were in trouble with Inkosi Tilongo Mkhize. The

same applied to Inkosi Miskofile in Ixopho. On the North coast at kwaMaphumulo, Inkosi Ngobizembe Ntuli's people were reported to have demonstrated defiance at Allen's Store when the magistrate went to collect tax on the 22nd January. Another similar incident took place in the same district at Butler's Store at Insuze on 29th and 30th January. There was also another incident at Gaillard's Store in eMvoti. On 24th February a combined force under Colonel Leuchars was sent to the Ntuli chiefdom. Inkosi Ngobizembe's *umuzi* was burnt down on 5th March when he failed to comply with the ultimatum to surrender and hand over the men that were allegedly resisting payment of the poll tax. Inkosi Ngobizembe was arrested and fined 1 200 head of cattle and 3 500 goats.

On the South coast iNkosi Charlie Fynn was charged and fined 1 500 head of cattle because his people staged a demonstration when Magistrate J. L Knight was on duty collecting tax. His *izinduna* were also arrested. Fynn was charged at uMzinto on 15th March.

INkosi Bhambada Zondi was at loggerheads with the Greytown magistrate J.W. Cross for a very long time regarding a variety of issues including *imali yekhanda*. Two days after the public shooting of the twelve black people in Richmond, Bhambada unexpectedly attacked the white police force under Colonel Mansel. The police force was travelling from Keats Drift on their way to Greytown escorting white women and children. Three white men were killed, four wounded and one went missing. Bent on revenge the authorities sent a combined force under Colonel Leuchars to the area. Bhambada's *umuzi* was surrounded and set alight but the combined force could not fight

iNkosi Bhambada. They found Sergeant Brown's body when they searched the forest and his body was mutilated. Bhambada had crossed the uThukela River into Zululand.

In Zululand Dinuzulu had persuaded his followers to pay tax as early as 17th January whereas the collection was to begin on the 20th January 1906. A number of other *amakhosi* (chiefs) also paid tax. Dinuzulu was in a tricky position because *amakhosi* both in Natal and Zululand had consulted him about the payment of *imali yekhanda*. He told them that he had paid and therefore they should also pay. The nation looked up to him as their king although he had been demoted and officially was like any other inkosi - chief.

However, famous *amakhosi* and other influential people supported Bhambada. Amongst others were iNkosi Mehlokazulu Ngobese, iNkosi Sigananda Shezi, Mangathi Ntuli, Chakijana Sithole and there were many others. The terrain where they chose to make a stand was at eNkandla. When the fighting at eNkandla was crushed and the colonials believed that the resistance had been put down, instead the fighting spread to kwaMaphumulo, south of uThukela River on the soil of colonial Natal.

Impi yamakhanda divided black people because there were those that collaborated with the colonial masters against their people. In short the results of *impi yamakhanda* were very disastrous for the black people, largely because of the ruthless methods of the state, who over many years had implemented a policy of divide and rule. In fact the naked violence of the state towards the black people was obvious. Through his newspaper Dube attempted to reconcile those who had been divided for decades (during the Langalibalele rebellion 1873²⁴, Anglo Zulu War 1879²⁵, Zulu Civil War²⁶ and *impi*

²⁴ See John Wright and Andrew Manson. *The Hlubi Chiefdom in Zululand-Natal: A History*. Ladysmith: Ladysmith Historical Society, 1983.

*yamakhandas*²⁷), which spread untold suffering and misery in all the black communities of Natal and Zululand. Dube must be acknowledged and appreciated as he promoted much needed reconciliation amongst the amaZulu people.

To crown it all the Natal government tried by all means to implicate Dinuzulu. He was arrested and charged with treason and his trial continued for a long time. The state could not prove that he was guilty of treason. In the end he was found guilty of sheltering Bhambada's wife (Siyekiwe) and children (Kholekile, Ndabayakhe and Nonkoboshe). He was sentenced to imprisonment for four years and then released and exiled to Northern Transvaal in 1910 where he died in 1913.

It was a tragic event that he was allowed to die in exile. He died at an early age of 43. Although he had been released at the time of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when the government granted a blanket amnesty to many prisoners, (including Mesni Qwabe, Ndlovu Zulu, Tilongo Mkhize) the Union Government, just like the Natal colonial government, did not forgive him and would not allow him to return to Zululand.

Although I have already discussed the contribution of James Stuart to the historiography of the events of 1906, I will in concluding this introduction comment briefly on some other historical works that deal with the resistance of 1906 and its aftermath.

In 1970 an Africanist historian Shula Marks wrote a thought-provoking

²⁵ See D. Morris. *The Washing of the Spears*. London, 1966.

²⁶ See Jeff Guy. *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879 – 1884*. London: Longman, 1979.

²⁷ Shula Marks. *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

monograph about the so-called rebellion of 1906. Her account is a very intense and detailed one regarding every aspect of *impi yamakhanda*. This book, entitled: *Reluctant rebellion the 1906 – 8 disturbances in Natal*, was published six and half decades after *impi yamakhanda* had taken place. Her approach to the events had nationalistic aspirations and was influenced by the winds of change that were sweeping through the continent of Africa at the time. In 1970 it was only Southern Africa, namely the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique that had not yet won independence from white minority regimes in the whole continent of Africa. Marks asserts that blacks did not want to rebel but that resistance was imposed upon them by the colonial state, hence the title *reluctant rebellion*. She attributed the resistance to a number of factors such as scarcity of resources, in areas such as Nkandla, Nquthu as well as in Greytown, where the Zondi chiefdom was located on what had formerly been their own land but which had been alienated and was now farmland privately owned by whites.

A first-hand account of the events of 1906 was a book written by Captain Walter Bosman. His book was called *The Natal Rebellion of 1906* written in 1907. He was an eyewitness as he was an army officer during the *impi yamakhanda*. This book describes how the outnumbered settlers/colonists defended the Natal Colony against the overwhelming majority of the black warriors. It is mainly about the military operations. However, he strongly felt that Dinuzulu was innocent of leading any resistance, and was loyal to the Natal settler government. He had this to say about Dinuzulu, “Dinuzulu could have plunged this country into a general rising if he had so chosen. He did not do so. He evidently foresaw the fate of the rebels; and wisely remained loyal to the

British”.²⁸

This view was totally refuted by Ingrid Mary Perrett in 1960 who believed that Dinuzulu was not innocent of any complicity because he wanted to be reinstated as a king of the amaZulu. She based her argument against that of Bosman on the grounds that he had written his book in 1907 ‘before Dinuzulu’s arrest and before all the evidence of Dinuzulu’s complicity was available.’²⁹ On the contrary the thesis of Swart deals with the tireless work of Harriet Emily Colenso in connection with the treason trial of Dinuzulu. Harriet Colenso believed implicitly in Dinuzulu’s innocence of treason and she stood by him throughout. She also incurred a financial burden in connection with the cost of the defence of Dinuzulu.³⁰

I have found Carton’s interpretation very unique in a sense that he sees the *impi yamakhanda* as an age confrontation; he referred to it as ‘generational conflict’.³¹ However, I did not find evidence of this in Dube’s editorial comments. Mahoney follows on the steps of Professor John Wright and Dr Heather Hughes of studying the African chiefdoms. Mahoney concentrated on the Qwabe chiefdom from Malandela until iNkosi Meseni in kwaMaphumulo in 1906.³²

One could argue that in fact *impi yamakhanda* was so complex that it could not be analyzed only through one aspect. Indeed, my research was originally intended to cover

²⁸ W. Bosman. *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. Cape Town: Longmans, 1907.

²⁹ “Dinuzulu and the Bambata Rebellion.”

³⁰ “The work of Harriet Emily Colenso in relationship to Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo ...”

³¹ See Benedict Carton. “Blood from your Sons:” African Generational Conflict in natal and Zululand, South African, 1880 - 1910. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1996.

³² Michael Robert Mahoney. “Between the Zulu King and the Great White Chief: Political Culture in a Natal Chiefdom, 1879-1906”. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, 1998.

the *impi yamakhanda* as a whole, and I wrote several chapters (which have finally not been included in the thesis) dealing with various aspects of the uprising. However, the dynamic between Dube and Dinuzulu became such a complex and significant aspect of the events of 1906 and beyond, that the thesis almost developed a life of its own and the focus is now primarily on Dinuzulu in the context of the uprising, in the light of Dube's interpretation of events in *Ilanga Lase Natal*.

Chapter 2

Mapping the political landscape: chiefs – *amakhosi* and prominent leaders in Natal and Zululand

In this chapter I do two things: firstly, I locate some of the most powerful chiefs and leaders in Natal and Zululand during the time of the so-called Bambada rebellion.³³ Secondly, I provide details of the size of the chiefdoms and the extent of the chiefs' sphere of influence, and refer briefly to Dube's position as a member of a chiefly family. This chapter serves as background to the chapters that follow and helps to explain the extent of the *impi yamakhanda*, the war of the heads.

One of the less explored areas in the 1906 *impi yamakhanda* is the shifting pattern of loyalties and allegiances that characterised the relationships both within and between various chiefdoms. Although by its very nature such a pattern is difficult to map exactly, especially as sources are limited, it is essential to understand it as clearly as possible in order to try to explain how and why various chiefs heeded the call to arms, either in support of the so-called rebels, or on the side of the colonial forces.

In trying to answer these pertinent questions I look at different personalities and how they related to each other and examine tensions between chiefdoms and within chiefdoms. While the evidence generally points to the spontaneity of the 'rebellion,'— *impi yamakhanda*, I shall also investigate the possibility of a conspiracy among certain chiefs, as there are some indications that the rebellion was not as spontaneous as conventional sources might suggest.

³³ An alphabetical list of the *amakhosi*-chiefs and leaders referred to in this chapter, with page numbers of references in Chapter 2 to each *inkosi*-chief and leader mentioned in the chapter, may be found at the end of the thesis, as Appendix 1.

One of the most complicating factors in the relationships of the chiefs was the existence of the colonial state itself. From the mid-nineteenth century the traditional boundaries of the chiefdoms had been radically disrupted, some more than others, and similarly the choice of incumbents of the position of chief had been tampered with in pursuance of the policies of the colonial government.

The effect of this engineering, among others, was to impose magisterial authority over the chiefdoms, which in itself was an assault on the traditional role of the chief, who had to adjust his rule to fit in with the magistrate's overarching authority. More serious still was the effect of including the area of a chief within two or even more magisterial divisions, possibly straddling Natal and Zululand, as the chief had thus to adjust to the differing modes of operation of several magistrates, e.g. the amaQwabe people were in Maphumulo, Lower uThukela, Inanda, and Ndwedwe.

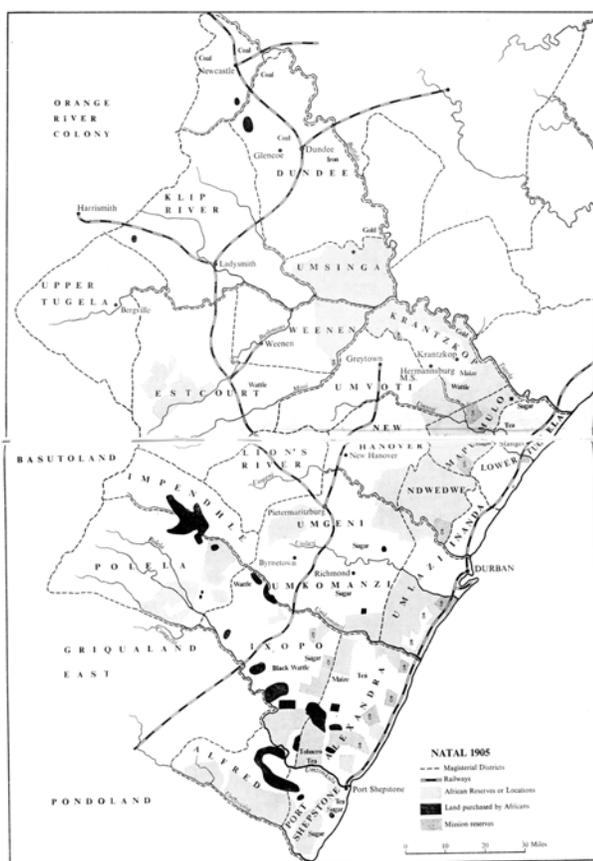
Even more complex was the effect of placing more than one chiefdom within a magisterial division, which could potentially give rise to rivalry between chiefdoms vis-à-vis magistrates, creating the possibility that magistrates would purposely exploit divisions amongst various chiefs in order to divide and rule. Rivalry for scarce land and resources was no doubt a gradually unfolding long-term result of Shepstone's land policy,³⁴ and this was further complicated by the creation over the years of acting chiefs by the colonial authorities. By 1906 some of the acting chiefs were still not secure in their positions, and possibly believed that loyalty to the colonial cause was an opportunity to entrench themselves in a permanent chiefdom, which was, in fact, the outcome in several cases as will be discussed in this chapter.

³⁴ David Welsh. *The Roots of Segregation Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845 – 1910*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

The sometimes conflict-ridden relationships amongst the chiefs must be seen in the context of longstanding rivalry for land, land being the crux of the conflict particularly due to the expansionist policy of the colonial state. This situation was aggravated by factors such as natural disasters (rinderpest, drought) and the impact of political interaction within white settlements (both boer and colonist), especially in more fertile areas such as Nqutu and Nkandla. There had been an escalation of economic pressures such as hut tax, dog tax, farm tax, and now there was poll tax.

These economic pressures which had gradually forced more and more of the younger men in the chiefdom to seek work in the urban areas of Natal and elsewhere also led to the social imbalance inevitably associated with migrant labour. The absence of many young men, even though they maintained close links with their rural roots, disrupted the power base of the chiefs, who no longer had a full generation of young men readily at their disposal.³⁵

³⁵ Benedict Carton. "Blood from your Sons:" African Generational Conflict in Natal and Zululand, South, 1880 – 1910. Doctor of Philosophy, Yale University, 1996.



Source: *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 408-9.

KwaMaphumulo Division

For the purposes of understanding the complex nature of the events of 1906, the historical background of the kwaMaphumulo division should be given before attempting to look more closely at its various chiefdoms. KwaMaphumulo division was in north-eastern Natal and south of the uThukela River. The village of Maphumulo is 40 km from the sea and less than 40 km from Stanger, lying half way between Kranskop and Stanger.

Marks describes it as follows:

Maphumulo, an almost entirely African division, consisting in the main of Reserve and Mission Reserve land, was also one of the most densely populated in the colony. 35,000 Africans and seventy-eight whites lived on the 390 square miles of the district – a population density of over eighty-nine to the square mile, on land which was, for the most part, rugged and ill-watered. Long before 1906, land disputes and faction fights between and within chiefdoms revealed the underlying tension over land. The Rinderpest outbreak of 1897 also hit this area very severely – 97 per cent of the cattle owned by Africans in this area was wiped out. Not surprisingly, the Africans of Mapumulo bitterly resented the new tax.³⁶

In the northern area of the kwaMaphumulo division, adjacent to iNkosi Ndlovu Zulu's chiefdom lay the chiefdom of INkosi Ngobizembe kaMkhonto who was the head of the Ntuli people.³⁷ His brother Sambela was his *undunankulu* – prime minister / principal *induna*.³⁸ Ngobizembe “belonged to historically famous lineages” and “princes of the Zulu Royal family”³⁹ ruled over 1,652 huts.⁴⁰ In January 1906, long before there was talk of rebellion, he was amongst the first reported to have disobeyed the magistrate about the payment of the poll tax.

³⁶ Shula Marks. *Reluctant Rebellion, the 1906 – 1908 disturbances in Natal*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1970. p. 198.

³⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. C. De B. Webb and J. B. Wright, (eds.) Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001, Vol 5. p. 266.

³⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 313.

³⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 227 and p. 313.

⁴⁰ NAD, NCP, 8/2/5, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 124: Census.

As a result of this reported defiance, a contingent of police was sent to the area at the beginning of February. Owing to the rumours which were circulating that people of different chiefdoms in kwaMaphumulo had doctored themselves for war, “a second column of the Field Forces, the Umvoti Rifles, was mobilized under Colonel George Leuchars” on 16 February. Leuchars had sent an ultimatum to iNkosi Ngobizembe to hand over, within six days, three hundred of his men who had disobeyed the magistrate during the collection of the poll tax in January. It was impossible for Ngobizembe to gather all the wanted men within that time, and he managed to hand over only twenty men. On 5 March Leuchars surrounded and burnt his *umuzi*; Ngobizembe was not there and his people surrendered. Half of his lands were taken and handed over to neighbouring chiefdoms. He was fined 1,200 head of cattle and 3,500 sheep and goats.⁴¹

Colonel Leuchars’ actions were “reported to have had a ‘splendid effect’ ”. Leuchars, a former Secretary for Native Affairs, was congratulated on his superb understanding of the ‘native mind’ and throughout the region ‘the natives’ were reported to have ‘changed their attitude of studied insolence to one of thorough submission’ ”.⁴²

INkosi Ngobizembe was tried by court martial despite the fact that “martial law did not confer powers on officers to ‘punish or try by Courts Martial ... any acts committed prior to the proclamation of Martial Law’ ”.⁴³ Martial Law was proclaimed (by Governor, Sir Henry McCullum) on 9 February 1906. There is no doubt that Ngobizembe was severely punished by the colonial authorities for expressing his

⁴¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 198-199, James Stuart. *A History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906 and Dinuzulu’s Arrest, Trial and Expatriation*. New York, 1913, p. 149.

⁴² *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 199.

⁴³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 198.

discontentment about the poll tax. The white authorities might have thought that they had quelled the ill feelings amongst the blacks about *imali yekhanda* (poll tax). It was not the case because “at the end of April some of Ngobizembe’s men joined Bambatha in the Nkandla forests”.⁴⁴ During *impi yamakhanda* in kwaMaphumulo, Sambela led Ngobizembe’s followers against the colonial forces.⁴⁵ The Ntuli chiefdom was later handed over to the Ngubane chiefdom under Sibindi as a reward for his ‘loyalty’ to the colonial government during *impi yamakhanda*.⁴⁶

A branch of the Zulu chiefdom

An inkosi of tremendous influence in his chiefdom and surrounding areas and who sympathized with the so-called rebels was Ndlovu. His influence emanated from his ties with the Zulu monarchy. Ndlovu kaThimuni Zulu was the chief of the Zulu people in kwaMaphumulo division.⁴⁷ Like iNkosi Ngobizembe he was a prince of the Zulu Royal family⁴⁸; he was the grandson of Mudli, whose brother was Senzangakhona (Shaka’s father).⁴⁹ He was related to Dinuzulu, and “a Chief with considerable influence in Maphumulo division”.⁵⁰ Although his jurisdiction extended only over 435 huts⁵¹ he

⁴⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 226.

⁴⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 230.

⁴⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 319.

⁴⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 233.

⁴⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 227 and p. 313.

⁴⁹ Robert C. A. Long, *Long ago*. Durban, 1929, p. 157, ‘His grandfather Mudli played a prominent role in public affairs in the Zulu chiefdom in the time of Senzangakhona’, see *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4 p. 233.

⁵⁰ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 346.

⁵¹ NAD, NCP, 8/2/5, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 124: Census.

was a person of enormous influence as he was so closely related to the Zulu royal house. Ndlovu was amongst the chiefs that were severely punished in kwaMaphumulo district for showing dissatisfaction with the poll tax⁵² in January 1906.

As a result in February 1906 he was arrested “and detained in prison without trial for several weeks” by Leuchars.⁵³ The punitive measures were carried out “in full accord with the wishes, if not the instructions, of the Minister for Native Affairs, H. D. Winter”.⁵⁴ In mid-1906 Ndlovu’s followers attacked and killed a shopkeeper, a Norwegian named Sangreid, and a trooper at Thring’s Post. In a related incident, at Otimati River Ndlovu’s followers “fell upon sixty-six members of the Natal Mounted Rifles who were escorting wagons across the river”. Fighting broke out and the colonial forces killed “variously estimated at forty and a hundred and fifty” of them.⁵⁵ In July Ndlovu was arrested in iNkosi Hashi’s chiefdom in Zululand and handed over to the Commissioner for Native Affairs at Eshowe. He was later taken to kwaMaphumulo where he was tried by court martial and was found guilty of High Treason.⁵⁶ The death sentence was imposed on him, which was later commuted (by the Governor) to a life sentence with hard labour.⁵⁷ In June 1907, Ndlovu and twenty-five other ‘ringleaders’ were deported to St Helena. The Colonial Office through Lord Elgin failed to persuade the Natal colonial government to treat them as political prisoners and not as ordinary

⁵² *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 225.

⁵³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 227.

⁵⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 193.

⁵⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 225.

⁵⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 232.

⁵⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 236 -7.

criminals.⁵⁸ Like that of iNkosi Ngobizembe's, Ndlovu's chiefdom was also given to Sibindi of the Ngubane chiefdom for the role he had played during *impi yamakhandu*.⁵⁹

Looking ahead, towards the end of 1910 the eighteen survivors amongst the twenty-five prisoners who had been sent to St Helena were granted parole: there were only eighteen of them, as seven had died in prison. Ndlovu was amongst those who were released because of the kindness (to use Dube's terminology) of the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, Lord Gladstone. The parole became effective on the day of the arrival in South Africa of the Duke of Connaught (brother to King Edward VII). Two of the eighteen prisoners were carried on stretchers because they were seriously ill. Dube remarked that the prisoners looked very wasted although they had only served three years of their prison sentences. Most of them looked very old and could not even be recognized. In fact they no longer looked like chiefs at all, but looked like commoners. Despite the cruel treatment that the chiefs had received, Dube expressed his gratitude to Lord Gladstone and asked that the released leaders should resume their roles as leaders and live freely in their chiefdoms.⁶⁰ Perhaps this was Dube's strategy to indicate to his readers that the chiefs had been badly treated in prison, while at the same time he avoided outright criticism of the government, and also attempted to cultivate the good will of

⁵⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 250.

⁵⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 319.

⁶⁰ The sentences are given in brackets next to their names. Those who died in prison were: Thobazi (10); Ntelezi (15); Lunyana (15); Mcondi (10); Mdlekazi (15); Fogothi (life imprisonment) and Magcwaneka (life imprisonment). Those that were given 10 year sentence were: Sikhukhukhu; Mahangana; Fava; Goloza; Tilongo; Dede; Nyamana; Ndondoza and Mamfinyongo. Nhlonhlo and Mbazwana had twenty years. Mbeni (6), Ngadini (15) and Siyonga (15). Meseni, Ndlovu and Ndabaningi were given life imprisonment. *Ilanga lase Natal*. December 23rd, 1910. They were part of the general amnesty that was granted to all prisoners by the Governor General during the formation of the Union of South Africa. There 4,500 prisoners that were freed. See *Ilanga lase Natal*. November 18th, 1910.

Gladstone. Possibly Dube believed (as did Harriet Colenso) that the British Government which was represented by Gladstone would be more sympathetic to the cause of the colonized Africans than the colonists who stood to benefit from preventing any rebellion against the colonial status quo.

The Qwabe

The amaQwabe chiefdom was threatened by external forces, but perhaps more serious were internal problems, originating mainly in disputes regarding chiefly succession, which were further aggravated by the colonial government's intervention in the succession dispute. The colonial government closely watched the chiefdom because of its large population, which like other chiefdoms was scattered across various magistracies, as described below, and its political allegiance to and blood ties with the Zulu royal chiefdom. In 1906 the amaQwabe were against the payment of the poll tax.

By the early 20th century, iNkosi Meseni was the head of the amaQwabe chieftaincy in kwaMaphumulo, Lower Thukela, Indwedwe and Inanda divisions.⁶¹ The amaQwabe chiefdom was “one of the most ancient and famous tribes in Natal and Zululand”. Qwabe was son of Malandela, who “flourished probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century”.⁶² Although Malandela indicated his wish that Qwabe should be his successor as chief, a dispute arose between Qwabe and his younger brother Zulu, who moved to a new *umuzi* near Babanango. Eventually Zulu became the more prominent chief, and from his lineage came Shaka, effectively the founder of the Zulu royal house. The dispute between Zulu and Qwabe filtered down the generations, and the Qwabe and

⁶¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 22, *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 16th, 1906.

⁶² *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 345.

Zulu chiefdoms were traditionally hostile. It is noteworthy that the events of 1906 had the effect of uniting them.

“The area between Stanger and the Mapumulo magistracy” was mainly the amaQwabe territory.⁶³ INkosi Meseni’s chiefdom was one of the largest chiefdoms in the Colony but it experienced a “highly complicated succession dispute” after the death of his father Musi (1890’s). The division of the chiefdom took place in 1897.⁶⁴ His chiefdom was then divided into two sections; he ruled over one place (“although he contended he was the rightful heir”⁶⁵) and the other one was placed under a white local magistrate Mr F. P. Shuter of Lower Thukela.⁶⁶ Shuter was appointed as an acting regent for the “minor heir of the chiefdom which accounted for much of the tension and bitterness in the area”.⁶⁷ The relationship between Meseni and the magistrate was a bitter one long before the poll tax. For the amaQwabe, the issue of participation in *impi yamakhandanda* was greatly influenced by this hostility: in fact, the Natal government’s intervention in the succession dispute of amaQwabe chiefdom pre-determined their position during *impi yamakhandanda*. This was not a unique case, as it will be later demonstrated.

One of the incidents of their bitterness took place in 1905 when the amaQwabe under Meseni attacked iNkosi Swayimane’s chiefdom “whom the Qwabe accused of

⁶³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 225.

⁶⁴ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 228.

⁶⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 228.

⁶⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 140.

⁶⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 314.

stealing their cattle". Shuter, the magistrate, ordered the arrest of amaQwabe attackers, and Meseni was extremely bitter towards the colonial authorities and the magistrate in particular on this account.⁶⁸ Meseni had a jurisdiction over 2,231 huts that spread over Maphumulo (940), Inanda (238), Lower Thukela (979) and Ndwedwe (74).⁶⁹ Inkosi Meseni's principal *umuzi* was eMthandeni (the place of love), which was situated at the junction of the uMvoti and iNsuze Rivers.⁷⁰

Inkosi Meseni's son was Mtshingwa⁷¹ and one of his *izinduna* was Macabacaba who was also implicated in *impi yamakhanda*.⁷² In January his people refused to pay the poll tax and as a result he also clashed with colonial forces, conforming with the pattern of events involving Ndlovu and Ngobizembe.⁷³ The uMvoti Mounted Rifles under Colonel Leuchars was dispatched to kwaMaphumulo division when the incidents of Meseni's dissatisfaction were reported. The Maphumulo division was the first to display discontentment over the payment of the poll tax in 1906.⁷⁴ Like Ndlovu in February Meseni was also arrested and detained for a number of weeks without trial on Leuchars' instructions. These steps had the blessings of the Minister of Native Affairs (Winter).⁷⁵

⁶⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 228.

⁶⁹ NAD, NCP, 8/2/5, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 128: Census.

⁷⁰ T. V. Bulpin. *Natal and the Zulu Country*. Cape Town, Books of Africa (PTY) LTD, 1966. p. 433.

⁷¹ See A. T. Bryant. *Olden times of Zululand and Natal: Containing Earlier Political History of the Eastern – Nguni Clans*. London, 1929, p. 201.

⁷² *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 231.

⁷³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 171.

⁷⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 225.

⁷⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 227.

In the middle of March Leuchars' column was demobilized in the region of Maphumulo – Lower Thukela, and only a few of the uMvoti Mounted Rifles were retained. Owing to the continued rumours of unrest in that area the Natal Mounted Rifles and Durban Light Infantry were sent there.⁷⁶ The number of troops was increased at kwaMaphumulo in May and June and “Meseni, fearful that they were about to attack him, called upon an *impi* to protect himself”.⁷⁷

McKenzie, Woolls-Sampson, Leuchars and Mackay were all dispatched to the uMvoti Valley where Meseni's homestead was to be closed down on him in the first week of July. A clash took place during which more than 400 amaQwabe were massacred. Meseni fled to Zululand, he and Ndlovu were arrested in iNkosi Hashi's ward and Macabacaba was captured on 26 July in Ndwedwe. Meseni was also tried by a court martial at Maphumulo and convicted of High Treason⁷⁸ and he was given the death sentence that was “commuted by the Governor to terms of life imprisonment with hard labour”.⁷⁹ The Natal colonial government refused to treat him and the other ‘ringleaders’ as political prisoners, rather than as ‘ordinary convicts’. This was very much against Lord Elgin's wishes. Meseni and other leaders were expatriated to St Helena in June 1907.⁸⁰ The amaQwabe chiefdom like those of Ndlovu and Ngobizembe became part of

⁷⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 227.

⁷⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 226.

⁷⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 231 - 2.

⁷⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 236 - 7.

⁸⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 250.

the Ngubane chiefdom under the ‘loyal’ Sibindi.⁸¹ Lord Gladstone released iNkosi Meseni in 1910 together with the other ‘ringleaders’.⁸²

iNkosi Mashwili and his chiefdom

The once mighty Mthethwa kingdom/ chiefdom suffered irreparable damage during 1906, and in fact the colonial authorities ultimately ruthlessly wiped it out. Perhaps this fate brought about by the violence of the state, can be partially attributed to the fact that this chiefdom was exceptionally important in Zulu history as it was descended from Dingiswayo who was one of the progenitors of the Zulu royal house. It is arguable that the colonial authorities feared that the survival of this chiefdom might encourage and strengthen the other prominent chiefdoms in the Maphumulo area to challenge the authority of the state. Certainly the destruction of the Mthethwa chiefdom was a major blow to the social and political network, which underpinned traditional Zulu society.

Mashwili was the Chief (iNkosi) of the Mthethwa people.⁸³ He was closely connected to the Zulu Royal family because he was the “grandson of the famous Dingiswayo (Shaka’s patron⁸⁴), initiator of the modern Zulu military system”.⁸⁵ His father was Mngoye kaDingiswayo kaJobe Mthethwa.⁸⁶

⁸¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 319.

⁸² *Ilanga lase Natal*, December 23rd, 1910.

⁸³ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 46.

⁸⁴ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 228.

⁸⁵ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 346, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. London, 1907. p. 149.

⁸⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 234.

INKosi Mashwili, in an interview he had with James Stuart in November 1903, asserted that his family tree was as follows: Jobe kaKayi kaXaba kaMadango kaMthethwa kaNyambose kaKhubazi Mthethwa. INkosi Mashwili who belonged to the uDloko regiment⁸⁷ had his principal *umuzi* called oYengweni, named by his father, after King Shaka had given him land for settlement. This *umuzi* was situated on the IziNsimba stream a southern tributary of the Lower Thukela.⁸⁸ That is where the colonial forces massacred Mashwili, his chief induna, his chief son and five hundred and forty seven followers.⁸⁹ His chiefdom spread over Lower Thukela (118 huts) and Maphumulo (138 huts).⁹⁰ The Mthethwa chiefdom was then handed “over to the newly constituted ‘Ngubane Tribe’ made up of Ndhlovu ka Timuni, Ngobizembe....”⁹¹, under the Regent Sibindi. The colonial government compensated Sibindi for the loyalty he displayed during *impi yamakhanda*. With the help of the acting chiefs like Sibindi (and others) the Natal colonial government continued to destroy the traditional chiefly institutions, and it can be argued that this is the legacy that has continued to haunt the present KwaZulu Natal traditional political landscape.

⁸⁷ James Stuart. UBaxoxele. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924. p. 14.

⁸⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 60.

⁸⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*

⁹⁰ NAD, NCP, 8/2/5, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 128: Census.

⁹¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 319.

Sigananda Shezi and his influence

INkosi Sigananda⁹² kaZokufa kaMvakela⁹³, “now about one hundred years old and recognized by some colonial officials as the ‘king’ of his small territory”⁹⁴, ruled the Shezi people in the amaChube chiefdom in the Nkandla division. One of his *izinduna* was Polomba⁹⁵ whose role in the events of 1906 will be discussed below (during the treason trial of Dinuzlu). The traditional Shezi ruling lineage had never been broken up because King Shaka had never conquered them.⁹⁶ INkosi Sigananda was connected to the Zulu monarchy because his grandfather ‘Mvakela had married a sister of Nandi, Tshaka’s mother’.⁹⁷ In 1870 King Cetshwayo recalled Sigananda from Natal to assume the chieftaincy from his father who was aged about one hundred years old.⁹⁸ INkosi Sigananda had taken part in King Shaka’s wars as *udibi* (mat and luggage bearer).⁹⁹ Furthermore, the *abakwa*Shezi were “traditionally workers in iron and principal spear

⁹² He sided and fought on the side of Cetshwayo’s uSuthu against Mbuyazi’s iZigqoza during the great battle of iNdonakusuka, 2nd December 1856. He also fought for Cetshwayo during the Zulu War (1879). King Cetshwayo fled and was given refuge in iNkanlnda in 1883 (Sigananda ‘sheltered Cetshwayo’: see Jeff Guy. *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War 1879 – 1884*. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1994, p. 251). In 1884 during the battle of Kotongweni he fought on the side of Dinuzulu in a war against Zibhebhu kaMaphitha. In 1888 he refused the government’s call to ‘furnish a levy’. Furthermore, he was once given refuge (‘after the Zulu civil war’ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol 4. p. 31) by Chief Mancinza (Bhambatha’s father) when the Shezi chiefdom had problems for about fourteen or fifteen years. See *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 209 – 10. He had ‘personal knowledge, of the reigns of the old Zulu kings Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande and Cetshwayo’. See *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. p. 110.

⁹³ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 209, *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 13, *Ilanga lase Natal*, September 17th-19th, 2001.

⁹⁴ Benedict Carton. *Blood from your children, the colonial origins of generational conflict in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2000. p. 135.

⁹⁵ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 153.

⁹⁶ *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. p. 34.

⁹⁷ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 208, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 210.

⁹⁸ *Ilanga lase Natal*, September 17th-19th, 2001, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. p. 34.

⁹⁹ Donald R. Morris. *The Washing of the Spears*. London: The Caur Press, 1966. p. 611.

makers to the Zulu royal house, to whom they were intensely loyal”.¹⁰⁰ The *AbakwaShezi* “lived in the forest and their particular stronghold was in the Mhome gorge, where Siganda had his capital kraal at the foot of the waterfall.”¹⁰¹ The name of his principal *umuzi* was called eNhlweni (‘the pauper’s retreat’).¹⁰²

The white settlers, both British and Boers, intentionally undermined the traditional pattern of land ownership. In Zululand the “creation of the New Republic in 1884, and the planting of Natal chiefs in southern Zululand in the eighties and nineties had led to the population pressure building up in the Nkandla division.”¹⁰³ The Shezi people had lived in the Nkandla area for many years, long before the advent of white settlement in the area, and pre-dating the establishment of the Zulu kingdom.

A brief history of impoverishment of this area is well captured by Marks:

The lands the colonists eyed most longingly were in the Nkandla and Nqutu districts in Southern Zululand. Both these divisions were densely populated, because it was good cattle country, and because severe inroads had already been made in this area by the Boer ‘New Republic’ of 1884. In addition, Africans from Natal and the neighbouring Boer territory had removed to Nkandla and Nqutu under pressure from the white settlers at different times. After the Zulu War, moreover, it had been deliberate policy to settle ‘loyal’ Natal chiefdoms as a buffer in this area. Already in the 1890’s population pressure in these districts was showing itself in the number of boundary disputes and fights between and within chiefdoms. Nevertheless, the Commission did delimit a certain amount of land in these districts for white occupation: 81,000 acres in Nkandla and 27,00 acres in Nqutu.¹⁰⁴

The 1897 Rinderpest further aggravated impoverishment of Nkandla division.¹⁰⁵ The results were devastating: “between 1897 and 1898 six-sevenths of the cattle owned by

¹⁰⁰ *Natal and the Zulu Country*. p. 427.

¹⁰¹ *Natal and the Zulu Country*. p. 427.

¹⁰² *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 187. eNhlweni means: ‘the place of the pauper’, see *Natal and the Zulu Country*. p. 427.

¹⁰³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 211.

¹⁰⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 128.

¹⁰⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 211.

Africans were wiped out”.¹⁰⁶ Nkandla and Nquthu divisions also suffered severely from the invasions “of Boers during the South African War”.¹⁰⁷ The impoverishment was made worse with the “dramatic rise in Hut Tax arrears between 1902 and 1905”. By 1905 there was much distress in Natal and Southern Zululand.¹⁰⁸

By 1905 Siganda presided over 462 kraals in the Nkandla magisterial district.¹⁰⁹ In the aftermath of the so-called rebellion, Siganda’s principal son and heir Ndabani¹¹⁰ was sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to St Helena with the other twenty-five ‘ringleaders’. The Governor General of the Union of South Africa granted him parole in 1910.¹¹¹

Amongst Siganda’s Shezi, also known as the amaChube, it seemed that their main concern was the shortage of land. The lack of resources of the chiefdom is well illustrated by Marks, “poverty and insecurity over land appear to have been among the root causes of the Cube discontent”. Sir Charles Saunders (Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand) also confirmed this that Siganda and “his chief son and heir, Ndabani, were ‘paupers’”.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 128.

¹⁰⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 211.

¹⁰⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 128.

¹⁰⁹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ *Ilanga lase Natal*, May 4th, 1906, *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 184, and 226, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 182.

¹¹¹ *Ilanga lase Natal*, December 23rd, 1910.

¹¹² *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 211.

It is not surprising that in January (1906) during the collection of *imali yemakhanda* – poll tax Sigananda’s people “maintained that they could not afford to pay the tax”.¹¹³ That was interpreted as defiance by the white colonial authorities. Sigananda’s people lived in their own lands and were unlike Bhambada’s people who lived in farms but the area was densely populated. *Impi yamakhanda* was very complex but the issue of land amongst the blacks was seen as the main contributory factor, as clearly pointed out by Saunders that those people: “who had been hurtled off lands taken up by the European settlers ... were the people who might have been expected to revolt and yet they gave not the slightest trouble” (as quoted by Marks). Shula Marks took it further, saying that, as far as amaChube was concerned, “however, their present poverty and insecurity contrasted most strongly with their long tradition of independence – they were probably the oldest in the Nkandla – and their memories of a glorious past were very different to their present humiliation”¹¹⁴.

It was not surprising that in 1906 Sigananda (despite his great age) threw in his lot with Bhambada against the Natal colonial government forces in an attempt to regain and restore the independence of his people. Many commentators over the years have regarded his actions as misguided and misinformed but against this historical background one could realize that he had no option but to fight for the lost independence of his chiefdom. It is in this context that the promulgation of the poll tax in 1905 should be understood and the reasons that made the amaChube maintain that they could not afford to pay the *imali yekhanda*, the final cause of their defiance. The

¹¹³ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 171.

¹¹⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 211-12.

system of loose alliances and informal friendships amongst these chiefdoms inevitably became more closely cemented as Sigananda and Bambada led their followers in an attempt to protect their traditional lands.

The Ngobese

It has been shown above how the Nquthu district was affected by the redefining of the boundaries as well as the invasions. Thus it was not unexpected that the leadership of the Ngobese (amaQungebe) people found itself involved in the thick of things in their opposition to the colonial authorities.

The land (or large part of it) that had originally belonged to iNkosi Sihayo was given to a 'loyal' iNkosi Hlubi of the Molife chiefdom. He was awarded land for the services he provided during the Langalibalele rebellion (1873) and during the Anglo-Zulu War (1879). In contrast with Sihayo, in both these wars the Molife chiefdom fought on the side of the colonial forces. In 1906 the AmaQungebe in Nquthu district were under the chieftaincy of Mehlokazulu kaSihayo Ngobese.¹¹⁵

Like his father Sihayo, Mehlokazulu was very loyal to the Zulu monarchy but "had a long history of conflict with the authorities, both Boers and colonial".¹¹⁶ The conflict had culminated in the Anglo – Zulu War because of Mehlokazulu's 'conduct'.¹¹⁷

Although he had lost most of his traditional land to Hlubi following the intervention of

¹¹⁵ He was the "eldest son of SIHAYO, independent and aggressive Usuthu supporter: killed, Mome, 1906", see *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 249. Sihayo and his son Mehlokazulu remained loyal to the Zulu kingdom from King Cetshwayo and later to his successor King Dinuzulu. The name Mehlokazulu means the eyes of the Zulu nation. They (Sihayo and Mehlokazulu) rendered a valuable military service to the Zulu nation.

¹¹⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 219.

¹¹⁷ "In July 1878 Mehlokazulu led a party of men into Natal, seized two women who had fled from Sihayo's territory, took them back, and put them to death. The incident was magnified by Sir Bartle Frere

the colonial authorities, Mehlokazulu became inkosi of the Ngobese people in 1893.¹¹⁸ As an important inkosi in the Nquthu division he made his intentions clear as being against the poll tax.¹¹⁹ In 1906 he failed “to pay the Poll Tax” on the appointed day. There were rumours circulating that he was planning to take up arms against the whites. Other rumours that circulated among the whites were that he had been sending messages to iNkosi Khula Majosi in uMsinga division to join forces against the whites.¹²⁰

The uMsinga division and the surrounding areas In the uMsinga division the Majosi chiefdom was one of the most powerful polities. “There were close ties of kinship and friendship between” INkosi Mehlokazulu of the Ngobese and iNkosi Khula of the Majosi. Mehlokazulu had been sending messages to both Khula and Dinuzulu consulting them about the poll tax. The arrest of Khula on 8 May by the white forces may have put fear in heart of Mehlokazulu and his chiefdom, as both a friend and a neighbour.¹²¹

It could not have been unknown by the colonial authorities that there were close ties between the two chiefdoms, and it might well have been their strategy to intimidate Mehlokazulu in this way. However, Mehlokazulu’s subsequent behaviour made it clear that he was not intimidated, and arguably his stand strengthened other lesser chiefs in their opposition to the government.

into the pretext for the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in January 1879.” See *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol 4. p. 234.

¹¹⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 220.

¹¹⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 217.

¹²⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 220 – 21.

¹²¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 220 – 21.

In May Nquthu division experienced a lot of troop movements as forces moved to Nkandla from Dundee. On 16 May Mehlokazulu refused to take the instructions from Lieutenant – Colonel Mackay (Officer in Command at Helpmekaar) to attack Nondubela and Mnteli. He fled with his wives, cattle and a few of his followers to the bushes. The Nquthu magistrate failed to persuade him to go back to his home.¹²² On 18 May Mehlokazulu joined Mnteli and marched to Qhudeni Mountains at Nkandla.¹²³

On his way the members of the Faku chiefdom who were under Lubudlungu joined Mehlokazulu. They had been armed, as ‘loyal’ to the government, on the instructions of the magistrate, the plan being that they would guard Nondubela and Mnteli on their way to Zululand. However, perhaps as a result of a misunderstanding the homesteads of Faku’s people were set alight by the white troops, who also fired on Lubudlungu’s men. Thus they were pushed to join the so-called rebels, and joined Mehlokazulu without the knowledge and permission of their chief, Faku. This incident illustrates the problems created by the attempt of the colonial authorities to use armed, black ‘loyal’ forces, as the suspicion and the distrust of the black people on the part of the average white colonist made co-operation of the white and black defenders of the colony very difficult.

At the end of May a combined force of Mnteli, Nondubela, Lubudlungu and Mehlokazulu had taken up a position in the Qhudeni Mountains (Nkandla). By 9 June there had been scattered skirmishes as a result of which Mehlokazulu and other prominent leaders of *impi yamakhanda* were killed. The commander of the combined

¹²² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 220 – 21.

¹²³ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 220 – 21.

forces was now Babazeleni (Faku's chief *induna*) who led his men against uMvoti Mounted Rifles (under Colonel Leuchars) who were assisted by the 'loyal' iNkosi Sibindi's levies. Subsequent to this, fighting broke out at Mpukunyoni.¹²⁴

The complexities the Ntuli chiefdom

The ancient and influential families were not unaffected by the rebellion. Possibly the process of the destruction of the traditional power structures which was already far-gone needed little more impetus to lead to final annihilation. This can be well illustrated in the history of the fragmentation of the Ntuli chiefdom, the leaders of whom belonged to the lineage of Ndlela, Dingane's *induna*.

The Ntuli chiefdom had a complicated history that needs to be explored in detail to understand its participation in *impi yamakhanda*. The chiefdom as a whole had a long-standing association with the Zulu kingdom dating from the time of Senzangakhona. Mangathi kaGodide kaNdlela (who was in his day the 'most important personage in the Zulu nation'¹²⁵) was an outstanding figure in this chiefdom, and at one time had acted as King Cetshwayo's *Induna*. Ndlela was the son of Sompisi¹²⁶ kaKuguqa, kaMsalela kaNomatshingila Ntuli (of emaBheleni).¹²⁷, and although not a chief of the Ntuli people, he was one of the most influential people in the Ntuli chieftaincy.¹²⁸ It is significant that

¹²⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 222 - 224.

¹²⁵ Ndlela kaSompisi was the Prime Minister of King Dingane. See the *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 59 – 60.

¹²⁶ The other name of Sompisi was Nkobe because he used to prepare *izinkobe* ('mealies of sorghum grain when boiled: one of the staple foods of the Zulu'. See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. Compiled by C. M. Doke, D. M. Malcom, J. M. A. Sikhakhane and B. W. Vilakazi (Witwatersrand University press: Johannesburg. p. 395) for Senzangakhona. See *UBaxoxele*. p. 192.

¹²⁷ *UBaxoxele*. p. 192.

¹²⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 207.

the Ntuli (the abasemaBheleni) had throughout their long existence loyally served the Zulu Royal House, even prior to the formation of the kingdom. Mangathi's significant role within the Ntuli chiefdom was clearly demonstrated by the number of people who supported him when he threw in his lot with Bhambada in 1906.

The section of the Ntuli people known as amaBhele, were the subjects of Mphumela kaNdlela who had succeeded his brother Godide who had died in 1883.¹²⁹ Again there had been a succession dispute but Mphumela was appointed acting iNkosi by the government against Ntulizwe's "candidature to the chieftaincy". Mphumela was appointed to the important Ntuli chiefdom¹³⁰, which was in the Nkandla division.¹³¹ Those who had supported Ntulizwe (of the house of Godide) years before had not forgotten these events, and on the outbreak of the *impi yamakhanda* the former Ntulizwe faction supported Mangathi when he joined Bhambada's fight against the whites at Nkandla.¹³² Mphumela was an iNkosi at KwaMagwaza near Melmoth.¹³³ There were allegations however that Mphumela was in fact a secret rebel, although he openly supported the colonial forces or the levies at times.¹³⁴ Wherever his true loyalties lay, he was shot and killed on 20 November 1907.¹³⁵

¹²⁹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 219.

¹³⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 294 - 5.

¹³¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 104.

¹³² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 294.

¹³³ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 279.

¹³⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 326.

¹³⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 294.

INkosi Mavumengwana kaNdlela led yet another section of the Ntuli people at Eshowe.¹³⁶ He “was a great man and subordinate only to Mnyamana.”¹³⁷ (Mnyamana kaNqengelele of the Buthelezi people was Cetshwayo’s *Ndunankulu* [Prime Minister]).¹³⁸ Mavumnengwana “was *induna* of the major section of the Thulwana regiment, and an associate of the king, Cetshwayo.”¹³⁹ Although he had strong ties with the Zulu royal household one of his sons was a ‘loyal’ chief during the 1906 disturbances. His chief son and heir was Mfungelwa who took over the chiefdom after him,¹⁴⁰ having as his *imbongi* (praise singer) Manxele kaMbanjana of the Khandampevu regiment.¹⁴¹ Based at Mpaphala, iNkosi Mfungelwa Ntuli¹⁴² was a ‘loyal’ inkosi and fought on the side of the colonial forces during *impi yamakhandu*. On 5 May he assisted the Natal Police under Colonel Mansell operating from Fort Yolland in their first major encounter with Bhambada’s forces at Mome Ridge. Mfungelwa had four hundred followers in that fighting and they killed about sixty of Bhambada’s people.¹⁴³

In Nkandla division there was a section of the Ntuli people under iNkosi Mbuzo¹⁴⁴ who was not a descendant of Sompisi but they shared a common ancestor with

¹³⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 204, Vol. 4. p. 154.

¹³⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 367.

¹³⁸ Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere. *Restless Identities*. Pietermaritzburg, University Press, 2000. p. 185.

¹³⁹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 367.

¹⁴⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 209 and Vol. 4. p. 404.

¹⁴¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 95.

¹⁴² *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 60.

¹⁴³ *The Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 216.

¹⁴⁴ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 134 and 187.

Sompisi further back. Mbuzo was the son of Mngeni kaMenyelwe kaMahawule kaMlomo.¹⁴⁵ His chief son was Maphoyisa who was very loyal to the Natal colonial government during the 1906 *impi yamakhanda* and he “was very much hated by the rebel members of his chiefdom who said that ‘he was the one who told the authorities who were the rebels’”. INkosi Mbuzo “was very old, deaf, and almost blind” at the time of the 1906 *impi yamakhanda* and he fled with many of his supporters to Sibindi.¹⁴⁶ However, some members of the family staunchly supported the rebels: Mbuzo’s brother, Fogoti, led the so-called rebels in iNkosi Mbuzo’s chiefdom and Maphoyisa’s chief son Wohle led the anti-government forces in the area, finding followers from among the supporters of his father.¹⁴⁷ The complex response of the Ntuli clan to the *uthuli* and the conflicting loyalties that were evident can be largely attributed to the effective long-term manipulation of power by the colonial state. This process, in varying permutations, can be seen in various other chiefly families who were disrupted and displaced, in such a way that indigenous people became refugees in the country of their birth.

The above analysis of the network of Ntuli chiefdoms indicates the effectiveness of the colonial authorities in using existing rivalries and tensions within traditional Zulu society to promote a strategy of divide and rule. The attraction of colonial favour outweighed the ideal of Zulu solidarity, which Dube promoted so consistently. His belief was that the survival of the system of chiefdoms was the only way in which the Zulu monarchy could itself survive.

¹⁴⁵ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 204.

¹⁴⁶ *The Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 258.

¹⁴⁷ *The Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 311.

In the case of the Sithole chiefdom it is interesting to note the loyalty of the Sithole leadership to the colonial state despite the ill treatment they received from those they supported.

Matshana kaMondise of the Sithole chiefdom

A Natal refugee iNkosi Matshana kaMondise kaJobe headed the Sithole chiefdom in Nkandla and Nquthu divisions.¹⁴⁸ To understand his position it is important to know that he was a refugee in Zululand having escaped from Natal to avoid arrest by the colonial authorities. Since the removal of Matshana to Zululand, his¹⁴⁹ Sithole chiefdom was situated in the Qhudeneni Mountains, where he ruled over three hundred people. Despite his controversial history, iNkosi Matshana was regarded as one of the loyalists as early as 1884 by the authorities, although he was generally believed to be anti-white. In 1906 the majority of his chiefdom aligned itself with white forces, but five of his sons broke away from him with their followers and joined the so-called rebels, as a result of which relations were very strained between iNkosi Matshana and his sons.

Towards the end of June Colonel Mackay fined every 'rebel' in his chiefdom five cattle that were eventually handed over by Matshana. Notwithstanding the chief's compliance, in the first week of July Royston's Horse raided Matshana's chiefdom and collected almost all the cattle they could find. Matshana appeared before the Commissioner of Native Affairs but he was acquitted when his case was heard and the

¹⁴⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 355, Vol. 4. p. 387, Vol. 3. p. 236, *The Destruction of the Zulu kingdom*. p. 249.

¹⁴⁹ "In 1858 John Shepstone was sent by a Natal government to arrest Matshana kaMondise, chief of the Sithole in the Msinga region of the colony, for an infraction of the law. Shepstone's attempt to arrest him ended in violence, and Matshana escaped to the Zulu kingdom. In 1875, at the insistence of Bishop John Colenso, the Natal government held an official enquiry into the affair. Shepstone was largely exonerated", see *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 324.

Commissioner of Native Affairs Saunders “assured Matshana that his people’s cattle would be restored to them; this had not been done by the end of 1906”.¹⁵⁰ It is certainly arguable that the excessively severe action taken by the troops in seizing Matshana’s cattle was unacceptable. It could be argued further that his loyalty had not helped him much in the light of the treatment he received from the white authorities.

Loyal to the colony to the end - Sishishili

As mentioned above, the Natal government undermined the traditions of chiefly rule and the indigenous hereditary system by assuming the right to appoint chiefs. A case in point was that of Sishishili who was “a prominent and conspicuously loyal Chief” at eNkandla during 1906.¹⁵¹ He was chief of the Sibisi people.¹⁵² He had been “Osborne’s messenger as early as 1882, and was responsible in hunting out rebels in Nkandla with great ferocity”. He had once granted Dinuzulu “refuge during his struggles with Zibhebhu in the eighties”¹⁵³ in 1883 when his father Cetshwayo kaMpande was defeated by Zibhebhu kaMaphitha.¹⁵⁴ Notwithstanding this act of kindness to the young prince, Sishishili’s loyalty to the colonial state was an open secret. He showed this when leaders of the different chiefdoms were summoned to a meeting with the authorities about the Poll Tax.

His ostentatious loyalty is well captured by James Stuart:

All to begin with, were nervous and averse to paying until Sitshitshili came forward in the presence of others and made his tribe pay, remarking as he did so, that having always obeyed the Government, he was not going to be afraid of doing so on that occasion.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ *The Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 233 - 235.

¹⁵¹ *The Zulu Rebellion*. p. 430.

¹⁵² *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. P. 203.

¹⁵³ *The Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 257.

¹⁵⁴ *The Zulu Rebellion*. p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ *The Zulu Rebellion*. p. 184.

INkosi Sishishili was among other things, “a splendid specimen of a brave and loyal Zulu”.¹⁵⁶ During the *impi yamakhanda* of 1906 he “materially assisted the Government to the utmost of his ability”,¹⁵⁷ as a result of which he acquired many enemies and understandably he felt increasingly insecure amongst his black kinsmen.

Sishishili was killed on 8 August 1907. “Other ‘loyal’ chiefs immediately attributed it to Dinuzulu” and they claimed that there was “jubilation among the fugitive rebels at the Osuthu when he was murdered”. One significant outcome of the killing of Sishishili was that it made Sir Charles Saunders change his mind about the innocence of Dinuzulu. By 12 August within four days of Sishishili’s murder, he believed that Dinuzulu was guilty of the murders of the ‘loyal chiefs’.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps this reaction indicated the significant position of Sishishili in the political landscape from the point of view of the colonial government. Saunders had wanted the Natal government to arrest Dinuzulu and remove him from Zululand.

The fallout of Sishishili’s death extended into 1908 when Mjombolwana was arrested for the murder. The trial took place on November 1908 in a Special Court in the Greytown Town Hall, a ‘curtain-raiser’, with many trials to come. The white authorities had hoped that Mjombolwana might implicate Dinuzulu in the killing of Sishishili. They offered him inducement to incriminate Dinuzulu but he refused to do so. One of the detectives, Willie Calverly who was “securing evidence against Dinuzulu for his trial, and was also a shopkeeper in Zululand”, tried to persuade him to lay the blame on

¹⁵⁶ *The Zulu Rebellion*. p. 238

¹⁵⁷ *The Zulu Rebellion*. p. 430.

Dinuzulu in return for his freedom. Mjombolwana refused to implicate his king. He was found guilty and sentenced to death and executed in December 1908.¹⁵⁹

The amaQadi chiefdom: Dube the founder of *Ilanga Lase Natal*

J. L. Dube was not only an *ikholwa* but he also a politician, journalist, educationalist, author, interpreter (of the desires and ambitions of his people), businessman and nationalist; the roots of this highly complex man were traditional, a highly significant factor in understanding his philosophy. The importance of this to himself becomes clear in his damning criticism of the colonial state for undermining and finally destroying the traditional social system. The strong ties that he had with traditional institutions helped him enormously in his relationship with and understanding of the Zulu monarchy, of which ultimately he became one of the chief protagonists.

A brief summary of his lineage and kinship follows:

John Langalibalele Dube's uncle was Mqhawe Ngcobo who ruled the amaQadi people of the Indwedwe division.¹⁶⁰ Mqhawe was born in the late 1820's and his uncle

¹⁵⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 257.

¹⁵⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 275 - 276.

¹⁶⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol 2. p. 44. Mqhawe was the son of Dabeka kaDube. Mqhawe's son and heir was Mandlakayise. He 'stayed in America about seven years'. See *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol 2. p. 47. Mandlakayise was John Langalibalele Dube's cousin; they went together to the United States of America. The attitude of the colonists towards Dube and Mqhawe is well captured in Shula Marks book, "on his return from his second visit to the States, Dube was watched by special detectives. He and his uncle, Chief Mqawe, whose son was also studying in the United States, were said to be harbouring treasonable designs against the state as early as 1898. During the South African War Dube was detained for some time for alleged seditious statements'. See *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 75. Mandlakayise's mother was Ntozethu daughter of *iNkosi* Phakade Mchunu. *iNkosi* Phakade "had gathered around him remnants of various chiefdoms and welded them into largest chiefdom in Natal, centred on the Weenen district. He had marched with government troops against Langalibalele's Hlubi in the late 1840's". See "Politics and society in Inanda, Natal...". p. 101.

“Madlukana acted as regent in his stead”.¹⁶¹ He became *inkosi* – chief in the 1840’s and erected his principal *umuzi* – homestead called eKumanazeni described by Hughes as a “Place of quibbling”.¹⁶² He ruled over 3,000 huts, more than 523 being in KwaMaphumulo division.¹⁶³ His people were also in the uMngeni, Lower Thukela, Inanda and Impendle divisions.¹⁶⁴ The amaQadi people are the Ngcobo people, and it is said that the Ngcobo house “has many tribes from it”. Mqhawe was “the junior brother (*mnawe*) of the house of Ngcobo”, and the Ngcobo people “are descended from the amaFuze”.¹⁶⁵ Mqhawe’s father was Dabeka kaDube kaSilwane kaNjila kaNgotoma (iQadi).¹⁶⁶ Though the bulk of the amaQadi lived in the troubled Maphumulo division, his people had not participated in the *impi yamakhanda*. Obviously they “were restless over the Poll Tax” but “four hundred Qadi aided Colonel McKenzie in the Maphumulo district”.¹⁶⁷ The non-involvement of the amaQadi in *impi yamakhanda* was attributed to Dube, who himself realized and successfully communicated the impossibility of fighting the whites’ modern weaponry with traditional black weapons.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Hughes, Heather. “Politics and society in Inanda, Natal: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1910.” Unpublished dissertation, University of London, 1995. p. 81.

¹⁶² “Politics and society in Inanda, Natal...”. p. 86.

¹⁶³ NAD, NCP, 8/2/5, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 124.

¹⁶⁴ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. pp. 48 and 282.

¹⁶⁵ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 32. See footnote 82 below.

¹⁶⁶ *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 482.

¹⁶⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 334.

¹⁶⁸ *Ilanga lase Natal*, February and March 1906.

Through his Ngcobo lineage, Dube was also linked to the amaNyuswa people in the kwaMaphumulo, uMvoti, and New Hanover divisions under iNkosi Swayimane.¹⁶⁹ Swayimane was the son of “Ziphuku kaNtuli kaMavela – of the Ngcobo people”¹⁷⁰ and was one of the three very important *amakhosi* – chiefs in kwaMaphumulo. The other two, Ngobizembe and Meseni, as indicated above refused to pay tax when summoned by the local magistrate to do so in January 1906.¹⁷¹ In 1905 the Swayimane chiefdom had been attacked by amaQwabe under iNkosi Meseni, but interestingly in 1906 both Swayimane and Meseni were united in the rejection of the poll tax.¹⁷² Swayimane was severely punished together with Ngobizembe, Meseni and Ndlovu by Colonel Leuchars.¹⁷³ At the end of June some of Swayimane’s followers joined Meseni in the *impi yamakhanda*¹⁷⁴ and at the beginning of 1907 “Swayimana’s rebels were placed under the loyal Chief Mahlube”.¹⁷⁵

Most of the acting chiefs, government’s appointees, not surprisingly formed the bulk of the collaborators in 1906. With their help the colonial government continued to destroy the traditional political landscape.

¹⁶⁹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 252.

¹⁷⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 32.

¹⁷¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 198.

¹⁷² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 228.

¹⁷³ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 225.

¹⁷⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 230.

¹⁷⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 325.

Sibindi

The first chiefdom that offered to help the colonial government against their fellow Zulus were led by iNkosi Sibindi¹⁷⁶ who was an acting inkosi of the Ngubane people. His chiefdom was in uMsinga division of the Ngubane (*abasemaBomvini / amaBomvu*) people,¹⁷⁷ and the principal *umuzi* was Enhlonga.¹⁷⁸ During the first encounter between the colonial forces and the blacks at Nkandla, Sibindi's people had been involved, and they were active on the government side until the end of *impi yamakhanda*.¹⁷⁹ Sibindi's participation in the war was supported by *amakholwa* (Christians) of the Norwegian Mission Society in his chiefdom¹⁸⁰, the *Greytown Gazette* called Sibindi as "the most loyal chief in the country"¹⁸¹.

The relationship between Sibindi's amaBomvu chiefdom and the Zondi chiefdom under Bhambada were very strained. Similarly, as Sibindi's chiefdom had been involved in many boundary disputes¹⁸² with the Majozi (amaQamu) chiefdom under Khula, Sibindi's relations with Khula were also very strained. It can be argued that his pro-government attitude in 1906 was because of the old rivalry that existed between the

¹⁷⁶ *Ilanga lase Natal*, April 13th, 1906.

¹⁷⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 343.

¹⁷⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 331.

¹⁸¹ As quoted by Marks see *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 318.

¹⁸² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 218.

chiefdom and his neighbours.¹⁸³ Sibindi's chiefdom had been involved with Khula's chiefdom in many boundary disputes.¹⁸⁴

Sibindi was different from other loyal chiefs for he had become aware of the sufferings of his people, and expressed his concerns during a farewell interview with the Governor Sir Henry McCallum in mid 1907. One of the things he spoke about was that during the *impi yamakhanda* he had allowed the Hermannsburg Lutheran missionaries into his chiefdom. His concern for the welfare of his people was presumably also behind his request for "representation and the franchise as the best method of changing the political position of Africans in Natal" before the Natal Native Affairs Commission (1906 - 1907).

Lastly on the positive it should be noted iNkosi Sibindi was keen for his people to get education and Christianity:

Chief Sibindi, who became convinced during his fighting on the government side that God was with him, after the rebellion allowed schools to be built in his ward for the first time, and a large number of his Bomvu people came to the missionaries for instruction in Christianity.¹⁸⁵

Unlike some of the other loyal chiefs who benefited very little from their loyalty, whose lives were threatened or who were killed, Sibindi's loyalty was relatively profitable. He got concessions from the government and his appointment to a 'permanent full chieftaincy' was a reward for his services during *impi yamakhanda*. His jurisdiction was "considerably extended over portions of tribes in Mapumulo district" of Ndlovu, Ngobizembe, Meseni, Mashwili and Ngqokwana.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 319.

¹⁸⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 218.

¹⁸⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 357.

¹⁸⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 319.

Sibindi died in December 1911, in a Durban hospital. He was buried on 20 December 1911 and Rev S. Clement-Johns (of the Wesleyan Church) conducted the funeral service according to Christian rites, as Sibindi had requested before he died. His death was reported by Clement-Johns to the *Ilanga Lase Natal*.¹⁸⁷ It is very interesting to note that the iNkosi Sibindi had a Christian funeral although he was a traditional leader, emphasizing the inherent dilemma of traditional people whose loyalties were divided between the forces of their inheritance and the forces of change as represented by the colonial way of life.

The independent chiefdom - *emaChunwini* chiefdom

The *emaChunwini* chiefdom had a tradition of animosity with the house of Senzangakhona long before it had achieved the status of the Zulu royal house in its own kingdom. INkosi Macingwana who ruled the *emaChunwini* chiefdom during the reign of Senzangakhona (King Shaka's father) was ill treated by Shaka and by Mpande. Macingwane decided to remove himself and his chiefdom to Mpondoland where he died at eNsikeni, and although his descendants returned to Natal they remained enemies of the Zulu monarchy. It is no wonder therefore that, when asked by the colonial authorities, the chiefdom agreed to participate alongside the colonial forces in wars such as those against Sikhukhuni and amaZulu (1879). INkosi Gabangaye the grandson of Macingwane was killed in the battle of iSandlwane (Anglo Zulu War, 1879).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ The nation had lost a leader who was of great help to the Wesleyan Church and other churches in his chiefdom. See a letter written by S. Clement-Johns in *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27 1911.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with iNkosi Simakadeni (popular known as Simakade) Mchunu, on 3 December 2002, at Mchunu Tribal Authority by Muziwandile Hadebe and Dr. Thokozani Nene. INkosi Simakadeni Mchunu has been ruling the chiefdom since 8 April 1945. He is the grandson of Silwane, his father Mzochithwayo

The colonial documents alleged that Silwane (the son of Gabangaye) was ‘loyal’ to the colonial government in 1906, and there were also rumours that he was secretly in sympathy with Dinuzulu. However, new evidence suggests that he was, in fact, neutral. Though the Chief was requested to participate in 1906 in the action against Bhambada his chiefdom did not in reality participate. A contingent of *Amabutho* were indeed sent to Helpmekaar, but because of their aggressive attitude they were regarded with such suspicion by the white army officials who had recruited them that they were released from their commitment the following day and sent back to their chief without having fought. On their way back they plundered and looted the white shops and farms, an action that might have created some doubts in colonial circles about the loyalty of Silwane’s followers.¹⁸⁹

In fact Silwane’s Mchunu people were forced to remain neutral: they could neither help the colonists (the memories of the death of Gabangaye were still fresh in their minds) nor Bhambada (because of the allegations that Dinuzulu was on his side and the Mchunu harboured an ancient grudge against the royal house).¹⁹⁰

Silwane was the son of Gabangaye kaPhakade kaMacingwane kaLubhoko¹⁹¹ and took over the chieftaincy in the early 1880’s¹⁹², and was said to be the “the most

died in 1927 when he (iNkosi Simakade) was only four. iNkosi Mchunu is tremendously resourceful – he has a lot to tell not only about the amaChunu chiefdom but with other various chiefdoms.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with iNkosi Simakadeni Mchunu

¹⁹⁰ Interview with iNkosi Simakadeni Mchunu.

¹⁹¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 26.

¹⁹² *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 5. p. 282.

powerful Natal Chief".¹⁹³ Inkosi Silwane Mchunu had been closely related to Bhambada but despite this there was a lot of stick fighting between their followers.¹⁹⁴ Although, as Dube reported in the *Ilanga* newspaper, Silwane and his chiefdom paid the Poll Tax,¹⁹⁵ and although during the *impi yamakhanda* in 1906 he offered his assistance to the colonial government, Silwane was unable to carry all his people with him in his collaboration with the state.¹⁹⁶ This means that he was amongst the *amakhosi* - chiefs that did not defy the payment of the poll tax.

Silwane was inkosi of the large amaChunu chiefdom (*ubukhosi baseChunwini*) was located in the six magisterial districts in the Natal midlands, namely: "the Estcourt, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umsinga, Umvoti, and Weenen divisions."¹⁹⁷ The *ubukhosi bamaChunu* (Chunu chiefdom) Consisting of 30,000 people,¹⁹⁸ the *ubukhosi bamaChunu* (Chunu chiefdom) was the largest chiefdom at the turn of the century in Natal.¹⁹⁹ Despite the great size of his chiefdom, allegedly the home of 10,500 men of fighting age²⁰⁰, Silwane failed to send 1000 men to the colonial government as he had promised. He

¹⁹³ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 456.

¹⁹⁴ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 318. In fact Bhambada's mother was a 'daughter of Pakade, a well known Chief of the Cunu tribe, now for the most part living in Weenen division'. See *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 157. 'Bambata's boundaries abut on the area occupied by his cousin Silwane's people'. See Bosman, Walter. *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. p. 18.

¹⁹⁵ *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 2nd, 1906.

¹⁹⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 280.

¹⁹⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 280.

¹⁹⁸ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 106.

¹⁹⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 316.

²⁰⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 355.

managed to muster only six hundred men²⁰¹ which suggests that he had little support within the chiefdom to fight on the government side.

In 1909 the government deposed Silwane because he quarrelled with the local magistrate who was alleged to be in favour of *induna*.²⁰² In 1910 his former chiefdom was divided into four sections. And INkosi Silwane died in exile in March 1912 at emaBhaceni in the Harding district (in Mavundla chiefdom²⁰³). Dube, the editor of *Ilanga Lase Natal*, expressed his concern about his death, as the hereditary chiefs were declining in number, whereas the number of the government appointed chiefs was increasing tremendously. Dube had believed that Silwane would not live much longer because he had led the life of a commoner as a result of the ill treatment he received from the white authorities.²⁰⁴

The second largest chiefdom in the Natal Colony

The leadership of the abaThembu chiefdom was 'loyal' to the colonial government during *impi yamakhanda*. The second largest chiefdom after the *amaChunu*, straddling Weenen²⁰⁵ and uMsinga in Natal, the abaThembu were under the authority of iNkosi Ngqamuzana.²⁰⁶ He was the son of Mganu, KaNodada kaNgoza (not Sir Theophilus Shepstone's appointed *induna*)²⁰⁷ and he presided over 28,000 people.²⁰⁸ Like iNkosi

²⁰¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 318.

²⁰² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 321.

²⁰³ Interview with iNkosi Simakadeni Mchunu (3 December 2002).

²⁰⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 22nd 1912.

²⁰⁵ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 293.

²⁰⁶ John Lambert. *Betrayed Trust. Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1995. p. 182.

²⁰⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 281.

Silwane's people most of Ngqamuzana's people lived on land privately owned by colonists. Although Ngqamuzana was one of the loyalists, he was unable "to secure the support of all his people" during the 1906 disturbances.²⁰⁹ He had promised to provide the Natal government with six hundred fighting men but only managed two hundred men. Some of his *izinduna* and his brothers were not prepared to fight on the government side against the amaQamu under iNkosi Khula Majozi, even though the two chiefdoms had a long history of animosity between them over a territorial border dispute. Ngqamuzana tried to excuse the shortfall in the supply of soldiers but the Governor was not prepared to listen to excuses.²¹⁰

The senior house of the amaFuze chiefdom

The Senior house of the Ngcobo chiefdom (amaFuze) The acting chief of the amaFuze, Mveli kaHemuhemu²¹¹ was 'loyal' to the colonial government. This was not surprising, given his dependency on the government for his status as the Nadi chiefdom of the amaFuze (as a regent for Langalakhe kaHemuhemu kaMadlenya kaMahawule kaNonyanda kaDlomo).²¹² Although he remained loyal to the colonial state throughout

²⁰⁸ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 106.

²⁰⁹ *Betrayed Trust*. p. 182.

²¹⁰ "In an interview with the Governor, Ngqamuzana attempted to excuse his people on the grounds that they were too ill-prepared to fight, as they were no longer allowed to drill regiments. To this McCallum retorted drily, 'He who excuses himself, accuses himself' ". See *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 317.

²¹¹ *Ilanga lase Natal*, February 16th, 1906. 'Mveli was the eldest son of iNkosi Hemuhemu. He was appointed to be a regent for Langalakhe who was a child between two and three years of age. The appointment took place in the presence of 126 men of amaFuze before the uMngeni division magistrate in Pietermaritzburg on 16 November 1900. His appointment dated from 24 November 1900, and he was entitled to a salary of f15 per annum. Prominent people from amaFuze chiefdom like the relatives of iNkosi Hemuhemu, some of his sons and brothers, his *izinduna* (including military *izinduna* – these are known as *amagoso* in isiZulu) and others were present'. See SNA 1/1/290.

²¹² *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 482.

the 1906 *impi yamakhanda* his amaFuze people “refused to accept Chief Mveli’s orders that they pay their poll tax”.²¹³ After the Richmond Incident (7 February 1906) which in fact preceded the so called the Bhambada Rebellion. Mveli adhered to his promise of assisting the colonial forces by capturing the so-called rebels, who were handed over to the court martial.²¹⁴ (This is later explained in detail). Mveli’s area of jurisdiction, located thirty kilometres south – east of Pietermaritzburg, was called Elandskop but later it became known as Swartkop location. As will be explained later the deposed and exiled chiefs (*amakhosi*) were sent to this area by the Natal colonial government.

Mkhize chiefdoms

The Mkhize chieftaincy was bitterly contested between two brothers. The succession dispute led to the intervention of the colonial state, which resulted in the division of the chiefdom into two sections. Faction fighting was the order of the day between the two sections, but in 1906 both sections showed signs of being dissatisfied with the poll tax and as had happened elsewhere, old enemies were drawn closer together through their common opposition to the authorities. However, the two chiefs paid the price for the actions of their followers, although they themselves had paid the tax.

Tilongo was the son of Ngunezi²¹⁵ kaSiyingile kaZihlandlo²¹⁶ kaGcwabe kaKhabazela kaMavovo kaMkhize kaGubhela.²¹⁷ Tilongo’s ancestor INkosi Zihlandlo had

²¹³ *Betrayed Trust*. p. 182.

²¹⁴ *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 6th, 1906.

²¹⁵ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 46.

²¹⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. p. 279.

²¹⁷ *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 407.

been on “friendly terms with King Tshaka”.²¹⁸ In fact King “Tshaka called him his younger brother (*mnawe*)”.²¹⁹ iNkosi Ngunezi was the senior of the iNkosi Mqolombeni Mkhize and iNkosi Mguqula Mkhize. Ngunezi kaSiyingela Mkhize died in 1895 without having nominated his successor. This led to a dispute between his sons Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu over chieftaincy. The Natal government intervened and enforced a settlement contrary to a Zulu custom the *ubukhosi* was divided into two sections between Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu. The faction fighting began and continued for many decades afterwards. In due course their sons, Nkasa and Thimuni succeeded Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu respectively.²²⁰ Tilongo was a chief of the section of amaMbo (Mkhize people) in the uMngeni and uMlazi divisions in the Natal Midlands.²²¹ His chieftom was one of the most important ones and as a result it was not on good terms with the local white farmers. The farmers wanted this chieftom to be broken up. During the collection of the poll tax it was these farmers who wanted Tilongo to be deposed. The hostile attitude did not change even after Tilongo and his people paid their tax in April 1906.²²²

Surprisingly Bubula Mkhize (Ngunezi’s full young brother) and iNkosi Mguqula Mkhize (Ngunezi’s distant cousin) remained loyal to the colonial government during *impi*

²¹⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 2. 279.

²¹⁹ *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 407.

²²⁰ *iNkosi Siyingela* was the one who provided shelter and food to Henry Francis Fynn in 1825 on his first visit to Zululand. At the time amaMbo lived at Thongathi. See H. C. Lugg. *Life under a Zulu shield*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1975. p. 65.

²²¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 142.

²²² *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 2nd, 1906, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 197.

yamakhanda in 1906. Bubula was appointed iNkosi over a small section of abaMbo (Mkhize people) by the Natal colonial government.²²³

Finally, Tilongo was deposed although he played no part in the *impi yamakhanda*. He was also tried by the court martial in Pietermaritzburg and found guilty for sedition and public violence. He was fined five hundred head of cattle, which was later commuted by the Governor to two hundred and fifty. He was deported together with other ‘ringleaders’ to St Helena in 1907. Harriet Colenso tried very hard for the reduction of his sentence and a number of appeals were made to the Supreme Court (Natal), Colonial Office and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. All these attempts were futile.²²⁴ His chiefdom was divided into three sections.²²⁵ Both Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu were granted parole by Lord Gladstone in 1910 after having served three years of their ten-year sentences.²²⁶ The fate of both Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu illustrated the pressure exerted by the white farmers, especially in the more fertile areas of Natal, who demanded land from the surrounding chiefdoms, resulting in animosity between the farmers and the traditional leaders. The farmers wanted the chiefs to be deposed so that they could get more land. Possibly the much discussed hostility between white farmers and the surrounding rural people which is evident today might have some roots in this longstanding rivalry over land.²²⁷

²²³ *Life under a Zulu shield*. p. 65 – 6.

²²⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 196.

²²⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 354 - 355.

²²⁶ *Ilanga lase Natal*. December 23rd, 1910.

²²⁷ See Jonny Steinberg. *Midlands*. Jonathan Ball Publishers: Johannesburg and Cape Town, 2002.

Miskofili Dlamini of the amaKhuze chiefdom

A similar case was that of iNkosi Miskofili Dlamini, who ruled the amaKhuze chiefdom in the Ipholela, Ixopo and Upper uMkhomazi divisions.²²⁸ He was the son of Khukhulela (died on 19 November 1888²²⁹) kaMmiso kaNomagaga.²³⁰ In the Natal midlands he experienced the same hardships as Tilongo. INkosi Miskofili's mother was an elder daughter of iNkosi Langalibalele.²³¹ Miskofili's domain was the sub-chiefdom of the main Dlamini chiefdom (eKunene) in the Natal. The other sub-chiefdoms of the Dlamini in the Colony were eSiphahleni and eNhlanguwini.²³²

The white people in the area of Miskofili's chiefdom had a meeting as early as March 1906 at Ixopo where they expressed their hatred for him. They wanted the chief to be deposed from his chiefdom and be driven out of the colony.²³³ In fact, since 1897 when he assumed chieftaincy, he had been very unpopular with his white neighbours including the magistrate as they wished the destruction of his chiefdom.²³⁴ Dube in his

²²⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 3. p. 191, and see *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p. 30 and Volume 5 : 251.

²²⁹ *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 367.

²³⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p. 4.

²³¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p.13 and p. 26. On his mother's side he was the grandson of the amaHlubi Chief Langalibalele who clashed with the Natal colonial government in 1873. His mother's name was Nkomose. 'This woman's influence during the 1906 was directed to inducing her son's tribe to pay the poll tax', see *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 141; also see a letter from Colonel MacKenzie to the Commandant of Militia, February 25th, 1906 in *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. p. 9: "I have a reliable information that Msikofeni's mother (who is a daughter of the late Chief Langalibalele) has great influence over the tribe, which influence she is using for a good purpose in trying to induce the young men to pay the poll tax".

²³² *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 367.

²³³ *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 30th, 1906.

²³⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 193 – 194.

newspaper tried to encourage black people to go and pay the Poll Tax since chiefs like Tilongo had paid.²³⁵

Although Miskofili, like Tilongo had not participated in the fighting and he had complied with the government order of handing over all the men demanded by the military, his chiefdom was divided into three sections after *impi yamakhanda*. One section was given to the magistrate's *induna* Msiwakeni Shezi, the *induna* of the Ixobho magistrate F. E. Foxon. Msikofini retained one section while the third one was given to his brother Pata.²³⁶ He was fined cattle as well.²³⁷ Msikofini died on 14 December 1921.²³⁸

Bhambada

Bhambada kaMancinza kaJangeni kaMangenge kaNomashumi²³⁹ kaNondaba kaTetane kaGasa²⁴⁰ is known as the protagonist in the 1906 saga. He was the chief of a section of *abakwaZondi* (Zondi people) in the “Umvoti, New Hanover, Eugenia, Lions River and Krantzkop divisions”.²⁴¹ Bhambada's people were based in Ngome area²⁴², which is

²³⁵ *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 2nd, 1906.

²³⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 321 – 322.

²³⁷ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 196.

²³⁸ *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 367.

²³⁹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p. 2.

²⁴⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p. 12. Mancinza died in 1883 when Bhambada was very young. ‘In 1884 Magwababa, a trustworthy *Induna* and brother of Mancinza was appointed Regent’. See *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. p. 18.

²⁴¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. p. 59.

²⁴² This area is also known as Mpanza valley north-west of Greytown. See *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 2. p. 78.

about 25 km away from Greytown. Born around 1861,²⁴³ he took over the reigns of the amaZondi chiefdom “on 6th, June 1890”²⁴⁴, and he was in constant conflict with his neighbouring white farmers.²⁴⁵ Most of his people lived on white farms and as a result he had problems with “mainly Afrikaner landlords”. The tension is well illustrated by Marks: “between 1901 and 1906 Bambatha was involved in thirty separate and financially crippling criminal and civil cases, actions, many of them over his failure to pay rent”.²⁴⁶ His chief advisor was Nhlonhlo, (who after the *uthuli* was sentenced to serve a term of twenty years and was amongst the twenty-five ‘ringleaders’ that were sent to St Helena and subsequently granted amnesty by Lord Gladstone towards the end.²⁴⁷).²⁴⁸ The name of his chief *umuzi* was eMkhontweni (place of the spear).

Another small section (462 huts) of the Zondi people moved and settled in the Nquthu and Nkandla districts after the Anglo-Zulu War (1899 - 1902). This group was under iNkosi Nongamlana who “remained loyal throughout the rebellion though some of his people joined the rebels”.²⁴⁹ It is very interesting to note that the Zondi was a divided house, especially the leadership. One would have expected the iNkosi Nongamlana Zondi to have had sided with Bhambada, but it was the same with Bhambada’s uncle

²⁴³ Harry C. Lugg. *Natal and Zululand: Containing a series of short Sketches of the Historic Spots, Game Reserves, Fishing Resorts, and Places of Scenic Beauty, etc. to be Found in the Province, Together with Some Notes on a Number of outstanding Characters, both European and Native, Associated with its Past History and development.* Pietermaritzburg, 1948. p. 72.

²⁴⁴ *The Natal Rebellion of 1906.* p. 18, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 201.

²⁴⁵ *Betrayed Trust.* p. 2.

²⁴⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 204.

²⁴⁷ *Ilanga lase Natal.* December 23rd, 1910.

²⁴⁸ C. T. Binns. *The last Zulu King: the life and death of Cetshwayo.* London, Longmans, 1963. p. 189.

²⁴⁹ *The Natal Rebellion of 1906.* p. 2.

Magwababa and his brother Funizwe (who succeeded Bhambada), who were also pro government.

Chakijana a controversial character

Bhambada's lieutenant in *impi yamakhanda* was a complex character. To begin with one needs to look at his names first: uSukabekhuluma, uSigilamkhuba, uShayinja kaGezindaka kaNomaqongqotho kaJobe Sithole. One of the prominent leaders of the 1906 *impi yamakhanda*,²⁵⁰ he was better known as Chakijana.²⁵¹ At the end of March 1906 Bhambada visited Dinuzulu at his palace of oSuthu and on his way back to eNgome Chakijana, who was one of Dinuzulu's personal attendants, accompanied him.²⁵² It was alleged by many people that he incited abakwaZondi under the leader iNkosi Bhambada to rise against the colonial state.²⁵³ Chakijana "participated in all the major battles from the time of Bhambatha's attack on the magistrate at Keate's Drift on 3 April, until the battle of Mome Gorge, when he escaped to Zululand".²⁵⁴

A great statesman of the time

Dinuzulu's Ndunankulu²⁵⁵ (principal induna / prime minister / chief advisor) was Mankulumane Ndwandwe,²⁵⁶ son of Somaphunga kaZwide.²⁵⁷ Mankulumane was "a

²⁵⁰ Andreas Z. Zungu. *Usukabekhuluma*. Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter Book and Stationary Specialits, 1933. p. 5. His real name was uSukabekhuluma but he was better known as Chakijana.

²⁵¹ The meaning of his name is "the cunning weasel who shares the honours with Unogwaja, the hare, as the trickster of Zulu folk-lore. See T. Cope. *Izibongo, Zulu Praise Poems*. Cleredon, 1968. p. 74.

²⁵² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 237. OSuthu was the principal *umuzi* of Cetshwayo's chief son, Dinuzulu. See *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 3. p. 206.

²⁵³ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 168.

²⁵⁴ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 276.

²⁵⁵ *Ilanga lase Natal*, May 4th, 1906, James Stuart. *UHlangakhula*. Longmas, green and Co., London, 1924. p. 11 – 12, *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 213.

direct descendant of Zwide, Shaka's most formidable opponent in the days of the Zulu expansion".²⁵⁸ Stuart argued that Mankulumane instigated the 1906 *impi yamakhanda*.²⁵⁹ He was an intelligent man, as is shown in Lugg's monograph: "he was probably one of the ablest and most astute men the Zulu people have produced".²⁶⁰ He assisted OkaMsweli (Dinuzulu's mother) who carried out the duties of chieftainship for eight years while Dinuzulu was exiled in St Helena, and during that time he took "over much of the actual work of civil and minor criminal cases".²⁶¹ Mankulumane was outstandingly loyal to Dinuzulu during the trial and he accompanied Dinuzulu to exile, "and to the last maintained his innocence".²⁶² On 9 March 1909 he was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to nine months imprisonment.²⁶³

Much later Dube wrote a moving article about his death on 18 December 1926. He lamented that Mankulumane kaSomaphunga kaZwide kaLanga Nxumalo of the once prominent Ndwandwe kingdom, which came to an end when King Shaka defeated Zwide had died. He had been the only person alive who witnessed the independence of the Zulu kingdom as well as its demise. He had been father of the Zulu kings. All in Zululand

²⁵⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 3. p. 120, *Olden times of Zululand and Natal*. p. 213.

²⁵⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 4. pp. 318, 357, *UBaxoxele*. p. 196.

²⁵⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 97. He was 'the grandson of the prominent Ndwandwe Chief Zwide, see *Restless Identities*. p. 226.

²⁵⁹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 495.

²⁶⁰ H. C. Lugg. *Historic Natal and Zululand*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1949. p. 151.

²⁶¹ Binns. *The last Zulu King*. p. 164.

²⁶² *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 290.

²⁶³ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 293.

had trusted him. All the hardships that Dinuzulu had experienced were shared between the two of them. After Dinuzulu's death he continued to act as father to the heir and successor of Dinuzulu, Solomon kaDinuzulu. He died an untimely death, after contracting an illness in Johannesburg. He had accompanied Solomon who had to consult doctors there and Mankulumane himself became ill. He had been an intelligent person and he had served the Zulu royal house successfully, faithfully and with determination. His death was a great loss to the Zulu nation and the whole of Zululand.²⁶⁴

The government-created chiefdom - amaQamu

It is interesting to note that certain chiefdoms created by the colonial authorities in the mid nineteenth century sympathised with the so-called rebels in 1906.

The large section of the Majozi (amaQamu) chiefdom openly supported Bhambada by sending *amabutho* to Nkandla. The amaQamu people were under iNkosi Khula kaLuntshungu in the uMsinga the grandson of Ngoza Majozi²⁶⁵ and were located to uMsinga and Dundee divisions.²⁶⁶ Khula traced his family's claim to the chiefdom back to the mid 1850's when his ancestor, Ngoza kaLudada was one of principal *induna* of Theophilus Shepstone's (Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal).²⁶⁷ Ngoza was an appointed iNkosi and as a result the chiefdom always considered itself as the 'government's tribe'. However, by 1906 Khula's relationship with the uMsinga magistrate had become very bad and the magistrate sent frequent complaints to the

²⁶⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. 24 December 1926.

²⁶⁵ See Jeff Guy's Seminar paper, 2001, UND.

²⁶⁶ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 3. pages 141-2, 236 and Volume 4. pages 11, 30.

²⁶⁷ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 151 and Vol. 5. p 320.

Minister of Native affairs but without valid charges.²⁶⁸ His chiefdom was the largest of all the ten that existed in 1906 in the uMsinga district.²⁶⁹

The Majози chiefdom was not in good terms with the Ngubane chiefdom under the regent Sibindi over the boundary dispute.²⁷⁰ Indeed his chiefdom was very powerful and influential. His uncle was Mnteli kaNгоza who was also his *uNdunankulu* (chief advisor) at Elands Kraal.²⁷¹ One of his *izinduna* was Nondubela, who also participated in *impi yamakhanda*.²⁷² Another *induna* was Mabulawa who also armed against the colonial forces in 1906.²⁷³ Mnteli was one of the prominent leaders in the 1906 uprising.²⁷⁴

In January and February 1906 amaQamu had shown unwillingness to pay the poll tax: Khula was summoned to appear before the minister. He was cautioned about what the government had done to other *amakhosi* such as Ngobizembe, Meseni, Ndlovu and others. In May he was detained and later deposed.²⁷⁵

A further example of non – compliance with the colonial authorities was to be found among the abaThembu under the Acting iNkosi Nqgamuzana who refused to fight

²⁶⁸ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 218.

²⁶⁹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 217, and also see *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 319.

²⁷⁰ *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 219, 319.

²⁷¹ *The James Stuart Archive*. Volume 3. p. 236, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 313, *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 322. The history books (like Stuart, Marks) use the name Mtele yet the newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal*, spell the name as Mnteli and Magma Fuze spell it as Mntele, in this work the form Mnteli will be used. In conversation with people on the ground in uMsinga and Weenen I have found that this spelling is more generally used.

²⁷² *Natal Mercury*. May 19th 1906.

²⁷³ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 218.

²⁷⁴ *Ilanga lase Natal*, October 19th, 1906.

²⁷⁵ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 217 218.

against amaQamu when requested by the government despite their long-standing animosity between his people and their neighbours.²⁷⁶ The Acting iNkosi Nqgamuzana ruled over more than 4,500 huts that roughly comprised the village of more than 18,000 people. The huts of the other nine chiefdoms could not even amount to 4,000 put together.²⁷⁷

Some of the ‘loyal’ chiefdoms

The amaKhabela people in the Krantzkop division were under iNkosi Gayede kaMakhedama.²⁷⁸ He was regarded as one of the loyal chiefs of the government. According to his son and heir Mkhuzangwe, iNkosi Gayede was unable to join the rebels because he was a “mere dog of the Government – *umgodoyi ka Rulumeni*”.²⁷⁹ Another loyal chief was in the kwaMaphumulo division namely, Acting iNkosi Mahlubi who headed the Gcwensa chiefdom during the 1906.²⁸⁰ The Gcwensa had experienced the succession dispute, and it led to the split of the chiefdom during 1906. Nkosana Gcwensa was the heir to the chieftaincy but he joined the ‘rebels’ while the regent joined the colonial government. Nkosana was arrested and deposed while the ‘loyal’ Mahlubi was appointed to a permanent full chieftaincy of the chiefdom for his services. Furthermore, he was given a section of amaNyuswa who had been under Xhegwana.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 317.

²⁷⁷ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 319.

²⁷⁸ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 191.

²⁷⁹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 315, *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol 5. p. 161.

²⁸⁰ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 59.

²⁸¹ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 314

South Coast

On the South Coast there were Henry Francis Fynn's black supporters known as iziNkumbi. Charlie was the nephew of Henry F. Fynn (junior).²⁸² Charlie Fynn "succeeded his mother as chief of the iziNkumbi".²⁸³ His people settled in the Alexandra and Lower uMzimkhulu divisions.²⁸⁴ Stuart referred to him as "a half-caste and Chief of a large tribe" at eMthwalume area.²⁸⁵ He had been unsuccessful in urging his people to pay the poll tax. His *induna* had sympathized with the popular feeling of the people who were prepared to defy the payment. MacKenzie had sentenced five participants to death (later commuted by the government) and others were given severe sentences (later reduced by the government). Fynn was fined fifteen hundred head of cattle.²⁸⁶ The Duma people who were under iNkosi Jack in the Alexandra division²⁸⁷ were mainly based in the uMzinto area at a place called Dumisa named after iNkosi Jack's grandfather Dumisa.

The Zulu royal house

The structure of the chiefdoms was to a large extent dependent on the overall structure of the kingdom, and to the existence of the monarch to whom the chiefs owed their

²⁸² *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 95. 'Mr. Henry F. Fynn was the (son of the earliest pioneer of Natal)', see *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 210.

²⁸³ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 4. p. 261.

²⁸⁴ *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 46 and Volume 5. pp. 18, 235.

²⁸⁵ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 143. It should be noted that: "Despite their virtual exclusion from white society the Coloured of Natal saw themselves as part of the white group. They resented being 'practically stigmatised as natives', were dissatisfied with their status under the native law, their lack of political rights, the failure of the government to make adequate provision for the education of their children, and their expulsion from the defence forces of the colony". See *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 8.

²⁸⁶ *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 197.

²⁸⁷ *Ilanga lase Natal*. March 16th 1906, *The James Stuart Archive*. Vol. 3. p. 219, and Vol. 5. p. 252.

allegiance. Effectively the last of the kings who had any hope of unifying the chiefly structure, albeit within the parameters of severely diminished powers, was Dinuzulu.

However, after nearly fifty years of oppression by the colonial state, it is doubtful whether Dinuzulu ever had much chance of maintaining the traditional structures, despite his lineage and background. The name given to Dinuzulu at his birth at eZinhlendlane (homestead) in Mahlabathini²⁸⁸ was Mahelana-avela-o-Ndini (abbreviated to Mahelana). Mahelana was five or six years old when his grandfather Mpande died in 1872. His mother Nomvimbi Somakoyisa Msweli was not from a prominent family like other wives of King Cetshwayo. When he was a boy King Cetshwayo named him Dinuzulu, which means “the one the Zulu nation hates – *lo udinwa nguZulu*”.²⁸⁹ Although division and rivalry were features of the history of the amaZulu clans from early times, the division that was caused by the divide and rule policy of the Natal authorities ensured that by the time of Dinuzulu’s death the “one that the Zulu nation hates” was indeed seen by some as the cause of division rather than a rallying centre for unity.

Dube promoted the image of Dinuzulu as the icon to whom the majority of the amaZulu looked for leadership, a figure of illustrious lineage known and respected by all his people (amaZulu). Although the Natal colonial government reduced his power to that of ‘Government *Induna*’, Dube supported the view that “the Zulu people as a whole looked on him as more than the mere head of the Usutu tribe”.²⁹⁰ A number of chiefs visited and consulted him on various political issues coming from Zululand, Natal and

²⁸⁸ UBaxoxele. p. 209.

²⁸⁹ Magma M. Fuze. *Abantu abamnyama, lapa bavela khona*. City Printing Works, Pietermaritzburg, 1922. pp. 212 – 214.

²⁹⁰ Binns. *The last Zulu King*. p. 167.

other provinces. However, Dube's was not an uncontested view: perhaps significantly Dinuzulu's *umuzi* when he lived in exile in the Northern Transvaal was called kwaThengisangaye (the place where the Zulu people sold him out).²⁹¹

The forces that ultimately destroyed Dinuzulu were part of the same process that undermined the fabric of the chiefly tradition, which in pre-colonial days had underpinned amaZulu society. Forced off the most fertile land by violent means (e.g. in Nkandla, Nquthu and Maphumulo), obliged by taxation to become part of the migrant labor system, and in some cases moved from their traditional chiefdoms to newly created polities, the amaZulu were generally impoverished and demoralized. Even the chiefs appointed by the colonial state received little reward for their loyalty. Although a framework of traditional leadership survived to be further manipulated by the South African government in their implementation of the apartheid homeland policy, and although the traditional leaders of today are still a complex force to be reckoned with²⁹², the political and social landscape mapped out in this chapter was profoundly changed by the events of 1906 and their aftermath.

²⁹¹ *Abantu abamnyama, lapa bavela khona.* p. 250.

²⁹² See Mary de Haas article entitled: Perverting tradition. *The Natal Witness*, 3 April 2003

Chapter 3

Dinuzulu - guilty or innocent?

This chapter focuses on Dube's criticism of the Natal settler state for its policy of undermining the power of *amakhosi* – chiefs, whose power was eroded to such an extent that the authority of a chief was equated to that of a constable. Blacks were even beaten for not saluting minor officials such as policemen with a royal salute that according to the tradition of the amaZulu was solely used for hereditary leaders. Dube viewed the appointment of Manzolwandle as a chief – inkosi as the colonial government's attempt to create division amongst the amaZulu, and finally to undermine the position of Dinuzulu. He argued that some whites were happy to see a rift amongst the black people.

Dube touches on rumours that were circulating which implicated Dinuzulu in the *impi yamakhandanda* – the 1906 turmoil. White fears were increased by the death of the Mahlabathini magistrate Stainbank, which they attributed to Dinuzulu. Dube tries to prove the innocence of Dinuzulu, for example citing the fact that Dinuzulu was the first to pay the *imali yekhanda* – poll tax. He published a letter written by Bishop Nils Alstrup of Kranskop, which vouched for Dinuzulu's innocence. Dinuzulu initiated a meeting with the Governor to clear himself of the allegations that he had been involved in the *impi yamakhandanda*, a meeting that was reported in detail in the *Ilanga*. Dube demonstrated that Dinuzulu's popularity was not only confined to the oSuthu chiefdom but instead that his popularity was general throughout the whole of Zululand, Natal and beyond, and many black people looked at him as the successor and son of King Cetshwayo and therefore deserving of authority and respect. Dube was critical of the white newspapers for

discrediting Dinuzulu. As a loyal supporter of the king Dube published in his newspaper poems of excellence which held Dinuzulu up as an example to his followers.

Dube was determined to emphasise the fact that King Dinuzulu had never resisted paying the poll tax, and that he had never tried to encourage the blacks to resist paying the tax. Thus Dinuzulu was amongst the first people in Zululand to be reported by *Ilanga* to have paid the poll tax. Other principal chiefs were also reported to have paid tax. Those chiefs were Tilongo of aBambo, Miskofile of amaKhuze and Silwane of amaChunu. Dube, as editor, tried to persuade the black people to go to work to get money to pay tax. He reminded blacks that the Richmond incident was “*isidunyana – minor excitement*” and it was over. They should not get excited. Interestingly he added, “*o Dinuzulu no Mqhawe noMafukuzela, okusa beqanjelwa amanga kutiwa benza imilingo, bacija abantu ukuba bale ukutela – Dinuzulu, Mqhawe and Mafukuzela (Dube) are continually being falsely credited with magic and encouraging black people to resist the tax*”.²⁹³ Probably he intended to counteract the powerful rumours that rebellion could not fail, as the rebels would allegedly be protected by Dinuzulu’s magic. Dube knew that many were being persuaded to join the rebels on account of this rumour.

Dinuzulu was believed to have magical powers even in other colonies. After Bhambada had attacked the white people, the amaSwazi, amaZengele and amaShangane began to talk about war. There is no doubt that Dinuzulu was credited far and wide with having the ability to work miracles, despite Dube’s attempts to discredit the rumours.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 2nd 1906.

²⁹⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 18th 1907.

Long before the rebellion, Dube maintained in *Ilanga* that Dinuzulu was not a person who liked war. He welcomed the Natal Native Affairs Commission to be instituted, which would investigate Dinuzulu's role in the 1906 disturbances, as he believed that Dinuzulu was innocent.²⁹⁵

Speculation about Dinuzulu's role in the upheavals never stopped, and despite the fact that he did not appear to believe them, Dube did report the rumours in *Ilanga*. It became worse when, in about June 1906, a man from Thongaland (Maputaland) and eight other men were captured in Pietersburg in the Transvaal. They had been consulting all the black chiefs in the Transvaal. According to his testimony this iThonga man had been sent by Ngwanase (iNkosi Tembe of Maputaland). He said that iNkosi Ngwanase had received orders from Dinuzulu that they should consult with the black chiefs about fighting against the whites. He stated that amaSwazi had welcomed the idea and that the abeSotho chief had sent messengers to Dinuzulu asking him why he had remained neutral when Bhambada was attacked and that Dinuzulu had responded that Bhambada angered him for fighting while other chiefs were not yet ready for a war.²⁹⁶

Bishop Nils Alstrup publicly stood by Dinuzulu, and wrote to *Ilanga*, saying that according to his knowledge of Dinuzulu, he was innocent. The Bishop mentioned that Dinuzulu knew the might of the British whites, which could destroy the Zulu people: Dinuzulu had seen the power of British weapons during the Anglo–Boer War and he knew that Britain could send reinforcements at any time. Moreover, Alstrup continued, Dinuzulu was a Christian and intelligent, and surrounded himself with intelligent men

²⁹⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 18th 1907.

²⁹⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 29th 1906.

such as Mankulumane and other *abanumzane*. To the Bishop, Dinuzulu's role in Bhambada's *udweshu*²⁹⁷ was only rumours. Bishop Nils Alstrup concluded by saying that he had written to *Ilanga* since it was his duty to give testimony about truth.²⁹⁸

The white community in Natal generally perceived Dinuzulu as a person who was behind *uthuli*.²⁹⁹ The rumours went so far as to suggest that Dinuzulu was armed to assist *abashokobezi*³⁰⁰ - rebels, but Sir Charles Renault Saunders (Mashiqela³⁰¹) disagreed. Mashiqela even suggested that Dinuzulu should be given an opportunity to show that he was on the government's side but the authorities refused. Dube's opinion was that the whites were suspicious of Dinuzulu for an obvious reason. He was the prince, and the black people loved him as he was from the royal house and was the hereditary heir. Dube also pointed out that Mashiqela had never doubted his innocence and was convinced that Dinuzulu did not initiate *uthuli*; Mashiqela stood by Dinuzulu despite the address sent by the colonial government to Britain that Dinuzulu might be involved in the rebellion – *impi yamakhanda*. There were a lot of rumours that implicated Dinuzulu during the war

²⁹⁷ *Udweshu* means: an “endless quarrel; vendetta”. See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. Compiled by C. M. Doke, D. M. Malcom, J. M. A. Sikhakhane and B. W. Vilakazi (Witwatersrand University press: Johannesburg) 178.

²⁹⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 22nd 1906.

²⁹⁹ *Uthuli* means: “Dust; commotion; disturbance; general quareel”. See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. 805.

³⁰⁰ *Umshokobezi* (singular) means: 1. A rebel. 2. A warrior of the uSuthu regiments of Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu, who wore the *ubushokobezi* badge. *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. 744. In the *Ilanga Lase Natal* newspaper *umshokobezi* is used as a rebel throughout the publications during the *impi yamakhanda*.

³⁰¹ *Mashiqela* (noun) means: autocrat, dictator, one who uses force in government. See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. p. 486.

at eNkandla.³⁰² It is interesting to note that the language used in this article indicates Dube's efforts to minimise any suggestions that Dinuzulu was behind *uthuli*.

In another article, Dube observed that both black and white enemies closely watched okaCetshwayo: (Dube's usage here emphasises Dinuzulu's lineage) they wanted him to be in trouble: some whites asserted that Dinuzulu was not innocent since Mankulumane and other *izinduna* – headmen agreed that many messengers from chiefs came from far and near to consult with Dinuzulu before the start of Bhambada's war. Their question was why Dinuzulu had not arrested them and sent them to Mashiqela. Dube wrote that Dinuzulu's enemies further suggested that he sympathised with the rebellious attitude because the rebel's war cry was *usuthu* (which had been the war cry of the Zulu king's army in earlier times); during the trial Sigananda testified that he participated in the war because he hoped Dinuzulu sanctioned it. (The use of the term "hoped" indicated doubt about Dinuzulu's involvement.) The whites referred to the incident when Mankulumane was sent to Sigananda where he stated that they acted hastily by declaring war, it was his duty to declare war as prime minister of Dinuzulu. Once again casting doubt on Dinuzulu's responsibility for the rebellion – *impi yamakhandu*, Dube indicated that those suspicions were well cleared by Bishop Astrup of Ntunjambili and he adequately dealt with them. Even His Excellency the Governor Sir Henry McCullum thoroughly investigated the matter as there was new evidence from Daniel and he discovered that nothing could cause Dinuzulu to be tried.³⁰³

³⁰² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 8th 1906.

³⁰³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, January 11th 1907

The allegations spread all over the place that Dinuzulu was the one who ordered the murder of the Mahlabathini magistrate Stainbank. Those allegations infuriated the white community more than any other rumours. The whites wanted the killing of Stainbank to be investigated so that the truth could be exposed. Dube expressed his disbelief that Dinuzulu could have sanctioned such a terrible act as Daniel, formerly Dinuzulu's secretary had mentioned. Dinuzulu was to be summoned to Maritzburg to clear his name of all the allegations mentioned by Daniel. The Governor called Mashiqela, and Daniel was interrogated in front of Mashiqela and the Governor. The *Ilanga* rejected Daniel's testimony against Dinuzulu because it was a personal vendetta. Daniel stated that the prince robbed him of his payment. It seemed that there was nothing in Daniel's testimony that could cause Dinuzulu to be arrested. It was clear that Daniel had made these allegations in order to avenge himself against Dinuzulu. He laid a charge against Dinuzulu that Dinuzulu owed him £95 as part of his payment. He had worked for Dinuzulu.³⁰⁴

Who was Daniel? Daniel was Dinuzulu's interpreter when he was exiled to St Helena. Daniel was appointed by the government to be Dinuzulu's interpreter. When they returned from St Helena they arrived at Eshowe and Daniel's contract with the government came to an end. Dinuzulu then employed him as his secretary. Daniel was educated at Lovedale. He was not a Zulu, he was from the south coast.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, January 11th 1907

³⁰⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, January 11th 1907.

Over and above his suggestion that Daniel was motivated by revenge, Dube's comments about Daniel perhaps indicate his subtle implication that the ex-interpreter might well have had little loyalty to Dinuzulu, as Daniel was not a Zulu, and had moreover been appointed by the colonial government.

The issue of Dinuzulu was a never – ending affair. The Honourable Prime Minister Fred Moor announced in Estcourt that the government intended to investigate the matter. The government would appoint a commission, which Dinuzulu would appear before to answer all the allegations against him. *Ilanga* applauded the proposal of the appointment of the commission so that the government would know his position. Dube clearly believed that Dinuzulu was innocent.³⁰⁶ Dube's use of the term "innocent" (*umsulwa*) arguably did not imply that he would have considered Dinuzulu to have been guilty, had he participated in the rebellion – *impi yamakhanda*.

It was a great day at eSandlwana on 23 January 1907 when Manzolwandle kaCetshwayo was installed as chief of three districts in the South West Zululand near Nquthu. Mashiqela who was accompanied by the colonial authorities of Nquthu and Nkandla installed him. The following *izikhulu* (people of rank) in charge of districts in Zululand attended: Gadaleni, Makhafula, Matshana kaMondise, Mayime, Mjantshi, Mpiyakhe, Nongamulana, Sishishsili and other headmen. The districts that were placed under Manzolwandle's authority were the Ntombela chiefdom under Faku kaZiningo and the Magubane chiefdom under Makhafula who acted for the heir of Nkukhwana kaSusa.³⁰⁷ It is clear that the colonial government's intervention was to further aggravate

³⁰⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, January 18th 1907.

³⁰⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 15th 1907.

resentment and mistrust amongst and within the chiefdom by placing people from various chiefdoms under one person. It is of importance to note that most of the *izikhulu* that attended were acting chiefs or appointed chiefs by the colonial government.

In March 1907 Dube reported that Dinuzulu now proposed to visit the authorities in Maritzburg and that Sir Charles Saunders (Mashiqela) would accompany him on his visit. Dube was pleased that Dinuzulu's visit was of his own accord: no one had summoned him, as he himself desired to meet the white authorities. Dinuzulu had wanted to visit Maritzburg for some time but he had been prevented from doing so because the flooded rivers had made travelling impossible. Dube reported a rumour that the appointment of his brother Manzolwandle by the Government over a large district in the Nquthu division encouraged Dinuzulu to see the authorities as the prince (Dinuzulu) was not happy about the appointment: since Manzolwandle was also a son of Cetshwayo, his influence amongst the blacks was going to equal that of Dinuzulu. Dube doubted the validity of the allegations because they emanated from some whites that did not want to see the blacks reconciled but wished them to remain enemies for life:

The white people say that this has not pleased the Prince because Manzolwandle is also a son of Cetshwayo, and his promotion will give him influence equal to that of Dinuzulu's amongst the blacks. This appears to be one of the matters he will discuss with the authorities in Maritzburg. We do not know whether there is any truth in this story because its origin lies with certain white people who do not want to see blacks on friendly terms, but as perpetual enemies³⁰⁸.

Dube's tone seemed to be attacking the colonial policy of divide and rule.

³⁰⁸ *Batike abelungu loko akumtokozisile umntwana njengoba uManzolwandle naye engoka Cetshwayo, loku kupakanyiswa kwake, kuzobangela ukuba abe nesitunzi esingange sika Dinuzulu pakati kwabantu, sengati leyo enye yezinto ayofika azixoxe namakosi eMgungundlovu. Asazi noma likona yini iqiniso kulendaba, ngoba umtombo wayo abelungu abatile abangatandi ukubona abantu abamnyama betelelana amanzi, betanda ukubabona beyizita njalo. See Ilanga Lase Natal. March 29th 1907.*

The article in *Ilanga* ended with an appeal by Dube to the authorities; “we Natal black people should also be given an opportunity of seeing the prince”.³⁰⁹ This appeal raises the question of Dube’s attitude towards the relationship between Dinuzulu and the rank and file of the Zulu people. Clearly as an editor and a person of some prestige there would be no difficulty for him in meeting with Dinuzulu. Possibly he was expressing an ideal that the Prince should still play a prominent role in Zulu politics, even though to a large extent colonization had emasculated the leadership of the Zulu people.

Indeed, the African political elite was apparently not happy about the appointment of Manzolwandle. The unhappiness was further aggravated by the fact that Sir Charles Saunders (Mashiqela) would accompany Dinuzulu to Maritzburg. Saunders appointed Manzolwandle as a chief and apportioned to him two districts. Mashiqela appointed three *izinduna* (headmen) for Manzolwandle. Mashiqela also gave his *umuzi* – homestead a new name, eNtandweni (the place of love).³¹⁰ It is very interesting to note that the government official did the naming of Manzolwandle’s *umuzi*, which is not according to the Zulu custom. The question was whose love was to dwell in that *umuzi*. This is a clear indication that Manzolwandle was colonial government surrogate. Dube wanted his readership to know that Manzolwandle had no power because he did not even appoint his *izinduna* – headmen.

Dube argued that the African elite believed that Saunders had created division amongst Dinuzulu’s people. The creation of Manzolwandle’s new authority had taken place without the knowledge of Dinuzulu who was a father to Manzolwandle because

³⁰⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 29th 1907.

³¹⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 19th 1907.

Dinuzulu had taken over from Cetshwayo. Dube's language in this article emphasizes the important position he believed belonged to Dinuzulu as leader and uniting force of the Zulu nation. Dube reported the general opinion that Saunders had not acted of his own accord but on the orders of the Governor – *uLusiba*.³¹¹ This article shows Dube's suspicion of the Governor.

There was some correspondence in the *Ilanga* about the question of whether the Governor was appointed for the good of the Colony:

.... However, he (the Governor – *uLusiba*) has been appointed in order that he may climb the high hill of Natal, and watch the good and the evil of Natal. But in the place of good he places that which is evil by removing that which is good. Does this act, which he has perpetrated between the sons of Cetshwayo, tend to improve the state of affairs in Zululand? Why, Zulus, is not the case that he did this while his hands were yet covered with blood of those people whom he has killed on account of the Poll Tax? Today he sets the King's sons at variance.³¹²

This quotation shows that Dube was unambiguously critical of the Governor because of the thousand blacks that were killed in 1906.

This was an extract of a letter written by P. Qwabe to *Ilanga* newspaper dated 19th April 1907. Qwabe appealed to the authorities to take good care of Dinuzulu as he appeared before the government with all humility. In his letter Qwabe challenged the editor of *Ikhwezi* newspaper about the integrity of the treatment of the black people by the white people and the colonial state. It seems to me when I read the questions of Qwabe that the editor of *Ikhwezi* (was a white person) had argued that the black people were not to be trusted. Qwabe asked the editor where he was: when blacks were called to arms in 1879? When blacks were called to arms in 1899? When blacks were

³¹¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 19th 1907.

³¹² ...*kepa nolusiba upakanyiswa ukubakwele pezukwe ntaba ende yase Natal abheke okuhle nokubi pakati kwe Natal. Kepa endaweni yokuhle ufaka okubi pakati kukipe okuhle, kambe lesisienzo asenze kuba ntwana baka Cetshwayo kambe besilungisa umhlaba wakwazulu yini mazulu bengati wenza lokunje izandla zake zisagcwele igazi lalaba Bantu ababulele ngemali yamakhandana na? Namhla use xabanisa abantwana benkosi ...* See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 19th 1907.

called to arms in 1906? If there was no confidence placed upon blacks, “why are they in similar cases armed when there is trouble, but when there is peace they are not trusted and they spoken of as black people (natives), and yet when there is war against the Government, they turn out to be men?” Qwabe concluded his letter by stating that blacks also belonged to the colonial government as much as everyone else in the colony.³¹³

This item in the *Ilanga* raises many questions. The publication of Qwabe’s letter, which could be seen as an attack on both the colonial government and the editor of *Ikhwezi* might indicate that Dube’s own attitude was highly critical of both. On the other hand he might have used Qwabe as a devil’s advocate, raising issues about which he was himself ambivalent, and giving both his readers and the government an opportunity to react, so that he could himself react in his own best interests.

Dube reported on Dinuzulu’s visit to Maritzburg. Eighty people accompanied Dinuzulu during this visit. They were old men, young men and baggage carriers. They travelled by train without a cent paid by Dinuzulu. They were accommodated in (Dean) Greene’s College called St. Albans College. They were well looked after and well catered for with lots of meat and bread. Amongst the people that were present were Dinuzulu’s intelligent *izinduna*, Mankulumane and Mgwaqo, as well as his secretary Benjamin Ncaphayi of Mvoti. Dube had an opportunity to talk with Mankulumane. Dube was very impressed by Mankulumane’s intelligence although he had no Western education. Dube believed that Mankulumane was a pillar of strength behind Dinuzulu; Dinuzulu’s previous secretary and interpreter, Daniel, had not

³¹³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, January 7th 1907.

succeeded in pulling him down because of Mankulumane. In Dube's opinion Dinuzulu had remained loyal to the government because he surrounded himself by men of Mankulumane's integrity (it is interesting to note a similarity between this article and a letter written by Bishop Nils Alstrup of Kranskop on page two above).³¹⁴ It is interesting that Dube uses the term "loyal – *uthembekile*" in this context, and one might ask whether this reflects an innate conservatism or if it reflects a tendency to conceal his real opinions in the interests of his own security.

Dube also had an opportunity to meet with Dinuzulu. According to Dube Dinuzulu was stout; the nape (*isijingo*) of his neck was like buffalo.³¹⁵ This article of describing such small details might indicate Dube's close relationship with the Zulu monarchy.

Dube reported on the meeting of Dinuzulu with the colonial authorities. Dinuzulu did not sit down for a long time; he stood with his elbows on the table with his chest propped up on his elbows. He spoke with deep feeling about all the issues that he discussed. Dinuzulu also spoke about civilization, which surprised Mafukuzela that the king's son knew a lot. Mafukuzela was a nickname of Dube's, and his use of the third person in referring to his own reaction to Dinuzulu needs to be examined. Dube was clearly impressed by the appearance and personality of the Prince, who wore expensive European clothes and looked handsome.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

³¹⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

³¹⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

Dube ensured that the *izibongo* – heroic poems of Dinuzulu were suitably published in his newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal*. Perhaps it is suitable to mention the significance of *izibongo*. It is to preserve the national history during the reign of that particular king; secondly, to expose the mode in which the king governed and to specify the location of the wars which were waged during the reign of that particular king. Lastly it concerned the total life of the king from about the time of his birth to about the time of his death. I think it was Dube’s attempt first to clear the name of the king, to prove that he was not (directly) involved in what was anti-governmental. Secondly he wished to assure the Zulu people that in spite of colonialism they were still the amaZulu and that they cannot lose hope. It was I think against this background that, in praise of Dinuzulu, Dube added: “One of the men said to Dube today you have seen ...”:

Thou shaggy one, that cannot be looked at;
 You are like the rays of the sun;
 A berry-bearing shrub that builds its own house in solitary at Dleka;
 He the heedless one like that of the Dutchman of Paul Kruger;
 He the over comer of two bulls;
 One being of the Ngenetsheni homestead;
 He has big legs like his sister Simiso;
 The hatchet of Msweli that has been cutting down men;
 The great mumble one of the dogs;
 He is the horns that grew on a dog, one wonders why they feared to grow on a cow.³¹⁷

Dube was grateful because he spent the weekend with Dinuzulu and his team. He recounted how on Sunday Dinuzulu rode in a cart with Miss Colenso to visit a

³¹⁷ *UNohlotovu kabhekeki,
 Ufana nemisebe yelanga,
 Isidhlundhlulu esaka indhllu sodwa kwa Dhleka;
 Umavela ajahe ofana neBhunu lako Pewula;
 Usilwa nankunzi mbili;
 Nganxenye angaze alwe ne yakwa Ngenetyeni.
 Uzito zimbobo zifana nezikadade wabo uSimiso,
 Izembe loka Msweli elikade liwagawula amadodoa.
 Imungakazi yezinja,*

Umpondo zamila enjeni kazi enkomeni zesabani. See Ilanga Lase Natal. May 24th 1907.

museum. Within a short period of time a crowd of black people gathered together to see him. When Dinuzulu appeared there was a “*bayede*”³¹⁸, a deafening sound from the crowd. There was a contingent of policemen to restrain the crowd. Dube explained the action of the police by saying that Dinuzulu was supposed to stay in peace so that he could have time to think about his mission in Maritzburg.³¹⁹

This comment once again raises the question of Dube’s attitude to the colonial authorities. By interpreting the action of the police in a positive light he might have been trying to minimize any possibility of increased discontent. It is perhaps difficult to determine how much tension and potential public violence there was in this situation. On the other hand this might have been part of a strategy to deflect criticism of *Ilanga* by the government. Perhaps lastly Dube wanted to show the support Dinuzulu commanded in spite of colonial rumours of implicating him being involved in 1906 but his following needed police to control and contain them.

³¹⁸ *Bayede* means: “Hail! Your Majesty. N.B. - Only used to the Zulu King. This term ought to be applied in this country to the Governor-General only as representative of the King. N.B. - The nearest words the term can be derived from is *ubayedwa*, he is by himself, that is, he stands out pre-eminently as superior to others”. See *The King Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary*. Compiled by Robert Charles Azariah Samuelson, solicitor, Natal. The Commercial Printing Co. Durban. 1923. Page 17. A different explanation: “*Bayethe* is influenced by a Qwabe dialect, for every l you put a y. The subjects of the Old Zululand were so loyal to the royalty, so much that they even expressed to the king or monarchy that whosoever was opposed to the throne should be brought to the public so as to deal with him accordingly, that is why they say *balethe* because we are as great as the expanse”, interview with Dr Thokozani Mandlenkosi Ernest Nene, in his home, Lamontville, Durban on 19 November 2002 by Muziwandile Hadebe. Nene’s explanation concurs with this: *Bayede!* (*Balethe*) literally bring them, i.e. the enemy, for us to destroy; the form now used by the Zulu is really Qwabe dialect. Sometimes corruptly heard as *bayethe*. Hail your majesty! (term strictly applicable only to the reigning member of the Zulu royal house; also today to the Governor-General as representative of the King). See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. 69. Professor Mazisi Kunene describes: “the royal salute ‘Bayede’ was originally ‘Bayethe’ meaning ‘bring them (the enemies), we are ready to fight them.’ The complete form is often used, ‘Bayede wiZulu or UyiZulu’ (Bring them, you who are vast as the heavens). See Mzisi Kunene. *Emperor Shaka the Great, A Zulu Epic*. Johannesburg: Heinemann, 1979. p. xxviii.

³¹⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

Dinuzulu wanted to meet the government on Monday. If all went well he wanted to visit eKukhanyeni the home of his adopted relative Dlwedlwe³²⁰, Sobantu's daughter (Miss Harriet Colenso). Afterwards he would like to go back to the oSuthu because he had left important things that he wanted to attend to.³²¹ Dube admired Dinuzulu so much that it influenced his perception. To him Dinuzulu's innocence was not questionable therefore Dinuzulu had to go back to his chiefdom and carry on with his daily duties.

On Monday Dinuzulu rode in an open cart on his way to the government buildings. On his arrival there was the Prime Minister Dr Gubbins, the Justice Minister Mr Carter, the State Advocate Mr Labistour and the Prime Minister's Secretary Mr Plowman. Details of the talks were not disclosed to the public. Blacks from all walks of life (that included even the domestic workers) gathered outside the government buildings. There was *bayedede* all over the place when Dinuzulu appeared after the talks. The talks were completed on Tuesday. Dinuzulu had to leave on Thursday. The talks with the government were said to be constructive. Dube congratulated both the state and Dinuzulu for the cordial manner in which they had conducted themselves.³²² Again Dube's emphasis on Dinuzulu's support.

Dinuzulu before the Government

Dube reported on Dinuzulu's meeting with the Governor that was at 10h30. On Dinuzulu's side were his *izinduna* Mankulumane and Mgwaqo. Others attending were

³²⁰ Udlwedlwe means: "lond stick or staff (as used by old men for walking). See *English – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. 164.

³²¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

³²² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 24th 1907.

Sir Charles Saunders (uMashiqela), Dr C. O. Grady Gubbings acting for the Honourable F. R. Moor (for Native Affairs), his right hand man S. O. Samuleson Esq., (Dube's use of the formal Esq. Is perhaps a sign of his having "bought in" to the colonial social niceties) and many others but Mr Samuelson was an interpreter. The Governor started by thanking Dinuzulu for initiating the meeting with the government. Dinuzulu was given an opportunity to unburden himself of (cough out) whatever he wanted to say, and his *izinduna* were allowed to add their part after he had finished. Dinuzulu began by thanking the Governor for being allowed the visit and to get a chance to express himself about being falsely accused by the newspapers. Dinuzulu spoke for an hour. He mentioned his loyalty to the state as well as cordial relations with Zululand magistrates, as the government expected of him. He spoke about the accusations against him reported in the white newspapers. His main concern was that there were many allegations against him and he would be grateful if the state could disclose the names of the informants. That would allow him to respond to them. Five of his *izinduna* spoke afterwards. They requested the Governor and his Cabinet to protect Dinuzulu from those who accused him. They stated that Dinuzulu was doing his utmost and very best to uphold what the state told him to do when he was installed to the oSuthu chiefdom.

The talks lasted for three hours including the speech of the Governor who also spoke for an hour after Dinuzulu and his *izinduna*. The Governor expressed his gratitude at Dinuzulu's speech to him (the Governor) about his emotions. The Governor stated that Dinuzulu's name was mentioned as being involved in *uthuli* and that it was alleged that many of the rebels (*abashokobezi*) went to the oSuthu. If the

allegations were correct he requested Dinuzulu to report them to the government. The Governor stressed that Dinuzulu's position demanded him to do this. He further mentioned to Dinuzulu that it was reported that there were guns at the oSuthu that were not known to the government. He recommended that they should be registered. The Governor rejected Mankulumane's assertion that the abaQulusi were under Dinuzulu. He confirmed what he stated in 1903 that the abaQulusi were not under Dinuzulu, and that such a relationship would be totally unacceptable to the colonial government. The Governor repeated that the government intended to release some of *abashokobezi* and was searching for those who were still at large. They would be harshly punished. The Governor told Dinuzulu that a copy of the minutes of their meeting would be sent to him to keep and remind him of what they had agreed upon.³²³

Dinuzulu in Durban

Dube reported on Dinuzulu's visit to Durban where he arrived on Thursday morning about nine o'clock. He was in the company of all his *izinduna*, *udibi* (luggage and mat bearer), the two daughters of Sobantu, Mr Armstrong (uNyandezulu), the Nongoma magistrate and Mashiqela's secretary. His visit to Durban was kept a secret it was only Mr Tatham who knew about it because he was also responsible for Dinuzulu's journey by train. Tatham was the only person that was at the railway station to meet Dinuzulu. Dinuzulu immediately recognised him. (*Ilanga* readers were reminded that Tatham was the one who had accompanied Miss Colenso the previous year – 1906 – to the oSuthu. On his return from that trip he had written a positive article about Dinuzulu that was published in the *Mercury* newspaper). The train took Dinuzulu to

³²³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 31st 1907.

Lord's Ground where he spent the whole night. An hour after his arrival Dinuzulu was taken by Tatham on a carriage to the shop of Messrs Harvey Greenacre to buy clothes.

News of his arrival in Durban spread like a wild fire. A large crowd of black and white people gathered together in West Street waiting to see him emerging from Greenacres. Avoiding the crowd, Tatham made another arrangement, a carriage fetched both him and Dinuzulu from the back of Greenacres in Smith Street. They went straight to the Berea. What annoyed Dinuzulu about the crowd of whites was that they stared at him (and made comments about him) and photographed him. He stayed in Tatham's house for an hour. Tatham took him around the Berea in a carriage and then to the train. He was going to travel via Eshowe and spend some time with Mashiqela before going to the oSuthu. Mashiqela went with him to Eshowe and the Misses Colenso went back to Maritzburg. Dube expressed the view that Dinuzulu's visit had been very successful. He expressed the hope that both Dinuzulu and the authorities found their meeting satisfactory.³²⁴

“They hate Dinuzulu”³²⁵

Dube expressed his great concern in an article in *Ilanga* about Dinuzulu because he believed that white people hated him. According to *Ilanga* there was an article in the *Mercury* (Saturday 1st June) written by a white man, stating that Dinuzulu should not have been allowed to stay in the oSuthu but should have stayed in Eshowe; and that the rebels should not be released unless Dinuzulu remained at Eshowe in the house

³²⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 31st 1907.

³²⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 7th 1907.

erected by the Government for him. The letter-writer claimed that Dinuzulu did not deserve the “*Bayede*” salute, in the way that he was saluted during his visit to Maritzburg and Durban by blacks, as the salute was meant only for the Government and Mashiqela. In his reaction to this letter, Dube was very concerned about how Dinuzulu was singled out in this way, while the other chiefs were not mentioned regarding the salute, because it was even used to greet commoners such as the white constables. If a black person did not acknowledge a policeman with the “*Bayede*” salute, he was punished with a sjambok. The *Ilanga* criticised and classified the white letter-writer as one of the white people who did not want to see black people living in peace and harmony.³²⁶ These comments indicate Dube’s unequivocal respect for the position of the King and his distress that the indiscriminate use of the greeting traditionally reserved for the King meant that his high rank was being devalued by placing him on a par with a constable, clearly not a person of high rank. Dube was also clearly distressed that the King was moreover equated with members of the chiefly rank, and not given the respect due to him alone.

Dube maintained that the authorities had been satisfied with Dinuzulu’s testimony before the Governor Sir Henry McCallum that he had respected all the laws of the Queen. The removal of Dinuzulu from the oSuthu to Eshowe according to *Ilanga* would fill the blacks of the oSuthu chiefdom with anger and hatred.³²⁷ Dube’s tone in this article goes beyond that of a mere reporter, and has the authority of a spokesman for the Zulu people, and he makes no apology for identifying himself as a

³²⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 7th 1907.

³²⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 7th 1907.

loyal supporter of the King. Dube and the other *Ilanga* reporters had hoped that Dinuzulu would be freed after appearing before the Governor. Dube concurred with Dinuzulu's complaint that other newspapers had maligned him.³²⁸

³²⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 7th 1907.

Chapter 4

Uthuli, martial law and the arrest of the king

In this chapter I explore Dube's critical views about the declaration of martial law in Zululand. The location of white armed forces in Zululand was seen as a provocative action on the part of the colonial authorities since there was tranquillity in Zululand. Dube warned that should Dinuzulu call upon *amabutho* - warriors - there would be loss of life. Dube made no secret of the fact that blacks in Natal and Zululand had grievances against the colonial state about the manner in which they were governed. Taxation triggered their already simmering anger. Dube preferred the British government to the Natal colonial authorities. He protested about the call published in the white newspaper the *Argus* for the dissolution of chiefly rule. He also criticized other white newspapers like *The Morning Star* and the *Natal Daily News* for being anti-black. When Dinuzulu handed himself over to the colonial officials, it was a proof to Dube that he was innocent. Dube dismissed the allegation that blacks were happy about the arrest of Dinuzulu, and claimed that in fact they were saddened. He also mentioned the role played by Harriet Colenso and her support for Dinuzulu. He reported on her attempts to appeal for him in Britain and her fight against colonial injustices. Dube reported in detail about her confrontation with colonial officials.

The prime minister of Natal sent the following statement to the newspapers:

The Government received a message from Dinuzulu on Tuesday through the Nongoma magistrate. Dinuzulu was amazed at the presence of armed government troops (in Zululand), and he was troubled about whether the government thought he had committed an offence and wondered why he was not therefore arrested. He wanted the same procedure to be followed as in all other (similar) cases: he must be tried and sentenced.³²⁹

³²⁹ “*Umbuso we mkele izwi eliphuma ku Dinuzulu, ngolweSibili, litunywa ngesandla se nkosi yakwa Nongoma eti, uyamangala ebona kuhlonywa, uyabuza uti, nxatshane uMbuso ucabanga ukuti*

Dube and Stuart reported/recorded similar instances about Dinuzulu's stance towards the presence of the army in Zululand (3 December 1907). The urgent message that Dinuzulu sent through the Nongoma magistrate was the same.³³⁰

According to Dube Dinuzulu would not rise against the British government (as opposed to the Natal colonial government) because of its good treatment of its people.³³¹ This comment, puzzling to post-apartheid readers, does seem to reflect an aspect of Dube's view of colonial Natal. In another article he describes the government as the "*uyisihlangu* - shield of the people" protecting them from harm. This aspect of Dube's political outlook, in contrast with his obvious loyalty to the Zulu monarchy, which had already been so grievously harmed by colonialism, adds great complexity to any analysis of his editorial policy. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela expressed great appreciation of the British system of government in his book *Long Walk to Freedom*.³³²

Dube pointed out that Dinuzulu was not the only one who had complaints against the government. One of his complaints was about the abaQulusi: he did not know why they had been taken away from his chiefdom. Dube did not believe that such small annoying things could make Dinuzulu unwilling to seek the support of the government. The memory of the three thousand blacks that were killed for being incited by Bhambada who made them rebel against the government was fresh in the

usesiposisweni, yini ungambeki icala, njengamacala onke, ajeze nxa efunyanwa esecaleni." See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907.

³³⁰ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 439.

³³¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907

³³² See Nelson Mandela. *Long Walk to Freedom*. Randburg: Macdonald Purnell, 1994.

minds of the blacks but they could not afford another war.³³³ Dube was trying to spike any rumours that might encourage further rebellion or suspicion on the part of the whites that there would be further rebellion. Dube reported that the news from Maritzburg was that the army (referred to above) under Colonel Duncan McKenzie (Makhenisi) intended to arrest Dinuzulu. It was believed that Dinuzulu was still at the oSuthu. Miss Colenso was reported to be at KwaGingindlovu on Wednesday to meet Colonel Makhenisi, but Dube doubted if she would be allowed to visit Dinuzulu. Dinuzulu's lawyer Eugene Renaud was expected in Zululand. The whole of Zululand was under martial law (it was declared in Zululand on 3 December 1907). Like Dinuzulu, the black people in Melmoth (eMalimati) were surprised at the sight of the army.³³⁴ Miss Colenso (uDIwediwe) wanted to meet Dinuzulu but she was refused a permit and she returned to Maritzburg. In her interview with the *Mercury* she stated that she was not sure what she could have told Dinuzulu. All was going to depend on the mood of Dinuzulu, thus she would have advised him accordingly. Mfushane Dinuzulu's advocate was also denied a permit to visit him at KwaGingindlovu.³³⁵

Dube reported that the Swazi king's ambassadors based in London disputed the allegations that Dinuzulu was the initiator of the 1906 *uthuli*. They stated that the white people were the ones who were responsible for *uthuli* by demanding tax from black people.³³⁶ To strengthen his belief of Dinuzulu's innocence, Dube had to publish an article about Swazi people.

³³³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907.

³³⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907.

³³⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

³³⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907

Dube mentioned that it had been reported in the *Mercury* about the news from Maritzburg that the army was on its way to arrest Dinuzulu. His concern, voiced in *Ilanga*, was that it had initially been reported that the army had been assembled and sent out to look for the culprits. He did not approve of the idea of deploying an army since it might lead to a war if Dinuzulu were to call upon the blacks to fight. He reported that the Transvaal and Cape Colony had issued a statement that they were ready with their troops to assist the Natal colonial government if the need arose. The British troops, as Dube called them (bearing in mind that no Imperial troops were at any stage involved in the rebellion) were stationed in Pretoria and Harrismith (Ntabazwe) awaiting a call from the Natal government. According to Dube the Vryheid whites asked for protection from the Natal government because of the disorderly movement of the blacks.³³⁷

He also commented that a Cape Town newspaper, the *Argus*, had asserted that the rule (such as it was!) of the black chiefs should be ended. It further suggested that *uthuli* would not stop if the chiefs were still in power³³⁸. What was Dube's motive in this article about the *Cape Argus*. For one thing we do not know the full context of the article, as Dube may have selected only those parts of it that supported his views. [What were his views?] Did his reference to the criticism of the chiefs apparently voiced by the *Argus* in some way give him an opportunity to promote the power of the chiefs (as he himself from the amaQadi royal family), a group which, as a supporter of the Zulu monarchy, were essential to Dinuzulu's survival?

³³⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907.

³³⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 6th 1907.

Dube questioned the sending of an army to arrest Dinuzulu. He reminded his readers that Dinuzulu had appeared before the Natal Governor McCullum in Maritzburg to clear himself of all the allegations and he had also sent a letter to the government that it would be better for him to be tried, prosecuted and sentenced if found guilty. Dube pointed out that the black people living south of uThukela River were doubtful about whether Dinuzulu was connected to “*izigebengu*” (bandits). Dube was despondent because the whole of Natal was fooled by the government’s announcement that the army was out to track down bandits who were shooting and killing people at eNkandla (this was the killing of the appointed chiefs). The announcement suggested that the killing might lead to the declaration of martial law in Zululand. That affected all human beings both in Natal and beyond. Dube’s concern about the outbreak of wars between blacks and whites was that many blacks died because of the modern weaponry of the white people.³³⁹

If Dinuzulu were to call upon the blacks to fight, the death toll would be worse. People from further a field seemed to understand the intention of the army under Colonel Makhenisi.³⁴⁰ Dube’s point seems to have been that those close to Dinuzulu knew very well that he was no threat to the colonial government, but that those far away believed the government’s propaganda.

Dube said that Dinuzulu denied being rebellious. He was contented with the government and he wanted his chieftdom to live in peace with the government. In the

³³⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907

³⁴⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

mean time Dube reported that the army was said to have left KwaGingindlovu but its destination was kept a secret. The east coast fever that affected cattle in Zululand made it tough for the army officers. They needed horses and donkeys. The (white) farmers across the uThukela River were forced to give their horses and donkeys to the army officers.³⁴¹ This report might have been particularly interesting for the readers of *Ilanga* who were perhaps surprised that the white farmers had to be forced to support the volunteer regiments that were on their way to arrest Dinuzulu.

The black people who saw the army passing by were taken aback. Dube advised the black people not to be influenced by the senseless rumours. They were advised to be calm since it was the time for peace. According to Dube no government could act irresponsibly and he put forward valid reasons for the government, which he anticipated, would justify the government's actions.³⁴² The government might have a very strong reason why it acted without informing the public. It might be on account of security, to avoid the danger of confrontation.

Dube said that the London newspapers had criticised the Natal government because of its haste in dealing with the 1906 upheavals it intended to plunder. He pointed out that the *Daily News* had further stated that Lord Elgin had told the Honourable Sir Mathew Nathan that the British government stood by the promise it had made on 14 October. The promise was that if Britain could be allowed to have a say in the current issues of the time it would send troops if asked. Britain would not interfere to what Natal was doing. The *Morning Leader* published a cartoon depicting

³⁴¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

³⁴² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

a soldier on whose hat was written “Natal Government”. The soldier was looking towards an open area and said, “on such a nice day my wish is to go out and shoot something” which Dube translated as “*yeku suku luluhle, ngi nesifiso sokuba ngipume ngi yodubula into etile*”.³⁴³ Dube’s strategy in publishing the *Morning Leader*’s sarcastic gibe against the Natal government certainly enabled his own muted criticism to be communicated without any comments on his own part. However, his readers must have been made well aware that the Natal Government had been accused of being trigger-happy.

In London Francis Colenso kaSobantu stated that sending the army into Zululand was part of a plan to depose Dinuzulu. The London *Daily News* criticised the Natal government and requested Lord Elgin to act immediately to avoid imminent bloodshed. The members of the Aborigines’ Protection Society appeared before Lord Elgin. They requested Lord Elgin to order the Natal government to abolish martial law and preferably withdrew its (the colony’s) autonomy.³⁴⁴

Dube reported on the events that led to the arrest of Dinuzulu. He reported that on Saturday (7 December) the government announced that the army had been sent to look for the bandits that were killing the black chiefs, and also announced that they knew about the conspiracy to kill all those chiefs that had offered assistance to the government during the Bhambada upheavals in Zululand and in Natal. The army left Somkhele for Hlabisa on the same Saturday. Colonel Makhenisi was travelling independently of the army. Eugene Renaud, Dinuzulu’s advocate, followed

³⁴³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

³⁴⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

Makhenisi because he was given permission to visit Dinuzulu. Colonel Makhenisi wanted to attend the discussion between Dinuzulu and Renaud. Makhenisi was worried about the loyalty of the chiefs of the Somkhele district. He warned them that he did not want to see even a tiny chiefdom resisting the army. It was clear that no one was prepared to oppose the government. It was reported by Dube that there were many guns in Zululand and one white man serviced them. One of Dinuzulu's uncles was warned because his people had armed themselves during the Bhambada uprising. The blacks in the area were starving, so as a result they could not be rebellious, even those who sympathised with the rebels. The smoke from their fires on the hills was interpreted as a sign of raising the alarm that there was an army approaching.

According to Dube the *Mercury* reported news from Maritzburg that Colonel Clark had been given a warrant to arrest Dinuzulu. One man was arrested in Swaziland for killing four people. He confessed that he was part of a group that was commissioned to kill.³⁴⁵ It is not clear who Dube's informants were as sometimes he will quote or mention a white newspaper.

Dube reported the news that Dinuzulu had, without any resistance, handed himself over to the army officers who had been sent to arrest him. It was Monday (9 December) night at 23h00. His arrest marked the end of speculation about the mission of the army. It was clear that the authorities had sent an army so that when Dinuzulu resisted arrest it could then invade.³⁴⁶ The explanation is the same as by Stuart.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907

³⁴⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907

³⁴⁷ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 447.

Dube's summing up of the reason for the presence of the army in Zululand was for him couched in unusually forthright terms. This perhaps indicates the depths of Dube's disappointment at the behaviour of the government, especially after the apparently positive hearing given to Dinuzulu by the government.

Dube wrote with great feeling that the sadness and sorrow in Zululand amongst those who loved their king could not be measured in any way.³⁴⁸ Blacks all over the country did not believe that Dinuzulu had been arrested. Those blacks that did not read newspapers thought it was not him arrested but his *induna* headman. Dube stated that they wanted to comfort themselves by believing that their king had not been arrested.³⁴⁹ Almost every week Dube published an article about Dinuzulu. He stressed that the hearts of many people were affected by his arrest.³⁵⁰ Blacks believed that the white people did not like a person of integrity like Dinuzulu. Mankulumane and all Dinuzulu's *izinduna* and *abanumzane* came to the tribal court to witness what was going to be done to their king. Dlothovu (Dinuzulu's praise name that appears in his *izibongo* – poems of excellence) became a prisoner but was allowed the company of three of his wives to cook for him.³⁵¹

Ilanga blamed the arrest of Dinuzulu on those who had advised him (on his return from St Helena) not to stay at Eshowe but at the oSuthu. Dinuzulu arrived at Eshowe as an educated person. He should have stayed in his house at Eshowe and made friends with white people. He was supposed to be Mashiqela's right hand man.

³⁴⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

³⁴⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁵⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

³⁵¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907

If this had indeed happened, Dinuzulu and all that he stood for in the eyes of the Zulu nation would not now have been treated with such contempt. No one could have prevented slander against him since he was of the royal blood of the Zulu kingdom. He did not trust any one and that became clear during the war of the heads - *impi yamakhanda*, (the conflict that developed as a result of the poll tax) people came all over to consult him. He responded by saying that, “you killed my father, now you want to kill me. Pay the tax to the authorities when they demand it – *nabulala ubaba manje nifuna ukubulala mina. Yikipeni imali yamakhosi nxa eyifuna.*” In the *Ilanga*, Dube stressed his trust in Dinuzulu, that he was innocent. The rumours that he was behind the resistance – *impi yamakhanda* were not taken seriously – Dube suggested that the rumours might be the result of hatred against Dinuzulu. The only hope Dube had was that the government might have information that would prove the truth about Dinuzulu that he hoped would be disclosed during the trial.³⁵²

Dube reported that many blacks did not believe that Dinuzulu had been arrested. It was the same with Bhambada; they believed that he had not died. They believed that Dinuzulu could have fought to prevent his arrest. However he disputed this by stating that Dinuzulu had sent his Prime Minister Mankulumane to the authorities to request them to bring a cart to Nongoma, and he would come. In other words there had been no reason for an army to come to get Dinuzulu. Indeed he surrendered and was captured because the government apparently had evidence that he was in league with other blacks against it. The soldiers alleged that Dinuzulu was taken unawares; he became aware of Makhenisi’s army when he had no chance of

³⁵² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 13th 1907.

escape.³⁵³ The exploration of possible reasons for Dinuzulu's arrest in these articles indicates Dube's tussle between his loyalty to the King and his firmly held belief in the basic goodness and justice of the colonial government. There can be no doubt that Dube believed that Dinuzulu had not conspired against the colonial government, yet it was difficult for him to accept that the government had indeed acted unjustly.

Dube reported that Miss Colenso had telegraphed the British government that the surrender of Dinuzulu indicated his innocence: she stated that the government's anxiety to destroy the Zulu kingdom would lead to *iziphithiphithi* (disturbances) and she further stated that whenever Dinuzulu had been given a chance he behaved appropriately. She hoped that Dinuzulu would cooperate with the authorities. She based her arguments on the fact that Dinuzulu once had a case with the Natal government and she hoped that the Natal government would act responsibly.³⁵⁴ It seems that Dube was using a clever strategy to communicate certain ideas sympathetic to Dinuzulu in this report. Although he was quoting Miss Colenso, no doubt accurately, the details were given in such a way that the ideas, which he himself perhaps espoused, were being given prominence.

Dube made the point that in her telegraphic message Dlwedlwe kaSobantu (Miss Colenso) referred to Dinuzulu as the king of amaZulu. Dube emphasised that he had never doubted her commitment to the black race and more particularly to Dinuzulu but he sometimes questioned her intelligence. Dube was sure that Miss Colenso could even die for Dinuzulu, but he felt that it was irrational for her to refer to

³⁵³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

³⁵⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

Dinuzulu as a king as that would play into the hands of Dinuzulu's enemies. In Dube's view the effect of using this term was to place an assegai in the hands of Dinuzulu's enemies to stab him with, as the white people did not like the idea of referring to him as *uMntwana* (Prince) because they believed that this made him compete with the Prince of Wales. Dube regretted the fact that someone regarded by both white and black people as Dinuzulu's chief adviser and spokesperson would utter such words. Dube's opinion was that the word *king* to white people meant the sole ruler and no one else beyond it, and that the whole nation was under the king. Dube believed that Miss Colenso had committed a grievous mistake that was to disturb the trust of those who were abroad (not in the colony) but sympathetic to the cause of Dinuzulu. He believed that would make these sympathisers think that Miss Colenso was re-establishing the Zulu kingdom (re-instating the house of Senzangakhona) through Dinuzulu.³⁵⁵

Dube's attitude here might have risen from various considerations, and his reporting on Miss Colenso was perhaps aimed at several audiences. It is clear that it is not a personal attack on Miss Colenso, whose loyalty to Dinuzulu was not in question. However, Dube seems to be anxious to express the viewpoint of a constituency loyal to Dinuzulu but distinct from and independent of the Colenso's. Perhaps too he believed that an apparent distance from the Colenso's on the part of *Ilanga* would reduce the prejudice felt by the government against the Zulu supporters of Dinuzulu. One might question whether he was cynical enough, through his reference to Miss Colenso's intelligence, to identify with the view of many whites that Miss Colenso

³⁵⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

was a misguided old woman. Possibly Dube's reference to the restoration of the Zulu Kingdom by Miss Colenso was to allay suspicions that he or his newspaper were intending to act in any way against the colonial government's political arrangements.

Dube reported that on Thursday (12 December) a government representative, Carter, went to Nongoma to talk with Colonel Duncan McKenzie (Makhenisi) about the state of affairs in Zululand. Soldiers were all over Zululand. In Nongoma alone there were two thousand soldiers. Other soldiers went past Nobamba one of Dinuzulu's *imizi* where his wives and mother stayed. The soldiers collected all those who were said to be against the state.³⁵⁶ Carter's visit to Nongoma was recorded by Stuart in his book, that his mission was about what was "occurring in Vryheid district and Usutu kraal".³⁵⁷

According to Dube Miss Colenso had sent a telegraph to the London newspapers informing them about her concern regarding the fact that she had been refused entry to the prison to consult her friend Dinuzulu in Pietermaritzburg.³⁵⁸ He then reported that on Tuesday (7 January 1908) Miss Colenso was permitted to visit Dinuzulu in gaol and that she was very happy to get an opportunity of seeing and comforting her close friend who was in the difficult position of being a prisoner. He further reported that she frequently requested permission to visit him but she was always unsuccessful.³⁵⁹ She had a permit from Clarence to pay Dinuzulu a visit.

³⁵⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

³⁵⁷ *A History of a Zulu Rebellion*. p. 450.

³⁵⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

³⁵⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 10th 1908.

However, she was refused entry by the one in charge of the prison. The prison authority was instructed by the Minister of Justice T. F. Carter to refuse her entry to the prison. Dube stated that she then laid a charge in the Supreme Court and that it was the Minister of Justice who came with a letter of explanation as to why she was refused a permit to meet Dinuzulu.³⁶⁰ In this paragraph Dube is possibly communicating an implied criticism of the government for isolating Dinuzulu in prison, not even allowing his close friend and advisor, Miss Colenso, access to him. While he attempts to give an appearance of journalistic objectivity, he leaves his readers in no doubt that the colonial authorities are treating Dinuzulu unjustly and with unnecessary harshness, a view that he shares.

Dube reported that the evidence (in the Supreme Court) went like this: when Dinuzulu was in kwaNongoma prison Miss Colenso wrote a letter and also uttered words that were not suitable for an arrested person to send prison warders. The prison warders were arrested and they confessed they had assisted Dinuzulu. The reason for the arrest of these warders is well captured in Stuart's book.³⁶¹ She requested the Colonial Secretary (Natal Colonial Secretary) to make suitable arrangements, as Dinuzulu needed a person to cook for him; people in the office told her that it was not

³⁶⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶¹ During the Chief's detention at Nongoma, his secretary attempted to pass a letter out of the gaol to his lawyer, Mr Renaud. Although, with assistance of Native warders, who happened to be members of Dinuzulu's tribe, it succeeded in getting it outside, it was intercepted by the authorities, upon which the warders concerned were severely punished. It can be seen from this incident that the influence exerted by Dinuzulu on people of his own race was remarkably subtle and far reaching, and this was afterwards found to be the case whatever tribe they belonged to and wherever he happened to be confined. See James Stuart. *A History of A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906 and of Dinuzulu's arrest, trial and expatriation*. (Macmillan and Co., Limited St. Martins Street: London, 1913) 452.

their responsibility. Miss Colenso was very upset and told them that they had a lot of money so they could even hire an Indian man.³⁶²

Dube said that Dinuzulu wanted to see Miss Colenso because he wanted his *inyanga*, a black person, as a white doctor gave him medication that made his knee swell. Furthermore he was ill treated by that doctor. Dube stated that this visit was the first opportunity Dinuzulu had to meet Miss Colenso to talk about the money for the case. According to Dube, Carter further stated that when Dinuzulu had a court case he went around in Zululand collecting tax from all blacks even those that were not under him and that was not acceptable by the colonial government.³⁶³ Dube was possibly reporting the accusations made by Carter, e.g. emphasising the use of the word tax [instead of donations] in such a way that his readers would readily recognise the falseness of the charges made.

Further he said that Carter alleged that Miss Colenso had been secretly working with Dinuzulu and visited him in his *umuzi* and that at one stage when she went, there were rebels and one of them alleged that they did not hide when she was there as she was Dinuzulu's adviser. Carter also alleged, according to Dube, that when Miss Colenso heard about the killing of Sishishili she had remarked to one of the government officials that it was not a surprise: Carter accused Miss Colenso that at Ekukhanyeni she taught blacks the Queen's song (God save the Queen) but instead of the Queen's name they used Dinuzulu's name. Carter further alleged that the blacks at Ekukhanyeni had been recently taught the following song:

³⁶² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

There was a big prison far away,
 Outside the wall/outer fence of the home,
 Where our king was held prisoner,
 He was prepared to die for us all.³⁶⁴

According to Dube Miss Colenso had denied most of the accusations. The newspaper *Ilanga* didn't know who was telling the truth between Carter and Miss Colenso.³⁶⁵

Dube was trying to be neutral. Also by quoting the song Dube was in fact “mobilizing” the readers in support of Dinuzulu. The Judge stated that Carter was wrong to instruct the person in charge of the prison not to allow Miss Colenso to see Dinuzulu.³⁶⁶ Dube reported the detail that the Judge had censured Carter for preventing Miss Colenso's visits to the prison, possibly to give voice to his hope that there was still some chance of justice and reconciliation on the part of the government in their treatment of Dinuzulu. He might also have intended indicating the various groups and opinions that existed amongst the colonists. He recommended that Miss Colenso to go to the magistrate to request another permit because the one she had had expired.³⁶⁷

Dube reported that Miss Colenso was regarded like a black person amongst the white people because of the messages she send abroad. The newspaper, *Advertiser* recommended that she should be arrested on charges of being rebellious against the state. Miss Colenso was alleged to have composed a song and had taught the blacks

³⁶⁴ “*Kukhona ijele elikhulu kude,
 Ngaphandle kodonga/kogange lomuzi,
 Lapho kukhona inkosi yetu iboshiwe kona,
 Eya ilungele ukusifela sonke*”. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

who were at Ekukhanyeni. One white person suggested the change of the two lines that said:

Where our king was held prisoner,
He was prepared to die for us all.
The lines had to be changed to be like this:

Where our king was punished,
He intended to kill all of us (we whites).³⁶⁸

Dube questioned the white person's attitude if it was not the "contempt of court"?

Dube argued that he was giving the final judgement of Dinuzulu's case. He warned the *Advertiser* about its intervention in politics.³⁶⁹

The reporting of the original song and the parody of it by Dube is perhaps an example of how Dube got his message of support for Dinuzulu into the press without explicitly committing *Ilanga* to this loyalty. The song allegedly taught by Miss Colenso to the people at the mission, whether she had done so or not could be seen as an encouragement to the Zulu nation to support Dinuzulu. The song was easily remembered and could arguably be used as a rallying cry for Dinuzulu's supporters. The fact that the song had been printed in the *Advertiser* and had clearly had an impact on the white readership of that newspaper who saw it as revolutionary, would not have been lost on the readers of *Ilanga*, and the original song would once again have gained prominence.

Dube said that he was indebted to the *Mercury's* suggestion that the jury in Dinuzulu's trial should have judges from other countries such as England. The suggestion was prompted by Dinuzulu's prestige among black and white people here

³⁶⁸ "Lapo inkosi yetu ihlaliswe kona, Eayayifisa ukusibulala sonke (tina Belungu). See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁶⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

and abroad and was made in order to avoid the potential discontent of the population. Dube supported the *Mercury's* suggestion, because Dinuzulu was not a commoner and the Government spent £3 000 a day during his arrest. Dube pointed out that in comparison with others who had been arrested in the past, nobody's arrest had caused as much concern as Dinuzulu's, when he was about to be arrested. Both black and white people anxiously waited what would become of Dinuzulu's trial?³⁷⁰

Dube reminded his readers about Dinuzulu's arrest. It was at dawn and it was misty when four hundred soldiers converged at the oSuthu. They surrounded Dinuzulu's *umuzi* looking for guns but in vain. The soldiers had got the information from some blacks that there were many guns at the oSuthu. There were only women at the *umuzi*, and it was apparent that the men had taken all the guns into hiding. Colonel Makhenisi threatened the old men and gave them an ultimatum to submit to him the young men and guns by Sunday. The soldiers ransacked the area, but could not find any guns with the exception of only two old ones that they took and returned. A white man wrote an article to the *Mercury* complaining to the state about the presence of soldiers in Zululand because there was tranquillity.³⁷¹ Dube's strategy in referring to this letter was to spread the idea that there was peace in Zululand, and also that there were at least some whites that opposed the state's action regarding Dinuzulu. Therefore, the white army was not supposed to have been deployed in Zululand.

³⁷⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

³⁷¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

Dube also reported that Mankulumane and Dinuzulu's secretary went to Nongoma to ask for a permit to visit Mashiqela at Eshowe but they came across Colonel Makhenisi, Wylie and Stuart.³⁷² This differs only from Stuart's book because he stated that Mankulumana wanted to see the Governor.³⁷³ Dube's reportage on this matter subtly indicates the effect of martial law on the power of the civil authority, i.e. the magistrate at Nongoma, to say nothing of its effect on the traditional chiefs of the area. Martial law, according to the above article, was in any case not necessary in Zululand, which had been described, as tranquil.

Dube disputed these allegations by white people that the blacks did not want Dinuzulu to remain with them. One of the allegations was that some blacks had refused to carry Dinuzulu's luggage on the day of his arrest. According to Dube the majority of the blacks in Zululand, Natal and elsewhere were greatly grieved when he was arrested. The white people misinterpreted the attitude of blacks in the presence of the white troops, not realising that the blacks did not show their true feelings. He stated that if Dinuzulu had an opportunity to fight, those blacks that were allegedly against him would have died for him. Dube persuaded the black race not to be deceived by whites. He strongly believed that the black people were extremely loyal to their king.³⁷⁴

At this point it may be helpful to note that Dube's use of certain terms in his articles is not consistent, and it is possible that this inconsistency is intentional. The

³⁷² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

³⁷³ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 446.

³⁷⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 20th 1907.

term “King”, e.g., is used in the above context, although in an earlier article Dube criticised Harriett Colenso for using the very same term on account of its controversial nature and its possible effect on white attitudes. Possibly he felt more comfortable using the term in the *Ilanga*, mainly read by blacks, but even so, in some articles he did use the term “chief”. Was he trying to maintain a certain degree of journalistic objectivity? Was he himself unsure of the correct status? It is perhaps significant that this term is used in the same article as another set of inconsistent terminology, namely black people and black race. He frequently used people rather than race, possibly seeing race as a more militant, exclusive concept than black people. Is it possible that in writing this article, Dube’s patience and objectivity and his optimism that justice was possible, was wearing thin, and that he was in fact considering using a more confrontational style?

In the *Ilanga* publication that followed Dube wrote:

So then the matter is due to the blacks saying to the whites that they are glad because he (Dinuzulu) has been arrested; that he is a malefactor; that they no longer desire him in Zululand, but you should come into contact with the real Zulu in Durban, and you would there see bitterness. I saw a Christian boy buying a newspaper containing a picture of Dinuzulu being marched by the soldiers, which the boy was showing to blacks. A young Zulu man looked at the picture again and again and then the tears streamed; he beat his chest and walked on.³⁷⁵

What Dube reported was a direct contrast with what Stuart wrote about the happiness of the black people when Dinuzulu was arrested. Stuart writes:

They (Natives), in short, had had enough of Dinuzulu, and were only glad to see the troops arrive and carry him off.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ *Po, indaba yabantu, bati kubelungu bayajabula ngoba ubanjwe umtakati, bati bebebangasa mfuni kwa Zulu, kepa ake uhlangane ne Zulu impela lakona e Tekwini uyibone into yomunyu. Ngike ngabona umfana wekolwa etenga ipepa elino mfanekiso wake egqutshwa amasotsha ekombisa abantu. Yawubuka yawubuka enye intsizwa yakwa Zulu, kwehla izinyembezi yashaya isifuba yasuka yahamba. See Ilanga Lase Natal. December 27th 1907.*

³⁷⁶ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion.* p. 455.

In recounting the above anecdote, powerful in its simplicity and in the emotion communicated, Dube must have realised that he was expressing the views of many of his contemporaries, in a way more radical than his usual style. This must be seen in the context of the watershed event of Dinuzulu's arrest, a major turning point in the history of Natal and Zululand.

Chapter 5

The trial of Dinuzulu - the trial of British justice

This chapter focuses on the trial of Dinuzulu. I shall investigate the evidence of each witness in the light of Dube's treatment of each one, and examine how Dube's reportage on the trial provides insight into his attitude to the Zulu monarchy and the traditional Zulu social order. In addition some attention will be paid to the references in Ilanga to the London lawyer, E G Jellicoe, who had come to Natal to lead Dinuzulu's defence at the trial.

In exposing Dube's attitude towards the court hearings, I shall discuss examples of several testimonies in some detail. Dube exposed the evidence of Mahayihayi, one of Dinuzulu's wives, who gave evidence against her husband, as prejudiced and unreliable. Chakijana's role in the trial is described in such a way that suggests that Dube used this controversial issue to expose, by implication, the duplicity of the colonial state. Similarly Dube presents the facts regarding the evidence of Bhambada's wife, son and daughter, apparently damaging to Dinuzulu, but he writes in such a way that the readers would themselves debate the reliability of these close relatives of Bhambhada, who for possibly undisclosed purposes sought the downfall of Dinuzulu despite the fact that he had provided them with shelter.

Dube's editorials and articles use the logical analysis of evidence - as used in the court system, a western/colonial construct - as a tool to prove the injustice against Dinuzulu. His apparent respect for the court system while he condemns its misuse by the colonial authorities underlines the irony and complexity of his *kholwa* status.

Dube wrote many articles in his newspaper about Dinuzulu, before, during and after his trial. An examination of his reports on the trial provides insight into Dube's attitude to Dinuzulu both as personality and as traditional monarch. He presents Dinuzulu as an honest and upright leader who consistently refused to be drawn into armed rebellion against the colonial authorities. I will argue that at the same time Dube consistently supports the authority and status of the Zulu royal house, implying that the majority of the *amakhosi*-chiefs respected Dinuzulu's opinion and consulted him about decisions regarding for example participation in *impi yamakanda*. I will explore the effect of Dube's view of the traditional Zulu social order on his reporting about and presentation of Dinuzulu as the accused during the trial.

Dube discussed the fact that Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo kaMpande was in Maritzburg prison awaiting his trial by the Natal government, which Dube believed was the greatest of all the court cases in the history of Natal. Mr E. G. Jellicoe, K. C. from London, described by Dube as one of the greatest judges in England, was hired to appear in defence of Dinuzulu: Jellicoe was to form Dinuzulu's defence with Mfushane (Renaud) and R. C. A. Samuelson who was the brother of S. O. Samuelson (permanent Under Secretary for Native Affairs).³⁷⁷

Jellicoe had arrived in South Africa on Sunday (19 January 1908) on a mail boat. Before leaving London he had written a letter to Lord Elgin, expressing his feelings about how he would like the case to be dealt with as though a white person was on trial. According to Jellicoe the Natal Government was full of hatred for black

³⁷⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

people, practising racial prejudice, so there was a danger that Dinuzulu's trial might take place without correct court proceedings. The lawyer claimed that the government would use prejudiced opinions based on past events to judge the current cases and that even the newspapers of Natal reported negatively about Dinuzulu as if he were a criminal. Jellicoe told Elgin that he knew that at one stage Dinuzulu's position had been debated in the British parliament where Churchill had stated that Dinuzulu should expect the same treatment as anyone else. To him it was very difficult to defend somebody who was hated by the white people. It became more difficult because newspapers were not allowed to report about Dinuzulu during the time of collecting evidence. Jellicoe requested Elgin to write a letter to the Natal government instructing that there should be justice and no racial prejudice and discrimination.³⁷⁸

Dinuzulu was to appear before Mr T. R. Bennet (uMazinyane) of the uMngeni Court on Monday (23 December 1907)³⁷⁹, and Dube reported that indeed Bennet visited Dinuzulu in prison, as arranged, for the Preliminary Hearing.

Evidence of Ndabayakhe Bhambada's son

The first person summoned was Ndabayakhe (Bhambada's son) who narrated the story from the first day when *iziyalu* (initiated by his father) had started. His evidence went like this: Bhambada and his family had left their home, at Mpanza (it was Greytown), when white policemen had arrived looking for them. They went to the forest, crossed uThukela River to Zululand, passed Qhudeni and they slept at Nongamulana's *umuzi* (Bhambada having told them to sleep in the forest because of the presence of the

³⁷⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

³⁷⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

policemen). From there they proceeded on their journey and slept in the homestead of Gezindaka (Chakijana's father) at eNhlazatshe. The following day they crossed iMfolozi River to the oSuthu and when they arrived there Bhambada told Mgwaqo (Dinuzulu's *induna*) to report his arrival to Dinuzulu. On that day Mgwaqo directed them to Madakavana's/Mangawane's (*Ilanga* was not consistent with the spelling of this name, instead it used it interchangeably) house where they slept.

On the following day Mgwaqo summoned Bhambada and Nkantolo (Bhambada's *induna*) to meet Dinuzulu. Afterwards Bhambada came and showed his family the gun that he got from Dinuzulu and told them that Dinuzulu had accused him of cowardice. Ndabayakhe knew that the gun meant that Bhambada had to go back and fight the white people. His father sent him to get a sack in which Bhambada and Ngqengqengqe (Dinuzulu's *induna*) wrapped the gun, and ammunition was put together into a bundle. Chakijana was to be sent by Dinuzulu to help Bhambada lead the army.³⁸⁰

Bhambada left the oSuthu with Nkantolo, Ngqengqengqe while Chakijana was still at his homestead. Ngqengqengqe was sent to summon Msilawesilo to heal Dinuzulu with herbs, but he later joined Bhambada at iNkandla when the war was on.³⁸¹

At a later stage Bhambada and Mangathi visited Dinuzulu at the oSutho while there was still fighting in the forest. Mangathi stayed at the oSuthu for two days. Immediately after Bhambada had left the oSuthu and returned to the forest the fighting

³⁸⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

³⁸¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

ceased. The oSuthu people that had participated in the war came back and reported that the blacks had been defeated. Ndabayakhe stated that since that time he had never again seen his father.³⁸²

Chakijana and Mangathi were amongst the people that came back, Chakijana with a wound in the thigh. Many people, including Siganda's people, had arrived, and all stayed at the oSuthu, where they worked, hoeing the weeds. Ndabayakhe brushed Dinuzulu's horses and polished his guns - there were about thirty guns usually carried by Dinuzulu's attendants when they went out hunting.³⁸³

Ndabayakhe claimed that he used to see *amabutho* – warriors at the oSuthu when they came to work in the fields, and afterwards when they came back from working they would salute the king and dance, and leave to go back to their places (they stayed at the oSuthu). Ndabayakhe claimed to have stayed at the oSuthu for one and half years. Then Ndabayakhe, Siyekiwe his mother and Kholekile his sister left the oSuthu after having been told by Mbambo that Dinuzulu intended to take them across the uPhongolo River. They heard this when Dinuzulu was at Maritzburg, and on his return they escaped to eMahlabathini at night.³⁸⁴

Evidence of Siyekiwe's (Bhambada's wife)

On Tuesday it was the turn of Siyekiwe's (Bhambada's wife) to give evidence about their stay at the oSuthu.

³⁸² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

³⁸³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

³⁸⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

She stated that the first visit of Bhambada to the oSuthu was at the beginning of the Rinderpest. Bhambada's married sister was living in Zululand, and he went there to pay her a visit. Bhambada's wife claimed that she was at Sambane's *umuzi* at the time that the *umsindo*³⁸⁵ commenced. Bhambada did not sleep at his *umuzi* after he had disobeyed the court's summons regarding non-payment of the *ukhandampondwe* – head's pound/head - tax. On the following day she attended a meeting that was held in the forest and Bhambada was there. He told her to go with him to Zululand because Ngqengqengqe had come from there to fetch them. Ngqengqengqe told Bhambada that Mankulumane had sent him after they heard that the whites had troubled him. She claimed that at the oSuthu Bhambada told her that he was to be punished (by Dinuzulu) for not engaging the whites in fighting. Having told Mankulumane that his chiefdom was very tiny and he lacked manpower, Bhambada was allegedly given a gun and bullets. He was ordered to go back and initiate fighting and then cross the uThukela River to eNkandla where he would be joined by the oSuthu people. Dinuzulu allegedly told Chakijana to tell Bhambada that he was giving him Sigananda (as an assistant), and that Dinuzulu would join them at a later stage. She alleged that Dinuzulu later told them that something had gone wrong with the war. At a later stage, on Dinuzulu's return from Maritzburg, he told them that when he had been asked about their whereabouts he had disclaimed any knowledge of them. They escaped to eMahlabathini when they heard that, on Dinuzulu's orders, they would be taken across the uPhongolo River.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ *Umsindo* means quarrel. See *Englis – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. 758.

³⁸⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

Evidence of Kholekile (Bambada's daughter)

Kholekile (Bambada's daughter) gave evidence on the last day of December, a Tuesday, in the presence of Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo in front of the magistrate Mazinyane.

Her testimony was the same as that of Siyekiwe and Ndabayake, except that her evidence differed from that of her mother and brother, as she alleged that at the oSuthu Mgwaqo, Mankulumana, Dinuzulu, Bhambada and Sicotho went outside the house. Mgwaqo then told Bhambada, "*Hamba uye ko yoka, sohlangana eNkandla – go and initiate fighting, we will meet at eNkandla*". Then Bambada took a gun and went inside the house and drank beer. She stated that she had seen Chakijana after the war but she had not seen a wound on him.³⁸⁷

Evidence of Ntubana kaQethuka

The testimony of Ntubana kaQethuka who came from Siganda's chiefdom followed. He claimed that he had fled to the oSuthu and stayed there with some others after the Bhambada uprising – *impi kaBhambada*. On their way to the oSuthu they begged for food from black people. He stated that he saw Dinuzulu as he was leaving the oSutho and Dinuzulu had warned them: that if they went into hiding and were not found, their relatives would be in danger "Think about your relatives, where you will hide. I'm going to the authorities, you are faced with a great danger you people who are in hiding".³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 3rd 1908.

³⁸⁸ "*Madoda, cabangani, ngezihlobo zenu; lapo nocatsha kona. Mina ngiyahamba, ngiya emakosini, inkulu ingozi yenu nina enicatshileyo*. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

It is fascinating to note a contrast here with what Captain Stuart reported in his book. According to Stuart Dinuzulu said the following, shortly before his arrest. “I am going, men; here is a letter from the white people calling me on account of the... Chiefs who have been killed... I now tell you all to scatter and go and hide with your relatives, you must not be arrested here ...I will send and let you know if the white people are going to come down to search this place”.³⁸⁹ Stuart created the impression that Dinuzulu was encouraging his followers to hide; although Dube had clearly reported Ntubana’s evidence that Dinuzulu had told his followers not to hide. Stuart was part of the establishment of the colonial administration, and presumably when he wrote his book, which was published in 1913, wished to justify the treatment that had been handed out to Dinuzulu by the authorities. Thus he preferred to create the impression that Dinuzulu had been encouraging insurrection, choosing not to give credence to any evidence to the contrary. It is also possible that Stuart had not read Dube’s reporting on the trial, which itself might indicate the attitude of even those whites who were fluent isiZulu speakers towards the isiZulu press. This is a point to be considered in an assessment of the reliability of *The Zulu Rebellion* as a source of information.

Ntubana kaQethuka made it clear that the magistrate had promised him that he would not be charged if he gave testimony.³⁹⁰ The very fact that Ntubana knew that he was dependent on the goodwill of the authorities to avoid prosecution, might

³⁸⁹ See *A History of A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 453.

³⁹⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

suggest that any evidence that favoured Dinuzulu would not have been lightly put forward by this witness.

Dube possibly wished to mitigate the effect of evidence against Dinuzulu, by quoting the evidence of others that pressure was being put upon the witnesses by the magistrate. Thus he avoided directly criticising the government, but at the same time got his point across.

Evidence of Manzana kaSusana

Manzana kaSusana was one of the witnesses from Sigananda's chiefdom. After the war (rebellion - note Dube's use of terminology for war/rebellion) he wandered about until he reached the oSuthu. His occupation was to make (traditional) doors. One of the doors he sold to oKaMsweli, Dinuzulu's mother. Another one he sold to oKaGodide, Dinuzulu's junior mother. According to his testimony there were only two rebels at the oSuthu, namely Mqumbeyana and himself. He was not aware of any other rebels.³⁹¹

Evidence of Mageyana kaMfofo

Mageyana kaMfofo, also from Sigananda's chiefdom, claimed that he had been one of the rebels. After the war he had wandered around until he came to the oSuthu with some others. It seems Dube was implying by "astray"/"wandering around" that they were aimless, not intending to join up with the so-called rebels. He claimed that someone known as Timothy gave him (Mageyana kaMfofo) a gun on the day when Dinuzulu surrendered himself at kwaNongoma. Six of the rebels went into hiding. In the area of the lower iMfolozi River, his companion Langa shot a buck and while they

³⁹¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

were busy skinning it soldiers surrounded and arrested them. Three of these rebels had guns. They fled but soldiers shot at them, and Mqumbeyana³⁹² and Langa fell. Mageyana surrendered himself at eNkandla.³⁹³ Dube and Stuart seemed to agree on the number of the six suspects and that two of them were shot and killed. There is also agreement about the locality of these events. Stuart recorded the report given by Fairlie of the Natal Police Reserve who led a couple of troops on 1 January 1908 to hunt down the so-called rebels.³⁹⁴ Mqumbeyana was the only one of the six that was mentioned by name in Stuart's book.

Evidence of Mankonkonana kaTiyongo

Mankonkonana kaTiyongo claimed to be an *umshokobesi* (rebel) who was present when the war started. At Mome he was amongst the rebels, he went to Mhlathuze with his brother Muthi and then to the oSuthu. At the oSuthu they approached Mankulumana and narrated their story but he told them to go back to the war because no one at the oSuthu was involved in it. They told him that the war was over; they had been defeated and they were in hiding. They pleaded with him, citing their fatigue and complaining that their feet were painful. Mankulumana told them to leave and that he would not report them to the Prince. Mankonkonana admitted that they had remained at the oSuthu amongst other rebels without permission. Other rebels were: Miso, Muthi, Magezane, Nyomyeshinga, Msiyana, Uyindwedwe, Sikoya and Bhomana.

³⁹² “The killed turned out to be notorious rebel, for whom search has been made. One of them, Mqumbeyana, was, it turned out, the man who was in command of *impi* that attacked Royston's Horse at Manzipambana on the 3rd June, 1906. He is said to have a trooper on that occasion and seized his magazine rifle, possibly the very one in his possession when shot by Fairlie's party”. See *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 459.

³⁹³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

³⁹⁴ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 458.

They ploughed and weeded the fields. At one stage white people arrived at the oSuthu and Mgwaqo (one of Dinuzulu's *indunas*) called them back from the fields and ordered them to put down their hoes. In the afternoon the whites left for Nongoma, which was the seat of the local magistrate who had both administrative and judicial functions. Mgwaqo explained to them that the Prince was alarmed by the arrival of the whites and he thought they might shoot the rebels. But later Mgwaqo assured them that the whites had gone. One of the rebels responded to Mgwaqo that they would have fought the whites if they had shot at them. Later a preacher told them about Dinuzulu's departure and he prayed for him.³⁹⁵

Evidence of INkosi Mabhoko Ntshangase

INkosi Mabhoko Ntshangase of Ngoje testified that he was related to Dinuzulu; his wife Simiso, to whom he had been married two years previously, was Dinuzulu's sister. He told the people in his chiefdom not to give food to the rebels. He gave his people this order after the arrest of Mangathi in his chiefdom, Mangathi having come from the oSuthu. Dinuzulu sent Mhlahlo kaMlwandle to iNkosi Mabhoko with a message about the arrival of the first (white) army in kwaNongoma. Dinuzulu requested him to send boys to weed at the oSuthu in twos, armed, and moving stealthily. INkosi Mabhoko refused to cooperate because of the presence of the army.³⁹⁶ The account is the same in Stuart's monograph. The boys that were needed were of the Mvalana and Hayelengwenya (probably Hawulengwenya) regiment.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

³⁹⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

³⁹⁷ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 446.

INkosi Mabhoko's evidence as outlined above is significant as Dinuzulu's brother-in-law gave it, and yet it was harmful to Dinuzulu. It is also interesting that Dube made no comment about this. But possibly there was no need to comment, as by making the readers aware of this chief's disloyalty, it was enough to reveal his true nature. It is not clear whether Mabhoko's evidence against Dinuzulu was truthful or not.

Evidence of Mswazi

Mswazi from the chiefdom under Mphumela testified briefly. He was not a rebel but only a messenger. INkosi Mehlokazulu had sent him to Dinuzulu at the oSuthu. The message he carried was to report that Mehlokazulu had left his chiefdom to join Bhambada as summoned.³⁹⁸

Testimony of Msingizane ka Gephula

One of the 'rebels' who testified was Msingizane ka Gephula (probably Gebhula). He rendered a very long testimony. When the lawyer Samuelson cross-examined him, he told the court that he had been informed that once he had testified he would be a free man; he was encouraged by Lubhudlungu (Samuelson) to reveal this fact to the court, and he was indeed later freed after completing his testimony. When asked about the validity of his statement, he responded by saying that he was repeating what had been said by the white officials.³⁹⁹

Evidence of Mangathi kaGodide

On 23 November 1907, at eNkandla, Mangathi kaGodide testified before the magistrate. He had been Bhambada's right-hand man in the war. He requested that

³⁹⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

his testimony be kept a secret because he might be killed like Gence and Sishishili when released from gaol. He claimed that Bhambada had told him that he was fighting the whites as Dinuzulu had sanctioned him. Bhambada told him that Dinuzulu had wanted to know how many of the Natal chiefs supported the war. Bhambada's reply had been that all the Natal chiefs might support the war because they were disgruntled by the *imali yekhanda*. Dinuzulu assigned to Bhambada Chakijana and another unidentified person the responsibility to initiate the fighting. Bhambada was also given a gun that had been seized by Dinuzulu's people during the Boer war. The black army during the Boer War was under Sikhobobo. He (Mangathi) went with Bhambada, Mazwi and Sigidi to the oSuthu. At the oSuthu their presence was reported by an *induna* Ndabankulu. They were summoned to meet Mankulumana, Ndabankulu, Mahlathini and Mgwaqo. Dinuzulu told them that he had paid the *imali yekhanda*. Dinuzulu repeated to Bhambada that if his people did not want to pay they needed to organise themselves and fight. Dinuzulu said the same to Mangathi that they could join forces with Mehlokazulu and fight. By seeing Bhambada's wife and children at the oSuthu Mangathi concluded that Dinuzulu had started the trouble. Mangathi fought at Mome. After that battle he went to Macala Mountain where he met Chakijana. There were corpses all over the place. He assumed that Mehlokazulu and Bhambada had died in that battle. Mangathi went to the oSuthu and Mgwaqo told him that Dinuzulu was sick and advised him to go to Swaziland. He went there and wandered about until he came back to Mankulumana's *umuzi* at kwaThambu. Mankulumana was very upset about his arrival. He told Mangathi that his presence (at the oSutho) had put the lives of Dinuzulu and himself in

³⁹⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 31st 1908.

great danger, as Mfushane had been asking about the whereabouts of Mangathi.

Mankulumana then went to the oSuthu.⁴⁰⁰

At this time it was rumoured that Dinuzulu had died. It was said that his spirit went to heaven and the gods told the spirit to come back to earth since he was a leader and father of the black race and was obliged to look after them. At the oSuthu they all believed this story.⁴⁰¹ It is interesting to note the usage of Dube's terminology that he used the black race instead of amaZulu or black people.

Mankulumana reported Mangathi's presence to Dinuzulu. *Izinduna* at the oSuthu sent a messenger to instruct Mangathi to go back to Swaziland, which he did. Mangathi returned to Zululand when Dinuzulu had gone hunting (possibly for a cultural event, or whatever reason?). On his return Mangathi was told that he and five others were being hunted down by the government and would be given no clemency. He was also told that five collaborators were to be killed, namely Mfungelwa, Matshana kaMondise, Mphumela, Lukhulweni and Maphoyisa. The reason that Mphumela was to be killed was that he had deceived his chiefdom: he had armed his people to assist Bhambada while he joined forces with the whites. He also did not consult with Dinuzulu as the other chiefs had.⁴⁰²

Mangathi continued his testimony by revealing that Matshana kaMondise had ill-treated his two sons, Sikhova and Bhomana, who were 'rebels' on Dinuzulu's side. Matshana kaMondise had encouraged the government not to give his sons clemency

⁴⁰⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

⁴⁰¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

⁴⁰² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

such as other rebels had been given.⁴⁰³ Sikhova and Bhomana later handed themselves to the authorities at eNquthu. They were ringleaders and had influenced the Mondise chiefdom to join Bhambada and had played a major role in the *impi yamakhandu* - rebellion. They had also encouraged Matshana, their father, to join the rebels. After the war they went and stayed for a short time at the oSuthu. It was they who had plotted to kill Matshana.⁴⁰⁴

Mangathi made many allegations about other men who he claimed had been on the side of the white authorities during the *uthuli*: Lukulweni had handed over his relatives including his cousin Langa kaNdabezi to the state. Maphoyisa had been involved in the killing of many blacks at the oSuthu, and he was responsible for the state's decision not to grant clemency to Phahlana, Mazabuzela and Holela. Mfungelwa and Sishishili had helped the whites tirelessly during the war.⁴⁰⁵

Mangathi claimed he knew the murderer of Gence, alleging that Mazabuzela kaVovo had been sent by Dinuzulu to kill Gence because Gence had committed adultery with Dinuzulu's wife. Mangathi said it was Chakijana who was responsible for the killing of *abanumzane* after the Bhambada uprising, acting on the orders of Dinuzulu - Chakijana was personally responsible or he had masterminded the killings. At the oSuthu Mgwaqo was the mastermind of all evil. It was believed he had poisoned the *induna* Mahlathi (by mistake, as he had intended to poison Mankulumane).⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 14th 1908.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

Mangathi further claimed that Mankulumane and Tshanibezwe were the only men that had prevented Dinuzulu from joining forces with the rebels. There was no doubt in his mind that the deaths of all the blacks that were killed after the uprising had been plotted at the oSuthu. Dinuzulu was a nonentity; he was an alcoholic who let down his family and his chiefdom.⁴⁰⁷ Stuart asserted Mangathi was one of the witnesses that gave evidence voluntarily.⁴⁰⁸ It appears that Stuart's intention was to indicate that Mangathi's evidence was authentic by implicating Dinuzulu in the *impi yamakhanda* as well as the killing of the collaborators. Was Dube giving prominence to and details about these wide-ranging claims to discredit the witnesses who were critical of Dinuzulu?

Mangathi changed some sections in his statement (from that which he had made at eNkandla two months before) when he was cross-examined in Maritzburg. He changed his evidence regarding the following: he said that there were two *iznduna*, that Mgwaqo had not been there when he and Bhambada had met Dinuzulu, and in section four (of the evidence) Dinuzulu had not encouraged them to unite to fight the whites but instead had told them that he knew nothing about the war; he did not tell them to join Mehlokazulu, he did not meet Nyovane but he heard it from others. It was not Bhambada who had told him that Cakijana was given a gun but Chakijana himself.⁴⁰⁹ Once again Dube's unsympathetic reportage of Mangathi's testimony has the effect of raising doubt about Mangathi's truthfulness.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

⁴⁰⁸ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 466.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

Holela's evidence

Another witness was Holela. He testified that he was one of the members of Dinuzulu's bodyguard called Nkomendala. He knew that Dinuzulu had sent Chakijana and Mbhidli to kill Gence. Both were absent from the oSuthu on the day when Gence was killed. They came back after his death. Holela saw them on their arrival. Chakijana had a pistol/revolver and Bhidli had a rifle. Chakijana had once told him that the people that he had been instructed to kill were iNkosi Mjantshi, Maphoyisa and the son of Mbuzo. He was armed with Dinuzulu's shotgun and Thobela accompanied him. INkosi Mjantshi was not at his home, as he was at Eshowe, so they then went to Mbuzo's place. Others were also sent to kill iNkosi Mjantshi and Maphoyisa from the oSuthu. They all met at eQhudeni. On a wedding day at Nzipho, Holela and Thobela were hiding in the ravine. They could not open fire on Maphoyisa who was accompanied by his two sons because it was during the day and they would be seen. Significance of the wedding was possibly that the presence of a crowd prevented killing, as the killers would be known. Possibly also Maphoyisa had attended the wedding for this reason. At night the dogs barked at them and they fled. They tried on Sunday night but Maphoyisa went out and shot at them and they fled again. As a collaborator Maphoyisa probably knew that he was targeted. On that night they slept in the forest. They had all failed in their mission to carry out the killings. They (Holela and Thobela) met at the oSuthu. Chakijana accused Holela of cowardice. According to Holela's testimony Mkipheni and Nzolo had successfully killed Mphumela (November 1906).⁴¹⁰

⁴¹⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 7th 1908.

Evidence of Mahayihayi kaMahu

Dinuzulu's wife, Mahayihayi kaMahu attributed serious crimes to Dinuzulu when she testified. From the very beginning of this report, Dube portrays her in a negative way. No bride price had been paid to her family. This was mentioned by Dube as a factor which should discredit her evidence. She would therefore not be regarded as a wife according to Zulu custom. She had five children by Dinuzulu but three had died. She was expelled from the oSuthu for alleged adultery with Gence. In her testimony she said she knew Bhambada, his wife, daughter and son as well as Chakijana. Bhambada had visited the oSuthu twice. On the first occasion a goat was slaughtered for him and a cow at the time of the second visit. She attributed responsibility for the death of the Mahlabathini magistrate Stainbank to Bhambada and Chakijana because it had happened after they had left the oSuthu. She claimed she had heard Dinuzulu speaking to Mgwaqo, Sichofo, Thulanzi, and Mahlathi about the fact that they had eliminated Stainbank. She also suspected Dlayisamathambesangoma and Mpetha were involved in the death of Stainbank. She added that Dinuzulu had wanted to kill Mashiqela as well as Armstrong, the magistrate at kwaNongoma, but the killing was never carried out.⁴¹¹

Evidence of Limana kaNdlovu

Limana kaNdlovu from Hashi's chiefdom at eNkandla testified. He said that many blacks believed that Dinuzulu knew Bhambada's movements, especially when he crossed uThukela River to eNkandla. He (Limana) was one of the rebels who went to the oSuthu after the war and, on his arrival at the oSuthu, Mgwaqo was the first person

⁴¹¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 14th 1908.

to talk to him. Mgwaqo criticised him for participating in the 1906 uprising at his advanced age, saying that Limana knew how powerful the whites were since he had participated in many Zulu wars. Dinuzulu, through Mgwaqo's mouth, expressed his surprise at seeing the rebels coming to him, because he had paid the poll tax.

Dinuzulu wanted the rebels to talk to their chiefs not to him.⁴¹²

Evidence of Jantomi kaNgotshe

Jantomi kaNgotshe who was one of Dinuzulu's spies alleged that he had been sent by Dinuzulu to spy on the white army, which was approaching kwaNongoma. Others who were sent were Sikobho, Mabhekeshiya, Mabhoko and Sithambi who were instructed to get ready since the white army was approaching. Jantomi reported back to Dinuzulu that he had seen the army with five wagons. He told Dinuzulu that he thought black people were not in a position to fight. Dinuzulu chased him away from his *umuzi* because he might influence others at the oSuthu and make them frightened of fighting. He saw about twenty-six blacks armed with guns at the oSuthu.⁴¹³

The magistrate travelled to the oSuthu in Zululand in order to collect evidence against Dinuzulu. The state lawyer accompanied him. The magistrate wanted to take photographs of Dinuzulu's *umuzi* and to write about the rooms and houses there.

Dinuzulu's lawyer Mr R. L. Goulding also went on behalf of his client.⁴¹⁴ Tatham had written an article to an overseas newspaper about the beauty of Dinuzulu's *umuzi*. His article contradicted the (white) soldiers' statement to the effect that the home of a

⁴¹² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 21st 1908.

⁴¹³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 21st 1908.

⁴¹⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 3rd 1908.

commoner (in fact a of a slovenly person) was much better than that of Dinuzulu.⁴¹⁵

The magistrate Mazinyane went to the oSuthu with the witnesses Siyekiwe, Ndabayakhe and Kholekile to take photographs. The state witnesses endorsed their testimony by pointing out all the places that they had mentioned in their evidence, for example where Bhambada and Dinuzulu had spoken and they had heard the discussions. Kholekile further stated that, although houses had been painted in the mean time, she was able to show all that she had mentioned in her testimony: where she had stayed on her arrival at the oSuthu, where she was when her father Bhambada had received a gun, where Chakijana's tent was situated as well as the house where he stayed when he was not living in the tent, and also the place where Siyekiwe gave birth. Bhambada's wife Siyekiwe and his son Ndabayakhe also stated that they were able to point out all the places they had mentioned in their testimonies.⁴¹⁶

Many readers wrote letters to the *Ilanga* in response to Dube's reportage of the Dinuzulu trial. The editor responded to these letters by strongly cautioned the readers who had written to the newspaper. Most of the letters stated that Dinuzulu was innocent and should be released immediately. The main concern of the letters was about Dinuzulu's diet in prison, readers even doubted that he was given any food at all. According to Dube most readers wanted *Ilanga* to be a daily newspaper so as to be informed of Dinuzulu's plight. Dube openly told the readers that western law did not allow a person who was being tried in a court of law to be quoted or reported in the newspaper. In order for *Ilanga* to continue to exist it had to abide by the rules of

⁴¹⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 24th 1908.

⁴¹⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 10th 1908.

the country. He openly stated that most of the letters were not going to be published but would be burnt. In fact he stated that he was the one who was burning letters one by one after having read them. His newspaper would try by all means to keep blacks informed about the case. The only people who would defend Dinuzulu were his lawyers.⁴¹⁷

Dube must have realised that he commanded much respect amongst his readers, so they would understand and accept the news that he was burning letters for the good of the newspaper. He might well have been using this report as a strategy to inform the authorities that there was a groundswell of opinion amongst the readers in support of Dinuzulu and that these readers were highly critical of the way that the king was being treated. He couched this “warning” in the context of assuring readers that he was abiding by the law.

An analysis of the evidence as reported by Dube indicates an attempt by the prosecution to build a case against Dinuzulu on very flimsy and conflicting evidence. For example the promises made by the authorities that certain witnesses would be safe from prosecution if they gave evidence in the trial gave Dube the opportunity to sow seeds of doubt about the truthfulness of such witnesses. It seems that Dube not only succeeded in portraying the case as a farce but also encouraged much support for the king amongst his readers, as he claimed that many letters were sent to *Ilanga* criticizing the treatment of the king, and clearly expressing support for him.

⁴¹⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

Chapter 6

Conviction, exile and death of Dinuzulu: was Dube's struggle all in vain?

In this chapter I examine how Dube focuses on Dinuzulu within three contexts: first his arrest and trial and the violation of his traditional rights, as demonstrated in his conviction and exile, despite the affirmation of his innocence by reliable witnesses; secondly Dube's petition to the colonial government for mercy to be shown to the king; and finally Dinuzulu's death and funeral. Dube accuses the whites of behaving like savages during the arrest of Dinuzulu, when colonial soldiers attacked Dinuzulu's *umuzi* and stole the king's money. Dube believed that the colonial troops wished to take revenge on the amaZulu who had killed Boer forces, whites, during the South African War.

In his reportage Dube appealed on behalf of the Zulu people for the government to have mercy on Dinuzulu. His appeal is in the style of a prayer, reflecting Dube as *ikhholwa*. It is full of the rich isiZulu language and idiomatic expressions, which also shows that Dube knew his roots. He used the language that ordinary people would identify themselves with and at the same time the white officials who could read and speak isiZulu would understand as being used for a person of high nobility.

Lastly the chapter focuses on how Dube reported on Dinuzulu's death in exile. As an eyewitness during the funeral of Dinuzulu he is able to write in vivid detail about the service. His obituary of Dinuzulu reflected on the history of the amaZulu and how their kingdom had been destroyed. The suffering of Dinuzulu at an early age is well captured, foreshadowing the sufferings of the king during his trial, when evidence was brought against him by those who he had believed were his friends. According to Dube, Dinuzulu was a victim of Zulu history: he was the son of Cetshwayo in the house of

Shaka kaSenzangakhona, which appeared to be doomed. As a result of this Dinuzulu had suffered a great deal during his life. During the trial Dinuzulu was greatly distressed by the allegations made against him and the disloyalty of those who gave evidence against him, such as Chakijana.

This chapter explores how Dube uses the death of Dinuzulu as the context within which he places himself, as editor, in opposition to the colonial state, in an indictment of the colonial justice system. The extremely long and detailed obituary written by Dube for Dinuzulu traces the history of oppression and injustice that was experienced not only by Dinuzulu but also by Cetshwayo. The theme of Dinuzulu's innocence that was uppermost in the reporting of the trial in 1907 is extended to reiterate Dube's belief that both Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu were innocent of any anti-government activities as far back as the 1880's.

Dube condemned the authorities for being savages, saying that it was not acceptable for the authorities to bear a grudge against the black people. His condemnation emanated from a report published in the *Ilanga* about the attitude of the First Reserve army, which was at Utrecht on their way back to headquarters. These troops received an order to go back because there was a rumour of renewed *uthuli* on the part of one of the chiefs by the name of Sikhoboke who had masterminded the killing at Holkrans (Ntatshana).⁴¹⁸ It was believed that Sikhoboke together with other small chiefs from the same district wanted to initiate further *uthuli*. The First Reserve

⁴¹⁸ It was known as the 'massacre of Holkratz', the incident took place on 6 May 1902 during the South African War in the Vryheid district. amaZulu defeated the Afrikaners out of seventy men, fifty-six of them were killed and amaZulu lost fifty-two and forty eight men were wounded. See *Reluctant Rebellion*. pp. 157 – 158.

let it be known that once they had found out that this was the truth, they would deal with Sikhoboke immediately since they wanted revenge for the Holkrans Affair.⁴¹⁹

The white soldiers raided the chiefdoms in the area searching for guns, which had allegedly been stolen from one of the army camps. It was also alleged that the Portuguese had stealthily made guns available to the amaZulu in that area. The British colonists demanded that those guns be handed over. The soldiers that were sent to northern Natal went to the chiefdom of Mnyayiza who had succeeded Sikhoboke who, as mentioned above, was believed to be responsible for the killing of some whites during the Boer War (South African War). Mnyayiza was instructed by the soldiers to bring all the arms to Vryheid (Filidi).⁴²⁰ The intelligence unit reported that Dinuzulu had concealed guns in the districts of Vryheid and Ngotshe.⁴²¹ The sending in of the white army to these districts was justifiable according to Stuart, which differed from what Dube perceived as the settling of the old score of 1902.

Dube supported his allegations of savagery on the part of the white soldiers with another example. In Louwsburg iNkosi Mabhoko of the huge Ntshangase chiefdom, who was married to Dinuzulu's sister, was arrested on his way to an *imbizo* - formal gathering.⁴²² A column was sent to kwaNompampe, an area under the authority of iNkosi Makhoko, to search for guns and gunpowder because it was

⁴¹⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

⁴²⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

⁴²¹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 450.

⁴²² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

believed that they were concealed in caves. They searched all over the place but could not find anything.⁴²³

Dube's condemnation of the behaviour of the troops and by implication the colonial government is significant, as he here comes out very unambiguously in his report, possibly more so than in any of his earlier reports. The bad behaviour of the troops was arguably a clever choice as an object of condemnation: the "war" was to all intents and purposes over, the troops were on their way back from the "war zone" and it was apparently almost as an afterthought that the raid on Sikhoboke took place, in revenge for an event that had taken place many years before (interestingly the colonial force seemed to sympathise with the killing of their opponents during the South African War 1899 - 1902), and about which no action had been taken in the intervening years. It was effectively, as depicted by Dube, using martial law to settle old scores, and as such might be more difficult to justify than other injustices allegedly arising from the threat of insurrection.

Dube asserted that there was banditry among some whites that were out to profiteer from black people. A large number of whites approached the soldiers in order to buy gunpowder and ammunition, which they would then sell to blacks; it was a shortcut to becoming rich. There was one white person who was arrested in Zululand in connection with the charge of selling weaponry to blacks.⁴²⁴ During the raids, one

⁴²³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 10th 1908.

⁴²⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

of the soldiers stole Dinuzulu's box containing £70, which was in his bedroom at the oSuthu. It was later recovered amongst the belongings of the soldiers.⁴²⁵

Dube believed that the behaviour of the authorities was unacceptable. Colonel Makhenisi turned everything upside down at the oSuthu and found Dinuzulu's personal letters, which were believed to support the case against Dinuzulu. The soldiers searched through everything at the oSuthu looking for the houses that were believed to have hiding places underneath, where Bhambada kaMancinza was believed to be hiding.⁴²⁶

Dube wondered whether it was really the end of *uthuli* because some soldiers were being withdrawn while others were mobilized and moved into Zululand. The uMvoti and Border Mounted Rifles were mobilized and despatched to an unknown area outside Zululand. They left Nongoma on Saturday. Dube speculated that they might be on the track of Bhambada.⁴²⁷

In December 1907 an interesting reference to the ownership of land in Natal and Zululand appeared in *Ilanga*. Dube reported that certain white people from abroad believed that the intention of the whites in Natal and Zululand was to fight against the blacks in order to get their land, and gave some validity to this claim by quoting an unidentified white man who stated that the land should be seized from black people and be used for farms and divided amongst the whites. According to this report the Natal whites stated that there were too many "*amakhafula* - kaffers" and they should

⁴²⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

⁴²⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

⁴²⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

be taken back to Zululand. But to the apparent surprise of Dube even the few whites in Zululand did not want blacks there, but instead they wanted other whites. Dube wondered where black people should stay. He asked, “Must they stay on wooden sticks like birds?”⁴²⁸ Although there is not much direct evidence of Dube’s attitude to the question of ownership and control of the land, this report does make it clear that he had few delusions about land-hungry colonists who had no compunction about taking over as much land as possible for white settlement. Although expressed with bitter humour, Dube recognised the threat to traditional land tenure in Zululand.

Continuing the theme of the unfair treatment of the Zulu people by the colonial authorities, Dube reported that the injustices perpetrated by the Natal government had forced Jellicoe, whose visit to Natal is discussed in an earlier chapter, to go back to England.⁴²⁹ Having clearly expressed his own condemnation of the authorities, Dube brings in the support of this prominent British lawyer. Was he still hoping for some justice on the part of the British Government who might be able to exercise some moderation on the colonial authorities? In other words Dube might yet have had some hope.

Jellicoe expressed his anger and frustration in a letter he wrote to the Natal government, citing a number of reasons for his departure. The (colonial) newspapers were heavily criticised together with those whom he described as white criminals who intended to seize the land from the blacks: the newspapers and the white criminals had prevented him from collecting evidence for the defence of Dinuzulu. Jellicoe was

⁴²⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. December 27th 1907.

⁴²⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 14th 1908.

dismayed to witness the undermining of justice in a territory where the British flag had been hoisted. He was also dismayed to see the hatred on the part of the whites that had led to the arrest of Dinuzulu without concrete evidence.⁴³⁰ This clear statement of Jellicoe's position was probably used by Dube to express his own position.

Jellicoe's main concern was the delay of the officials in collecting evidence in Dinuzulu's case. Of all those who had testified, not a single one of them had strong evidence against Dinuzulu: their testimony was merely about what they had heard. He complained that their testimony was one-sided because of the pressure created by martial law. He was very upset by the methods employed by the magistrate in collecting evidence. The magistrate threatened the witnesses to make them give evidence that was detrimental to Dinuzulu. Jellicoe imagined how bad it must have been in February 1906 when martial law had been declared and the black people were beaten and given death sentences (by courts martial). Even in 1908 blacks were being arrested and their lawyers were not told where they were incarcerated. Lawyers were prevented from consulting with their clients. He and his team were not allowed to go to Zululand to collect evidence in the defence of Dinuzulu.⁴³¹

The ramifications of the injustices described by Dube both in his own name and through quoting Jellicoe, were further exemplified in the following week, when Dube reported that sad news had reached Dinuzulu while in jail: his mother oKaMsweli had died. *Ilanga* expressed its condolences to him. Was Dinuzulu able to get access to *Ilanga* while in jail? *Ilanga* sympathised with him on the receipt of this

⁴³⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 14th 1908.

⁴³¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 14th 1908.

distressing news while he was suffering the agony of being jailed. Using the sad news to maximum effect the newspaper attributed the sudden death of oKaMsweli to the depression she had suffered because of the imprisonment of her son.⁴³²

Dube reported on a development in England, which might have given him some encouragement. A Blue Book published in England reported that the Natal Government had cut Dinuzulu's salary. It disclosed that Lord Elgin had opposed the salary cut basing his argument on the fact that Dinuzulu had not yet been charged. This cut had not been stipulated in the agreement entered into when Dinuzulu had been allowed to return to Zululand after the civil war. Instead it had been agreed that there would be no cut in salary. Lord Elgin further stated that Dinuzulu would need money to defend his case. Thus according to him the salary would not be cut since the British government did not approve.⁴³³

However, as reported in *Ilanga*, the Natal government wrote several letters explaining that according to its law there would be a salary cut until a verdict had been passed, as, according to them, the ruling pertained to a government employee. Lord Elgin then stated that Dinuzulu's case was different because of the agreement entered into with the British government. In the end the Natal government did cut the salary despite the opposition from a representative of the British Empire. Interestingly all the Natal newspapers blamed the Natal government's action because it dented the image of the colony in the eyes of the countries of the world.⁴³⁴

⁴³² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 21st 1908.

⁴³³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 12th 1908.

⁴³⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 12th 1908.

Dube kept his readers informed about preparations for the trial. The state prepared its allegations against Dinuzulu through the Attorney General, the Honourable Mr T. F. Carter and his assistants Messrs D. Calder of Durban and W. S. Bigby. Dinuzulu's defence team, Eugene Renaud (Mfushane) and R. C. A. Samuelson (Lubhembedu) were in Zululand where they worked tirelessly collecting evidence for their client. Carter also went to Zululand to collect evidence about Dinuzulu.⁴³⁵

In the mean time Dube noted that the Maritzburg newspapers had reported that Dinuzulu's condition had worsened. He was bleeding, the reason allegedly being that he never had fresh air in prison and he never exercised. The colonial authorities denied all the allegations, stating that after he had been hospitalised and discharged he was well treated. Dube expressed his surprise about the sources of the newspaper, the *Natal Witness*⁴³⁶, wondering whether to believe the newspaper or the colonial authorities.

Dinuzulu's health notwithstanding, the case proceeded. The three judges, Sir William James Smith of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, His Honour Henry G. Boshoff of the Native High Court in Natal and Henrique Charles Shepstone (Gebhuza kaSomtseu) took an oath before the Honourable Governor Sir Mathew Nathan. They were appointed by the government to preside over the court that would hear the case of Dinuzulu, Mankulumana, Mgwaqo and Chakijana. The rumours were that Chakijana and Dinuzulu's *izinduna* (headmen/advisers) would be the first to appear

⁴³⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. September 25th 1908, *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 9th 1908, *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 16th 1908

⁴³⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. September 25th 1908.

before the court and Dinuzulu would be the last. The unconfirmed rumours were that the court proceedings would be held in Greytown. The Attorney General Carter had been appointed to represent the state. W. P. Schreiner from the Cape Colony was to head Dinuzulu's defence.⁴³⁷ Major Dimmock was in charge of 120 troops that were responsible for security in Greytown during Dinuzulu's trial. Dinuzulu's trial finally commenced in the Town Hall of Greytown on 3 November 1907.⁴³⁸ The other prisoners were taken out of the cells in order to provide accommodation for Dinuzulu. J. W. Cross was clerk of the court and Mr Borgius was responsible for the police inside the court.⁴³⁹

Some time before the commencement of the trial, Chakijana, a key witness, had handed himself over to the police in Maritzburg. Miss Colenso brought him in a cart to the police station on Thursday (9 March 1908). Most witnesses claimed that he had been Dinuzulu's right hand or principal agent in the downfall of all those *abanumzane*/chiefs that did not rebel, and who had been killed. Chakijana's movements had confused the *amaqili*, those who were hunting him down⁴⁴⁰.

The difference between Dube and Stuart is that Stuart mentioned that Miss Colenso did not hand over Chakijana and his companion to the police but instead instructed an attorney to take their statements at length. For the surrender of Chakijana, Stuart recommended the continuance of the martial law in Zululand. To

⁴³⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. September 18th 1908. *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 9th 1908, *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 16th 1908.

⁴³⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 16th 1908.

⁴³⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 23rd 1908.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 20th 1908.

Stuart the surrender of Chakijana to Bishopstowe (Ekukhanyeni) was due to Dinuzulu's instruction because 'his own preliminary examination on charges of high treason, sedition, murder etc., was actually in progress'.⁴⁴¹ It is significant that Dube used the term *amaqili*, normally meaning thugs, to describe Chakijana's hunters. Although Chakijana might in retrospect be considered a somewhat controversial character, Dube showed some respect for him in this report. It seems that Dube did not ultimately entirely blame Chakijana for turning state witness, as the authorities intimidated him.

Dube compared Chakijana's situation in 1907 with that of Dinuzulu in 1888, when no one could track him down until he crossed the uThukela River and arrived at Ekukhanyeni. The authorities had been unable to hunt down Chakijana even when they had put a reward on his head, offering £100 to anyone who might capture him.⁴⁴² This comparison might be seen as a compliment to Chakijana, coming from Dube, a loyal supporter of the Royal house.

Dube reported that Chakijana faced thirteen charges, and there were fifty state witnesses against him. As his trial was due to take place in Greytown,⁴⁴³ he had to be transported to Greytown via Maritzburg, from eNkandla where he was being held. Soldiers surrounded him during his journey,⁴⁴⁴ as he was one of the key witnesses in the trial of Dinuzulu. To the disappointment of many people no evidence emerged

⁴⁴¹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 463–464.

⁴⁴² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 20th 1908.

⁴⁴³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 6th 1908.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 30th 1908

during Chakijana's trial that Dinuzulu had been involved in the 1906 upheavals. Chakijana was found guilty and sentenced to seven years with hard labour.⁴⁴⁵ Why did Dube do this? Dube gave scant details of Chakijana's trial, perhaps because his main focus was on the fate of Dinuzulu, so the outcome of Chakijana's trial was of interest only insofar as it affected the king. The fact that Chakijana gave evidence potentially very damaging to Dinuzulu perhaps is the reason that it was not reported in the *Ilanga* newspaper. Perhaps it would be appropriate to mention the controversial character of this person Chakijana; for example he claimed that he had been a spy for the boers as well as for the British during the South African War.⁴⁴⁶

Mjombolwana was arrested in Johannesburg for the death of Sishishili who had been murdered in Zululand (eNkandla). On his arrest it was noted that he had in his possession a Bible and a membership card of the Durban Congregational Church. During Mjombolwana's trial, the clerk of the court, J. W. Cross read out the twenty-three charges.⁴⁴⁷ At the end of the case, when his death sentence was announced, he surprised many people because of his confidence and jubilation. He thanked the judges for the good handling of his case. He went to the gallows allegedly with confidence and delight because he had refused to implicate Dinuzulu as desired by the authorities.⁴⁴⁸ It should be noted here that Stuart only mentioned that Mjombolwana

⁴⁴⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 13th 1908.

⁴⁴⁶ Marks described him as "more complex character. Chakijana, it will be remembered, had returned with Bambatha from Zululand in March 1906, and claiming to be Dinuzulu's emissary had rapidly become one of the most prominent rebel leaders. He participated in all major battles from the time of Bambatha's attack on the magistrate at Keate's Drift on 3 April, until the battle of Mome Gorge, when he escaped into Zululand, spending time at the Osuthu. See *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 276.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 13th 1908.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 5th 1909.

was found guilty of murder in November and his death sentence was carried out December 1908.⁴⁴⁹ Was Stuart not happy about his evidence of not implicating Dinuzulu as Mjombolwana was instructed to do so by one the policeman? Dube's uncompromising tone here is similar to that when he discussed Jellicoe's complaints, and he is making it clear all along that Dinuzulu was innocent, as illustrated even by a man under sentence of death. Is it intentionally a contrast with Chakijana?

Dube was very much concerned about the government's policy towards the black people. In April 1909 he alluded to the government's execution of the blacks after the Richmond incident.⁴⁵⁰ Dube expressed his feelings regarding the order that those who murdered Mphumela should be hanged.

It is ordered that the murderers of Mphumela should be hanged. It is not known where these serious occurrences of the rebellion will terminate (*end*). Black people are being hanged and shot, this being so since they first shot the twelve at Richmond.⁴⁵¹ One can detect a note of despair in this comment, perhaps indicating that Dube was beginning to doubt that appeals to the government would yield any improvement in the situation, which was taking such a toll of life in Zululand.

Mkhipheni and Nzolo (Mphumela's nephew) were charged with and found guilty of the murder of Mphumela (20 November 1907) and the attempted murder of Nogongo and another unidentified person.⁴⁵² and were at that time facing execution.

⁴⁴⁹ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 471.

⁴⁵⁰ Refer to the chapter: *Isidumo sokulwa e Richmond*.

⁴⁵¹ *Kutiwe abapanyekwe ababili ababulala uMpumela. Lezo zidumo zempi akwaziwa lapo zokaula kona kudutshulwa kupanyekwa abantu, iloku kwaqala mhla kudutshulwa abayishumi nambili e Richmond*. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 9th 1909.

⁴⁵² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 5th 1909.

It was now reported that Dinuzulu had been dethroned from his oSuthu chiefdom, as was mentioned in the government's newspaper in an article written by the Governor Sir Mathew Nathan. He stated that even the British government had approved the arrest of Dinuzulu.⁴⁵³

Dinuzulu was taken out of prison to give evidence in the case arising from the murder of Gence. He was seen to be healthy but had lost a lot of weight. The *Times* newspaper asked whether he was going to be charged with murder because both the accused, Mayethana and Chakijana, alleged that they were ordered by him (Dinuzulu) to kill Gence. It seems that the prosecution was holding back evidence in the mean time, manipulating the justice system, in the hope of implicating Dinuzulu in this crime, as Gence had allegedly committed adultery with one of Dinuzulu's wives. The government did not disclose anything about the case.⁴⁵⁴ Mjiji kaMdilela also gave evidence that it was Mayethana and Chakijana that murdered Gence. He had accompanied them at their request to show them Gence's home. Mjiji alleged that they were both armed with guns. After two days Mayethana and Chakijana came back and reported to him at the house of his friend, Mondisa, at Nondweni where he slept that they had killed Gence. All three went to the oSuthu and the Prince was at iJuba one of his *umuzi*. Mayathana confirmed that they were sent by Dinuzulu to kill Gence.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 23rd 1908.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 23rd 1908.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 27th 1908.

The testimony of Mathungeni kaFobana given in prison in the presence of Dinuzulu showed that Chakijana had shot and killed Gence.⁴⁵⁶ On the contrary, Chakijana's testimony a year earlier had been that Mayathana had shot and killed Gence after they had entered his hut. Chakijana and Mayathana had left Mjiji behind because he had a swollen knee. They had only met up with him on their way to the oSuthu where they reported to Dinuzulu. Chakijana claimed that they had been instructed by Dinuzulu to kill Gence because he had bewitched Dinuzulu and as a result he had nearly died. He claimed that they were armed with three guns that they had been given by Dinuzulu.⁴⁵⁷ Dube reminded his readers that it was very difficult to regard Chakijana's testimony as authentic because he had made a deal with the authorities, according to which he would be pardoned of all his offences if he implicated Dinuzulu.

Dube continued to report on the trial in great detail. Colenbrander who was a magistrate at eNkandla took the witness stand. He was cross-examined by Schreiner who questioned him in a manner that disclosed that the testimonies from the witnesses had been extracted from them under the barrel of a gun. Such a situation might be attributed to the fact that martial law was in force.⁴⁵⁸

The Attorney General complained that Dinuzulu was not well treated in court by Carter.⁴⁵⁹ Carter had asked Dinuzulu if he was a Christian and he had replied:

I did not come here to talk about religion. There is no one that I know who is a true believer/Christian or non-believer/non-Christian on this earth, the only one that I know of is Christ.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 6th 1908.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 9th 1909.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 22nd 1909.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 5th 1909.

Carter wanted to prove that Dinuzulu was in league with Bhambada and Siganda, arguing that, as Ngqengqengqe (Dinuzulu's *induna*) had told him about the fighting at eNkandla, he had been aware of the rebellion. Dinuzulu denied this accusation, since it was Chakijana who had told him. Dinuzulu concurred that when Ngqengqengqe arrived in Bhambada's area, having been sent to fetch an *inyanga*, the *inyanga* had gone to uMzimkhulu, so he had brought another one instead to the oSuthu. Dinuzulu also agreed that Ngqengqengqe had reported to him that the situation was volatile in Natal, because when they had arrived Bhambada had found that the authorities had deposed and replaced him with his uncle Magwababa, and that Bhambada had then mobilised the army to kill Magwababa. Ngqengqengqe had left Sukabekhuluma (Chakijana) with Bhambada.⁴⁶¹

Carter raised the issue of land ownership as he tried his best to show that Dinuzulu had felt resentment against the government. In his cross-examination Carter referred to the fact that Dinuzulu had once complained that his chiefdom was very small - one could go around it in a day. (Mankulumana had reported about this concern.) Dinuzulu expressed surprise at Carter's accusation, because the land issue had been discussed prior to the Anglo Boer War (1899 - 1902) but it had become a big issue by 1909. He was also surprised that an old issue of land had been raised again at that time, after he had spent three years in gaol, and he questioned why this had been done.⁴⁶² One gets a feeling that the state tried its best to find Dinuzulu guilty. This might have been Dube's intention to make his readers aware of the state's intention.

⁴⁶⁰ *Angizile lapa ukuba ngizokuluma lezo zenkolo. Amuko noku nguyena ngimaziyo oyikholwa nongekolwa kulelizwe, engimazi ukuti uyikolwa u Kristu kupela. See Ilanga Lase Natal. January 29th 1909.*

⁴⁶¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal. February 5th 1909.*

⁴⁶² *Ilanga Lase Natal. February 5th 1909.*

Dinuzulu was asked about harbouring the so-called rebels. He responded that he had ordered his *izinduna* to chase them away but they had persisted in coming back, claiming that they had not come from the forest: “the forest” was normally how the blacks at this time referred to the fighting at eNkandla. According to Zulu tradition defeated people were allowed to settle under the chief in whose chiefdom they had homesteads, and for this reason the so-called rebels had moved to the oSuthu, so that they could set up homesteads under Dinuzulu’s protection.⁴⁶³

The Attorney General asked him for more information about Bhambada’s second visit but Dinuzulu denied the allegations that had been made. Bhambada’s wife had run away after Dinuzulu had ordered the capture of the rebels: Dinuzulu had captured and handed over six to the magistrate at Nongoma. He did not know anything about the gun that Chakijana was armed with. The Attorney General then asked Dinuzulu about the letter written by Miss Colenso, suggesting that rebels should be sent away, and asked whether or not she was referring to Chakijana. Dinuzulu replied that he could not know what was in her mind but he thought that she was referring to everybody. When asked about Sishishili’s gun that had been found with Dinuzulu’s necklace, Dinuzulu responded by saying that he could not know anything about it, because he had not been there when the guns had been taken from his house by the authorities. Dinuzulu refuted the allegations that Daniel was his *induna*.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 5th 1909.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 5th 1909.

Responding to a question by Judge Boshoff, Dinuzulu stated that the disturbances were bound to have taken place because blacks were defiant even to him. Boshoff disputed Dinuzulu's statement that he had chased Bhambada on account of his having no permit because, the judge argued, he had been able to send Ngqengqengqe into Natal without a permit. Dinuzulu was cross-examined for eleven days about not having reported the rebels.⁴⁶⁵ Was Dube's reportage on this case deliberately planned to make clear the trivial nature of the charges against Dinuzulu?

At this point Dube recounts the testimony of several witnesses, all of whom appear to be supportive of Dinuzulu. Perhaps to emphasise the authenticity of their evidence, he places each of them in the context of their longstanding links with and knowledge of Dinuzulu, possibly hoping thereby to strengthen the support given to the king by these witnesses. Mankulumana Dinuzulu's *Ndunankulu* also gave his testimony. He disputed everything that the witnesses had said against Dinuzulu.⁴⁶⁶ His testimony was similar to that of Dinuzulu. He refuted the allegations that Dinuzulu had ever intended to fight against the white government. He stressed the fact that, had Dinuzulu wanted to fight the government, the whole Zulu nation in Natal and Zululand would have been armed. Neither Dinuzulu nor Mankulumane had ever asked Mangathi about the fighting at eNkandla (this was the time when Mangathi came to the oSuthu when the fight was over at eNkandla). Mankulumane stated that Dinuzulu had acknowledged that it was dangerous not to hand Mangathi and Chakijana to the state because of their participation in the fight. It was Mankulumane who had discouraged Dinuzulu when he

⁴⁶⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 5th 1909.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 5th 1909.

had wanted to report to the authorities the presence of Bhambada's wife and children at the oSuthu, as well as to mobilise the army to capture Bhambada.⁴⁶⁷

A very old man, Mgozabana, now unable to walk, who had once accompanied King Cetshwayo abroad on his visit to the Queen, gave testimony. He was given a chair so that he could sit in court. He was in charge in one of the districts in Zululand. He made it clear that he had not wanted to pay the poll tax and not a single black person wanted to pay. He only paid the poll tax because he was instructed to do so by Dinuzulu.⁴⁶⁸ One gets a feeling that Dube regarded the testimony of Mgozabana as authentic because according to the Zulu culture an old person would not tell lies.

Ntshingwayo (in charge of a district near Vryheid) was one of the witnesses who had paid the poll tax because of Dinuzulu's instructions. His testimony concurred with that of Mgozana that no one liked the poll tax. He had sent three messengers to Dinuzulu to ask about the poll tax, but Dinuzulu stressed to all of them that they had to pay the poll tax. Ntshingwayo had been a member of Dinuzulu's bodyguard known as the iNkomendala during the Anglo-Boer War, a force that had never been summoned since then. He made it clear that he would have fought if Dinuzulu had asked him.⁴⁶⁹ Dube inserts this information, possibly to make it clear that Dinuzulu did not try to foment rebellion, even though there were longstanding supporters of his who would readily have done his bidding if he had called them to arms.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 12th 1909.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 12th 1909.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 12th 1909.

The record of testimonies continued. Phakathi who had been Cetshwayo's *induna* testified that he had never received any word from Dinuzulu that he must be ready for a war. Mlenzane testified that Muntunemidwa and Malambule had also paid tax as a result of Dinuzulu's advice.⁴⁷⁰

Dube here pointed out explicitly that Dinuzulu's defence wanted to prove that Dinuzulu had never wanted to rebel and he had advised that the poll tax should be paid. Dinuzulu's case was *isinyikanyika* - to use *Ilanga*'s terminology – a complicated affair.⁴⁷¹ For example, Mangathi had testified earlier that he had rebelled because Chakijana had mentioned Dinuzulu's name. He mentioned in court that he was an old man since he had been Cetshwayo's *induna*.⁴⁷² Mangathi stated that Dinuzulu had once mentioned that he could not fight against the whites because they had defeated the amaZulu that were renowned for their prowess.⁴⁷³ Dube is here using Mangathi's statement to emphasise yet another reason why Dinuzulu would not have been prepared to rebel, as he pragmatically realised that the colonial authorities were too strong for his forces to take on.

Dinuzulu disputed the allegations that he had encouraged blacks not to pay the poll tax. He mentioned that black people at the oSuthu and in Zululand hated the poll tax, but he had persuaded them to pay. They (blacks) stated that they did not have the

⁴⁷⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 12th 1909.

⁴⁷¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 12th 1909.

⁴⁷² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 15th 1909.

⁴⁷³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 9th 1909.

money to pay the hut tax, dog tax and farm tax but he had encouraged them to pay.

Blacks had come from all over the country to consult him about the poll tax.⁴⁷⁴

Dinuzulu's trial was a very complicated one in the history of the country. It took sixty-six days, the longest in the country. There was a boer, Mr Fredrick Meyer of Paulpietersburg, who also gave evidence. His father was a friend of Dinuzulu. The Meyers visited Dinuzulu a number of times between 1904 and 1907. Dinuzulu once asked him to help in tracking down the murderers of Stainbank and Sishishili. Dinuzulu told Meyer's father that he had appointed a private investigator. Meyer's father had also reported that Dinuzulu had looked very worried on receiving the sad news of Sishishili's death, the reason being that Sishishili had once saved his life when Dinuzulu was a boy. Dinuzulu had thought that the rebels might have killed Sishishili. Dinuzulu had told them (the Meyers) that he was not in league with the rebels and that he had ordered blacks in Zululand not to join the rebels.⁴⁷⁵ In Stuart's book Mr Conrad Meyer (probably Meyer the senior) was convinced that Dinuzulu was loyal to the colonial government (October 1906 when he visited the oSuthu).⁴⁷⁶ Dube gave some prominence to Meyer's evidence, not only perhaps to indicate that there was some support for the king amongst the boers, but because once again the evidence was provided by a family that had longstanding good relations with Dinuzulu, and who on the face of it stood to gain nothing from their support of him.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 9th 1909.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 26th 1909.

⁴⁷⁶ *A History of the Zulu Rebellion*. p. 437.

There were twelve further witnesses from the church who had gone to the oSuthu to pray. Their testimony showed that there had been no rebelliousness at the oSuthu, where the army was neither mobilized nor ritually sprinkled for war and that the Nkomendala had not been summoned since the Boer War (South African War). Amongst these witnesses were Ndabankulu (Dinuzulu's close friend), Ngangehili, Geveza (Dinuzulu's *inyanga*) and Mpinjande. Geveza claimed to be a famous *inyanga* who had spent almost a year at the oSuthu treating Dinuzulu, but no-one had been summoned to the oSuthu to talk about war. Using Bhambada's other name, Magaduzela, he testified that Magaduzela had rebelled but not on the instructions of Dinuzulu.⁴⁷⁷

At the end of the case, out of twenty-three counts Dinuzulu was found guilty of harbouring Bhambada's wife and children in his *umuzi*. And of allowing Bhambada and Mangathi who were the leaders of the 1906 disturbances and other rebels to stay at his homestead. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment and fined £100. His opponents wanted him to be found guilty of encouraging Bhambada but fortunately (*Ilanga's* words) this did not happen. There was no evidence that Dinuzulu had encouraged blacks to take up arms against the government. The tone of *Ilanga* was a positive one because Dinuzulu was not even found guilty of rebelling against the state. His imprisonment was blamed on people like Chakijana, Mangathi and many others. Dube pleaded with blacks to remain calm to avoid further catastrophic results. Black people in places like Durban were very distressed about Dinuzulu's sentence. Blacks regarded Dinuzulu as their king although he was now legally only on a par with other

⁴⁷⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. February 19th 1909.

iziphakanyiswa.⁴⁷⁸ By contrast there is no mention of black people's reaction towards Dinuzulu sentencing in Stuart's book.

The petition of the amaZulu people seeking for remorse and compassion of the British

In March 1909 Dube pleaded with the Natal Governor Sir Mathew Nathan to pardon Dinuzulu. It was the same plea he had made almost three years before to the Governor, Henry McCallum after the Richmond incident. The petition was presented in the *Ilanga* on behalf of the amaZulu to the colonial authorities.

HAVE MERCY OUR FATHER!

Pardon oh Government!

We say this to you son of Nathan, we address you Supreme Chief, and in future it will be you, father, who will consider and forgive in your authority. Your child Dinuzulu has experienced to the full the pain of his errors in the eyes of the Government: he would be without heart or blood, he would be without conscience, if the sharp pains of being confined in gaol for fifteen months had not taught him anything; he would be inhuman. We pray for him for your forgiveness and that of the ministers who administer the Government with you.

We pray to you, Premier of the Government, you son of Moor, who disagreed with the Parliament on behalf of the black race.⁴⁷⁹ We know that you did not cause this weighty matter even as you are in a difficult position to sweep it away. The previous ministers left undone many things that caused this unpleasantness that is giving you and your ministry so much pain.

Well then, Your Excellency, you also know that the eye is hurt (for example by flying dust) when looking (passively, and in total innocence); this son of Cetshwayo has been hurt, and was caused to slip by blacks who came to him, and it was hard for him to chase them away, even if in his own heart he had no bad intentions. We then, your dogs, say, 'Let the authorities pardon!' He also today blames himself - why did he allow these wrongdoers/ruffians to enter his *umuzi*? Oh have compassion, forgiveness, tender heartedness, good nature, sympathy, and pardon, oh you in authority, your child who has gone astray! We beg our rulers to grant us pardon. Dinuzulu and we are your dogs, who have not attained to that knowledge which will enable us to avoid all evil and harm, which put us at variance with you. We pray in your graciousness, we pray for the infant of Cetshwayo that he may find favour before your eyes. If a person is already down, it does not teach him anything to beat him, he has already been punished sufficiently. But what could he have said to people who were defeated, who were wanderers, who were being hunted. Perceive the difficult

⁴⁷⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 5th 1909.

⁴⁷⁹ F. R. Moor was a Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs between 1906 and 1910. Like many white settlers he did not believe in the ideas of equality and brotherhood but he was regarded as "a exception in this colony" – a man with 'some sympathy' with the African". Most of the time his 'sympathy' with the Africans made him to be opposed by the entire cabinet. See Shula Marks. *Reluctant Rebellion. The 1906 – 1908 Disturbances in Natal*. (The Clarendon Press:Oxford, 1970) 21-23.

position in which he stood. We do not side with him in the least; we only pray the wrongdoer/sinner be forgiven. Your authority in our eyes will be doubly enhanced if you listen to this petition of ours. The eye is hurt when looking, sin folds the blanket and enters (wrongdoing is unavoidable), even the smartest cannot lick his back (do the impossible), and the son of Cetshwayo erred unknowingly; the amaZulu people ask for mercy for him before the rulers.⁴⁸⁰

It is important to understand at the outset that this passage is written in the language of a longstanding oral tradition, in which isiZulu oral poets would use terminology (e.g. describing themselves as dogs) which to modern western eyes appears almost degrading, in order to praise the king or people of high nobility. Similarly it must be made clear that the language is rich in idiom and literary devices which defy adequate translation, which makes the analysis of this most moving passage in this context inadequate at best. Why did Dube put this petition into *Ilanga* at this stage? It is simplistic but perhaps true that his primary aim was to achieve freedom for Dinuzulu from those in whose power it lay to free him. The attribution by Dube of responsibility for the development of the current crisis to a previous administration is calculated to lessen any implied judgement on the part of Dube that there has been injustice against the king and the amaZulu people. His

⁴⁸⁰ SHWELE BABA!

Shwele Ndhlunkulu!

*Sitsho kuwe wena ka Nathan, nangomso kusayozidhlela wena baba, bodhla wena wangasenhla. Umtanako uDinuzulu usebuzwe bapelela ubuhlungu beziposiso zake pambi kuka Hulumeni, ngakube ananhliziyo, anagazi, ngakube ananembeza, uma iminjunju yobuhlungu bokuboshwa ejele izinyanga eziyishumi nesihlanu, ingamefundisanga luto, kungabe amuntu. Simtandazela uxolo lwako nolwamakosi opete nawo uMbuso. Sitandaza ukuba ambekele izwi loxolelo. Sitandaza kuwe wena wokuqala eMbusweni, wena ka Molo, Pambana no Mkandhlu we Parlamande ngohlanga olumnyama. Sazi kahle ukuti lomsebenzi onzima awubangangwa uwe, noma kambe wena ubuse bulukunini bokushanela. Izipati mandhla zangapambili ezayeketisa okuningi okwabanga loludweshu oselukunikeze ubuhlungu obungaka kanye nebandhla lako. Po, ndhlunkulu, nawe uyazi ukuba iso lixoshwa libekile, lo mfana ka Cetshwayo, uxoshiwe, washelaliswa abantu, befika kuye naye kube lukuni ukubaxosha noma kwezake izibilini engahlose bubu. Sitike tina zinja zenu, amakosi abodhle, naye namhla uyazishaya ngokuti lamashingana waevumelani ukuba angene emzini wake na. Au, isihe, intetelelo, ubumnene, umusa, ukudabukela, uyekelo; au, bangasenhla, umntana wenu obe pambukile! Bodhlani makosi etu. Yena nati siyi zinja zenu, ezingakafinyeleli kulokuya kwazi, okosenza ukuba sigweme bonke ububi nezingozi ezisipambanisa nani. Sitandaza emuseni wenu, sitandazela ingane ka Cetshwayo ukuba itole umusa pambi kwamehlo enu. Nxa umuntu esepansti, akusabonisi luto ukumshaya, usejeze ngokwanele. Kodwa waengatini kubantu abehluliweyo sebe imihambima, sebe abazingelwa. Bhekani ebulukunini besimo ayemi kuso. Asimvuni neze, sitandazela isoni ukuba sitetelelwe. Ubukosi benu pambi kwamehlo etu buyobabazeka ngokupindiweyo nxatshane nizwe lesi sicelo setu. Lixoshwa libekile, icala lembula ingubo lingene, akukoqililizikota umhlane, noka Cetshwayo walimala engazi, uZulu umcelela umusa pambi kwa makosi. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. March 12th 1909.*

appeal to the humanity of the current administration is calculated to arouse what sympathy might exist in the politicians and administrators concerned. He expresses appreciation for Moor's less rigid views and past sympathy for Zulu tradition. Dube uses isiZulu idiomatic expressions to emphasise the king's innocence (*lixhoshwa libhekile*: the eye is hurt while looking; i.e. it was unavoidable, p. 864; *icala lembula ingubo lingene*: the case opens a blanket and comes in i.e. no one can avoid the trouble, p. 100; *akukho qili lazikhotha umhlane*: there is no one so clever as to lick his own back, p. 706. It is very interesting to note that Dube used three Zulu idioms in one sentence.)⁴⁸¹, but in the apparently obsequious references to the king's inadvertent offence of supporting some of the rebels he implies an acceptance of the power and authority of the government (which was probably a sincere reflection of his views, whether a result of pragmatism or not is it is hard to say). The language and metaphor of this petition cannot however be traced only to isiZulu oral tradition. It is also a product of a Christian background and education, as can be seen in the biblical phraseology of asking for mercy, "we pray" etc. The combination of isiZulu traditional and Christian/missionary influences indicates one of the apparent anomalies of Dube's situation - the search for a compromise or integration of the two strands. The rich language of this petition might also mean that Dube had not forgotten his roots as a Zulu. It might also be for the reason that he was pleading for the nation therefore he had to borrow from the elders and used their language. It contrasts with the uncompromising criticism of the government evident in earlier reports, and shows Dube's continuing hope that conciliation might achieve certain

⁴⁸¹ *Englis – Zulu, Zulu – English Dictionary*. Compiled by C. M. Doke, D. M. Malcom, J. M. A. Sikhakhane and B. W. Vilakazi (Witwatersrand University press: Johannesburg) 864, 100, 706.

political ends. Lastly the translated version in the archives probably by colonial government officials did less than justice to Dube's very powerful and moving article.

Dinuzulu was sent to Newcastle to serve his sentence. Miss Colenso was given permission to visit Dinuzulu at Newcastle but accompanied by a court official, *inkosi yekantolo*. Great concern was expressed in *Ilanga* about whether blacks would be allowed to make a donation towards Dinuzulu's fine. It was further reported that Mankulumane had been taken back to Pietermaritzburg to complete his sentence, which in fact had nearly been completed. It was rumoured that he might be given parole because of his good conduct in jail.⁴⁸²

At the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 Dinuzulu was released from jail. He was taken to Pretoria where he was to be pardoned and then sent to the Northern Transvaal. Dube regarded this as a very positive action on the part of the authorities. Dinuzulu was to be given a farm where he could stay and it would be much better than life in prison.⁴⁸³ In Pretoria Dinuzulu wanted to see Premier General Louis Botha, and people of all races gathered together in Pretoria to see Dinuzulu, who was reported to be very thin. Dube's magnanimous response to Dinuzulu's release is puzzling, given that the authorities had imprisoned the king whom he so revered. Possibly he saw the establishment of the Union as a new era in South African affairs, and with some [misplaced] optimism believed that the new political authority might be more sympathetic about the king's situation. Possibly, having had such bitter disappointment at the treatment of the king by the

⁴⁸² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 20th 1910.

⁴⁸³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 3rd 1910.

Natal colonial authorities, despite his most earnest appeals on Dinuzulu's behalf, he believed that he must try to win some favour in the eyes of the new Union authorities.

Dinuzulu was given a farm in Nylstroom, but the whites did not want him there because he was a 'rebel'. Dube reported that Dinuzulu had requested that his wives, Mankulumane and some of his people should be sent to join him. In the same report *Ilanga's* editor wished him long life.⁴⁸⁴

Dube praised and thanked General Botha for giving Dinuzulu the freedom to go to the farm, to own a house and to continue earning his salary of £500 a year. Dube also thanked Dlwedlwe (Miss Colenso) for all her support for Dinuzulu.⁴⁸⁵ Dube must have been greatly encouraged when in due course the Union Government revised an earlier decision, and a better farm, Rietfontein in Middelburg in the Northern Transvaal, was bought for Dinuzulu. It was a big farm, 4231 hectares in extent, and he could cultivate it as he liked. Initially Dinuzulu had five wives with him on the farm and twenty-two of them and thirty-seven children were to follow. Mankulumane continued to serve Dinuzulu with loyalty, he and his five wives stayed with Dinuzulu on the farm.⁴⁸⁶ There is no doubt that Dube believed that he was greatly indebted to General Louis Botha for the improved conditions under which the king was to continue his exile. Bearing in mind that during the Zulu civil war there had been some co-operation between boers and Zulus, it is possible that Dube believed that Louis

⁴⁸⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 10th 1910.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 17th, June 24th, November 18th 1910.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 25th 1910, August 15th 1913.

Botha had cordial feelings towards Dinuzulu on account of that early association between the two groups.⁴⁸⁷

However, Dube was not lulled into an uncritical stance towards the authorities, and lamented the fact that Mgwaqo (one of Dinuzulu's *izinduna*) lived with his family in poverty at eMahlomgwa Mission Station. He had been exiled to that area by the colonial state and separated from Dinuzulu.⁴⁸⁸

Dube later thanked the first Governor General Lord Gladstone because on the official opening of the government of the Union of South Africa he had freed Dinuzulu.⁴⁸⁹ It seems that Dube might have changed his earlier opinion that the main benefactor of Dinuzulu had been the prime minister, Louis Botha; Dube no doubt believed that it was expedient to ensure the favour of the governor general as well as the prime minister. Dube clearly regarded it as a positive action on the part of the government of the Union of South Africa to free Dinuzulu on 14 October 1910.⁴⁹⁰ There were letters to the editor of *Ilanga* expressing gratitude for the formation of the Union of South Africa because as a result Dinuzulu had been freed.⁴⁹¹

In the mean time, Dinuzulu was suffering from gout and it was incurable.⁴⁹² His doctor, Dr W. Godfrey recommended that he should go to Carlsbad in Germany to

⁴⁸⁷ Botha and Dinuzulu knew one another during the formation of the New Republic. Botha was also a member of the expedition against Zibhebhu in 1884. See the *Reluctant Rebellion*. p. 260.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 17th 1910.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 18th 1910.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. September 2nd 1910.

⁴⁹¹ See the letter written by A. D. Baqwa. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. June 24th 1910.

⁴⁹² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 3rd 1913.

bathe at the spa in the water that might cure him of his disease.⁴⁹³ The Union Government approved the application for permission for Dinuzulu to go Germany.⁴⁹⁴ His health deteriorated and as a result the trip to Germany was delayed. His doctor recommended that he should not undertake such a long trip in his condition.⁴⁹⁵ It was planned that Dr Godfrey and one *induna* would accompany Dinuzulu abroad, but no wife would be permitted to accompany him.⁴⁹⁶ It was not clear that the government imposed this prohibition. Two months later Dinuzulu had recovered and it was reported that he had gone out hunting,⁴⁹⁷ which was one of Dinuzulu's favourite activities.

Dinuzulu's trip to Germany was postponed, and it was planned that he would go in the following February or March (1914), so as to arrive when it was spring in Europe. He was in Johannesburg ready for his trip abroad, as announced by his legal advisor P. ka Isaka Seme (Middle Temple, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law) and Dr Godfrey.

A committee was formed to collect donations for Dinuzulu's trip to Germany. Some of the members were Seme and Prince Falezwe kaDingana who were tasked to go to Natal, and Nkebeni and Qilibhajwa who were tasked to go to Zululand. J. Burd-M'belle gave a donation to Seme and one was also sent from the Premier Mine. Seme

⁴⁹³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. January 3rd, April 11th 1913.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. April 18th 1913.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 9th 1913.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. May 16th 1913.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. July 25th 1913.

was responsible to Dinuzulu's *izinduna* Mankulumane kaSomaphunga and Ndabankulu kaLukhwazi.⁴⁹⁸

But on October 24 1913, *Ilanga* lamented the death of Dinuzulu who had died on Saturday 18th October 1913 in his exiled home. The whole of Zululand wept, Dube reported, for the death of their son. Zululand had hoped that the government would have had mercy, pardoned him and brought him back to where his roots were, the land of 'Shaka, Senzangakhona, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo'.⁴⁹⁹ This report in the *Ilanga* reveals the depth of Dube's reverence for the king, couched as it is in poetic and deeply emotional language. It also reveals his intense disappointment that the king had died in exile, and perhaps reveals that the optimistic and grateful tone, used for example in respect of Dinuzulu's better treatment by Botha and Gladstone, was part of his strategy, not only to encourage his readers to see the best side of a situation, but perhaps much more strongly to influence authorities in the direction of allowing Dinuzulu to return to his home as his life drew to an end.

Dube now reflected on the implications of Dinuzulu's death, and placed it in its historical context:

The Zulu kingdom was vast and all the black races knew about the prestige of the amaZulu. The destruction of the Zulu kingdom had happened when King Cetshwayo was sent to visit Queen Victoria and he appointed Zibhebhu kaMaphita from the junior royal house of Mandlakazi as a regent. Cetshwayo trusted Zibhebhu because of his intelligence and bravery, and he left everything to him including the

⁴⁹⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. August 22nd 1913.

⁴⁹⁹ “..lawoTyaka, noSenzangakhona, noDingaan noMpande noCetywayo”. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

governance of the kingdom. Zibhebhu thought Cetshwayo would not come back to Zululand and that he would die in exile abroad. The regent abused his power, and used for his own purposes everything that belonged to the kingdom, including cattle and women. Zibhebhu became worried when Queen Victoria sent Cetshwayo back to Zululand because of what he had done to the kingdom.⁵⁰⁰

One day he made a surprise attack on the king, leaving his *umuzi* at Bhangonoma at dusk to go to eMahlabathini. Zibhepu's followers, the Umandlakazi, drove the forces of the uSuthu to the uThukela River, and the Mandlakazi returned and confiscated all the royal cattle. Cetshwayo died at Eshowe and was buried by Sigananda at eNkandla. Prince Ndabuko was furious at how Cetshwayo had been treated, and he attacked Zibhebhu who defeated the uSuthu at eMsebe. Prince Dabulamanzi and the Boers came to Ndabuko to assist him against Zibhebhu on condition that the Boers would be compensated with land.⁵⁰¹

Dinuzulu, still very young, participated in the war in which many people died on both sides. Dinuzulu was able to seize the royal cattle and handed thousands of them over to the Boers but they were not satisfied and on top of this the Boers took land from Dinuzulu. On that day that the Boers took the land, 800 of them were present, although during the war against uMandlakazi only 200 had participated. Dinuzulu had been against handing over the land. The land that was usurped stretched from eNquthu, to oBonjeni, up to oPhongolo as far as Othaka and the remainder of the land was under Dinuzulu. Zibhebhu, now assisted by the whites, attacked Dinuzulu

⁵⁰⁰ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

⁵⁰¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

and the war took place at kwaCeza and kwaNongoma. It was after this war that Dinuzulu was sent to St. Helena. When he was released the government erected a house for him at Eshowe but the *abanumzane* requested that the son of Cetshwayo should be allowed to settle at the oSuthu. He stayed there until *impi yamakhanda* in 1906.⁵⁰² Dube's account of Zulu history on the death of Dinuzulu is of great interest, as it focuses on the sufferings of Dinuzulu from the moment that Cetshwayo bequeathed to him responsibility for the Zulu kingdom. He had inherited a divided kingdom, a division due almost entirely to the influence of the Boers and the colonial authorities - showing that Dube had no delusions about the role of the whites in the downfall of Dinuzulu's kingdom. This narrative, which may in some ways be seen as a eulogy in honour of Dinuzulu, and of the kingdom which perhaps Dube feared had also reached the end of its life, emphasises the suffering of Dinuzulu, sent to St Helena at the end of the civil war, and never really given the opportunity to live a normal life, subject as he was to the surveillance and suspicion of the colonial authorities and the colonists.

Returning to the events surrounding the death of Dinuzulu, Dube described how the Reverend R. Thwala, who was the one who had always been with Dinuzulu, was the one to whom Dinuzulu had spoken his last words. Before his death Dinuzulu had converted to Christianity. He was no longer taking any liquor and taking no traditional medication. He had been mentally confused but before his death he was able to speak rationally. During his last days he used to request his children to

⁵⁰² *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

surround him and sing the hymn, “*wazi twala izono Jesu*”⁵⁰³ (which translated into English means “Jesus has borne our sins”). Dinuzulu’s conversion to Christianity was no doubt a cause of some satisfaction to Dube, himself a devout Christian, and the tone of the report reflects this in a positive light.

Dube reported to his readers that when Dinuzulu died Dube himself was in Johannesburg, and arrived on the day of the king’s death. The royal family and Rev Thwala were all happy to see him. Dube assisted in the organisation of all the funeral arrangements. He also preached a sermon to comfort the bereaved family.⁵⁰⁴

Dube reported on the various events that followed the king’s death, in touching detail and simplicity. The magistrate of Middleburg visited on the same day and on Sunday morning Colonel Royston (Zithulele) also paid them a visit. A government cart with a beautiful coffin covered with a black mourning cloth followed Zithulile. Later two whites came and embalmed Dinuzulu’s corpse. Late on Sunday the Middelburg magistrate announced that the train would leave Uitkyk at eleven o’clock with the deceased and the royal family to change at Glencoe Junction to go to Vryheid. From Vryheid station a donkey wagon would drive them to kwaNobamba.⁵⁰⁵

The remains of Dinuzulu were accompanied amongst others by Colonel Royston, Miss H. E. Colenso, the Magistrate B. Colenbrander, *uNdunankulu* Mankulumane; Falezwe kaShingane kaCetshwayo, three sons of the late Dabulamanzi

⁵⁰³ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 24th 1913.

kaCetshwayo, cousins of the deceased and his family: widows, children and his mothers (Cetshwayo's wives), Reverend Reuben Thwala (Wesleyan Church Pretoria), legal advisor P. ka Isaac Seme (Johannesburg) and many others. The government had prepared two wagons for transport but Royston added a third one and slaughtered a cow for the amaZulu as provisions on their way to kwaNobamba.⁵⁰⁶

They left Vryheid station on Wednesday morning to travel to the Babanango Division, which was 70 miles from the town of Vryheid. They slept at Lanjane half way between Ntabankulu and Luyathi on the first day, on the second day they slept at eNhlopheni and lastly at eMpembeni. They arrived on Saturday at 10h00 at kwaNobamba. The ministers Thwala and Mndaweni led the wagon with the remains of Dinuzulu. The concourse of grieved blacks sang this song (I am indebted to Dr Thokozani Nene for the translation):

He is tacit, quarrelling no one the son of Ndaba,
 His whole empire accords with him,
 Whoever might attempt to raise violence/quarrel let him come forward we will deal with him or
 permit us to deal with enemies/vagabonds
 Yes – yes give us the vagabonds.⁵⁰⁷

Dinuzulu was buried on Monday and there were thousands of people that attended the funeral and many arrived later in the day. The Ministers that were in charge of the funeral service were R. Thwala (Pretoria), J. L. Dube (Ohlange), Makhanya (Durban)

⁵⁰⁶ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 31st 1913.

⁵⁰⁷ “Uzitulele akaqali muntu okaNdaba,
 Izwe lonke loku uzitulele,
 Sidedele siminye abamfo,
 Aho – aho – sidedele abafu”. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 31st 1913.

and Mndaweni (Babanango). Prince Solomon Maphumuzana Nkayishana kaDinuzulu was announced the successor of Dinuzulu.⁵⁰⁸

Dube completed the report looking perhaps to the future, by moving Prince Solomon into focus alongside his late father, describing how on an occasion in the past, at a function when Solomon had danced Dinuzulu had praised him (Dr Nene also assisted with the following translation):

Dance openly you who drank with a straw.
Ndaba's feather,
Which was the strongest in the dynasty of Msweli household,
It was so strong that everybody feared how to challenge it.⁵⁰⁹

Perhaps Dube's intention was to indicate that Dinuzulu once got excited and appointed his successor. This might also be Dube's strategy to quieten any succession dispute that might have erupted after the death of Dinuzulu, as it was a break with tradition for the king to indicate his preferred successor. Maybe Dube wanted to portray Dinuzulu's enthusiasm on that particular occasion, as a result of which the king could not contain his excitement, and expressed his support for Solomon even though it was not conventional for him to do so. This could also mean that Dinuzulu's spontaneous outburst about the possibility of Solomon as heir/successor was in fact something natural because Dinuzulu as a human being had gone beyond the boundaries of accepted behaviour by showing his feelings.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 31st, November 21st 1913.

⁵⁰⁹ *Dhlala nyoni epuzumlaza ngameva.*
Upape luka Ndaba,
Lumi lodwana pezu kwendhlu yoka Msweli,
Luntule lwaze lwantula noyedwana onga lutintayo. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 21st 1913.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

During the mid 19th century the indigenous African chiefly structures in the regions that had become known as Natal and Zululand were steadily undermined and the boundaries were redefined by the colonial conquerors. The colonial power imposed rigid new boundaries for purely administrative purposes, acting in complete ignorance of the fluidity with which chiefly boundaries had traditionally shifted from time to time to reflect the current realities of chiefly power. The rigidity of the new boundaries weakened the traditional structure of authority, and created further prospects of friction among the long-established clans. The creation by the government of new chiefs, who were not part of the traditional chiefly hierarchy, was also an effective method of undermining the pre-colonial order and also increased the chances of rivalry among the chiefs. The redefining of boundaries and the creation of new government-sponsored chiefs meant that various groups were alienated and moved away from their traditional polities, giving rise to over-population in some areas, causing increased poverty and social disruption.

Thus, as discussed in the first chapter, in several cases the redefining of new boundaries placed some blacks within the territorial area of a new *inkosi* - chief, although they had traditionally paid allegiance to another chiefdom. People of the same clan were scattered across various chiefdoms and chiefly rule and administration became more complex than before. The complexities of African polities are well captured by Ranger when he argues that:

These overlapping networks of association and exchange extended over wide areas. Thus the boundaries of the “tribal” polity and the hierarchies of authority within them did *not* define conceptual horizons of Africans.⁵¹⁰

Introduced in many parts of the British colonial empire, the system of indirect rule made certain chiefs - notably those appointed by the colonial state - more powerful than others, while the authority of some of the traditional chiefs was completely undermined. In the case of Natal and Zululand one example of this is the Majozi (amaQamu) polity under iNkosi Ngoza Majozi, who was appointed by the colonial rulers to be the chief of the Majozi chiefdom. The Natal colonial government created the chiefdom but it became one of the most powerful and largest polities in Natal. The words of a certain Captain Armitage quoted by Lugard provide a telling commentary: “the powers of the chiefs had largely lapsed, and it was the custom to put, one might almost say, the village idiot on the stool. Our policy has been to re-establish the powers of several big chiefs, and it has been a remarkable success”.⁵¹¹ Chiefdoms created by the colonial state were encouraged by all means to grow whereas some of the hereditary chiefdoms were weakened irreparably.

In this context of disintegration Dube offered an alternative voice, in the western format of a newspaper but from the perspective of one of the colonized who understood the traditional social order, and moreover one who valued and respected Dinuzulu not only as a person but also as the symbol of the monarchy. Dube’s ambiguous status, as both *kholwa* and loyal follower of Dinuzulu, gave him a rare perspective, enabling him to

⁵¹⁰ Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa”, in *Perspective on Africa: A reader in Culture, History, and Representation*. Edited and Introduced by Roy Richard Grinker of George Washington University and Christopher B. Steiner of University of East Anglia. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, 1997, 603.

⁵¹¹ Frederick D. Lugard. “The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa: Methods of Ruling Native Races”, in *Perspective on Africa...*, p. 578.

see the social and political dynamics that were shaping his country. He realized that there could be no contest at a military level between the colonized and the colonizers, but perhaps believed that the traditional history and values of his culture were a heritage that could be protected by means of his newspaper.

From the perspective of the colonized there was need for an alternative voice to support traditional cultural values, in the face of strident colonial propaganda. From the very beginning of contact between the local black people and the invading white settlers, the black people were informed about the British monarchy and told that it was an authority above everything else, and had far greater powers than their own chiefly system of governance. As a colonized race the black rulers had to adhere to whatever was being communicated to them on behalf of the Crown. The traditional leaders had to report to British officials responsible for/in charge of their wards/divisions. This is well illustrated by Terrence Ranger:

... in Africa the British made an even greater use of the idea of “Imperial Monarchy” than they did within Britain or India. The “theology” of an omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent monarchy became almost the sole ingredient of imperial ideology as it was presented to Africans.⁵¹²

I believe that throughout the period 1906 – 1913 Dube displayed his commitment to his roots despite his western education and his acceptance at least in part of western values and lifestyle. In the unique position which he occupied Dube tried to negotiate space for himself so that he could defend the interests of black people. Ultimately the monarch, whose pivotal role in traditional Zulu society was well understood by Dube, provided an excellent vehicle for Dube’s campaign. Dube was caught between two worlds, traditional and western, and he faced the problem of how to negotiate his place

⁵¹² Terrence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa”, 597.

in a colonial world that by its very nature was hostile to a person of his stature. As an educated person he felt equal to the colonial officials, being far better educated than most of them. He knew and understood their laws and therefore ironically he was more troubled because he had insight into both worlds and could clearly see the impact on traditional society of the colonial laws and their implementation. As he ran a newspaper, which was a western concept in a sense, he utilized it to condemn the ill treatment of blacks. In the chapters dealing with Dinuzulu I have discussed how Dube showed that the Natal colonial state abused its power. Although ultimately unsuccessful, Dube's consistency and strength were revealed in his commitment to defend King Dinuzulu against all odds.

In *Ilanga Lase Natal* Dube reported about the 1906 resistance (against the payment of the *imali yekhanda* – poll tax) and Dinuzulu's relations with the Natal colonial government in a manner that makes it difficult for the reader to differentiate between the colonial army and the government. It was apparent that under the British Empire the colonial "governments were largely military in character during these early years." Professor George Shepperson as quoted by Terrence Ranger has this to say about:

the narrowness of the line between the civilian and the military...It was through its forces as much as its missions that European culture was brought to the indigenous inhabitants⁵¹³

This might be the reason why Dube preferred the British government to the government of Natal Colony, as he threw light on the cruelty of the Natal government to the indigenous people of the colony and Zululand. For example, Dube published a

⁵¹³ Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", p. 601.

letter written by a reader, Josiah Maphumulo, who attacked the colonial government for trusting Colonel Leuchars:

This good for nothing white man. He is harsh, cruel, and remorseless. It would have been well had he been killed by Bambata's bullets in Nkandla. The country would be better if white men such as Leuchars, a wizard of the worst, were removed.⁵¹⁴

During Dinuzulu's trial Dube's tone changed, which might be attributed to the fact that he feared the worst; perhaps he had hoped that justice would be done but it became apparent that there was no real prospect that there would be a positive outcome for Dinuzulu. Dube provided much insight into the condition of Zulu society in the aftermath of the so-called rebellion of 1906 – *impi yamakhanda*:

This country has recently passed through a critical period, over 3 000 black people have been killed not accounting for burnt homesteads, confiscated cattle, and hundreds who are orphans by reason of this war which has just ended. Blacks are asking the cause of this war. Some say there was no cause, they say the blacks were well treated and that it was their foolishness that led them to rise against the Government. Some say it is due to the blacks having grievances, and had they been ruled well they would not have rebelled. For all these reasons therefore the Government has selected a Commission to enquire into and to ascertain the truth of the matter⁵¹⁵.

Clearly Dube felt that the last word had not yet been said about the rebellion (*impi yamakhanda*). The death toll was only half the number of casualties, so there were undoubtedly many surviving maimed and disfigured victims of the cruelty with which the resistance had been suppressed. In the article Dube made sure that his readership should understand the effect of the state violence on the blacks.

⁵¹⁴ “Kaku mulungu waluto u Leuchars lona. He is harsh, cruel, and remorseless. Kwaku fanele adhliwe izinhlamvu zao Bhambata e Nkandhla. Izwe lingaba ngcono nxa benga sudukiswa abelungu abanjengo Leuchars, umtakati wezi godo”. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. October 12th 1906.

⁵¹⁵ *Lelizwe lisandu kudlula esikahthini esinzima, okubulelwe abantu abazi 3 000 ngaphandlelwe kwa makaya ashiswayo, nezinkomo ezdhliwayo, nezi nkulungwane ezi izinkedama ngenxa yayo lemp siyini? Abanye bati kwa kungeko sisusa, bati abantu babe petwe kahle kwaba ubupukupuku kubo ukuba bavukele umbuso. Abanye bati kuya ngoba abantu benzikalo, nxa babepetwe kahle babe kahle babe ngeze bahlubuka. Ngako konke loku Umbuso ukete Ibandla loku hlola no fumana iqiniso ngale ndaba. See *Ilanga Lase Natal*. November 2nd 1906.*

Events in Natal and Zululand in 1906 form part of a pattern of implicit and explicit violence that characterized the British colonial empire throughout its existence. The brutality of the colonial state elsewhere in Africa is well illustrated by Ngugi wa Thiong'o who comments about Kenya's colonial officials, whose attitude was the "reflection of that colonial culture of silence and fear best articulated in a dispatch by an early governor, Sir A. R. Hardinge, on 5 April 1897":

Force and the prestige which rests on a belief in force, are the only way you can do anything with those people, but once beaten and disarmed they will serve you. Temporizing is no good ... These people must learn submission by bullets – it's only school; after that you begin more modern and humane methods of education, and if you don't do it this year you will have to next, so why not get it over? ... In Africa to have peace you must first teach obedience, and the only tutor who impresses the lesson properly is the sword.⁵¹⁶

Ngugi argues that brutality was not an individual aberration "but an integral part of colonial politics, philosophy and culture".⁵¹⁷ As indicated by Dube, colonial policy involved not only murdering the defenceless but also the plundering of crops, the seizure of cattle, the burning of homesteads and lastly the arrest, trial and conviction of the father figure of Zulu society, Dinuzulu.

One of the counts on which Dinuzulu was found guilty was of not reporting the presence of Bhambada's wife and children at the oSuthu. To the colonial officials it was their legitimate right to prevent the free movement of black people. However in black culture it was no crime to move from place to place without a pass. The remarks by Marcia Wright in Ranger's work help explain the contradictions and limitations implicit in the relationship between the colonizing power and the colonized:

⁵¹⁶ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Detained: a Writer's Prison Diary", in *Perspectives on Africa*, p. 618.

⁵¹⁷ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Detained: a Writer's Prison Diary", p. 618.

... terms of the reconstruction were dictated by the colonial authorities in the years after 1895, when pacification came to mean immobilization of populations, re-enforcement of ethnicity and greater rigidity of social definition.⁵¹⁸

Dube's painstakingly detailed reporting about the trial of Dinuzulu is complex and in some ways difficult to explain, as it represented a pragmatic effort on Dube's part to make peace with the colonial state of Natal, the very colonial state whose authorities were determined to ignore the policy of the Colonial Office in London. The officials at the Colonial Office in London were disgusted about the actions of the Natal colonial government. However, in the final analysis the London authorities did virtually nothing to mitigate the harshness of the treatment of the black people by the officials of the Natal colonial government, who demonstrated time and again that they had no respect for the black people. Dinuzulu's incarceration was a gross insult to black people and Dube's reportage on Dinuzulu's 'role' in *impi yamakhanda* portrayed the ugliness of the relationship between the oppressive colonial state and the colonized black people.

Even the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 did not help Dinuzulu; others were given parole and allowed to return to their chiefdoms but he was not forgiven and remained in exile. The colonial state remained unforgiving. As a protagonist of traditional Zulu society, which he believed was represented and symbolized by the Zulu monarchy, Dube's journalism provided an account of Dinuzulu's life which ended with his death in exile: it is indeed a tragic story.

During the period after the death of Dinuzulu Dube published a long obituary that reflected on the history of the Zulu kingdom and its destruction. In an account of Dinuzulu's life, Dube stressed that Dinuzulu had not been found guilty of major offences.

⁵¹⁸ Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", 603-4.

His sin was that he was the son of Cetshwayo who was not liked by the colonial officials. Dinuzulu suffered tremendously under the colonial government. He was denied permission to attend the funeral of his mother and his close relatives, even his children. Dube like Dinuzulu had a strong belief that the king's suffering under the colonial state was due to his place in Zulu history. Dinuzulu himself expressed this view to Schreiner:

‘I ask you’, he wrote, to keep me in your armpit; leave me not in the hand of Mr. Carter, because he hates me exceedingly. ...My sole crime is that I am the son of Cetshwayo. I am being killed through ill will; there is nothing that I have done. My trouble is like that of no one else. It beset me when I was a child and my father was taken by the white people and it is still besetting me. I could not bury Cetshwayo, my Father; he died while I was being chased... I did not bury my Mother, Okamsweli; she has died while I have been a prisoner. All our family die of harassing...and now of all our house I am left alone...My children are still small and have not got eyes. There is no one who can take care of them for me. Nkosi, what is grievous to me is to be killed and yet alive. To die outright is nothing, then one rests and does not feel trouble ... All the people who do wrong here in Natal are washed by me. I am the soap to wash them .. Remember that I was imprisoned ten years while I was a boy, in spite of words of Manzikofi.⁵¹⁹ Those years were death to me...’⁵²⁰

Dinuzulu's moving précis of his life story is a commentary on the events reported by Dube during the period covered in this thesis. Week by week *Ilanga* recorded the apparently unstoppable process of the final destruction by the colonial government of the chiefly structure referred to in chapter one. An essential part of this process, discussed in the chapters on Dinuzulu, was the destruction of the Zulu monarchy, which traditionally had underpinned the social system of the amaZulu. The resistance of 1906 which might be seen as a last vain effort by some of the chiefs to regain their usurped power and possessions was apparently not supported by Dinuzulu and Dube, probably because they realized the futility of challenging the colonial state. Nevertheless Dube provided a platform that enabled a cross-section of amaZulu to express their views and engage with

⁵¹⁹ “The Zulu name for Harry Escombe, who used to call for his coffee hot (*manzi*) in the early morning”, as referenced by Eric A. Walker.

⁵²⁰ Eric Walker. *W. P. Schreiner A South African*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937, 299.

the authorities regarding the issues of the time. His newspaper was a powerful medium through which he upheld the dignity of the isiZulu language and he was a protagonist for the history, culture and traditional values of the amaZulu.

Despite his close relationship with the Zulu monarchy, his focus and support base were initially not confined to the amaZulu, as is demonstrated by his appointment in absentia in 1912 to the presidency of the newly established SANNC, the forerunner of the African National Congress. He was ousted from this position in 1917, and his political views and alliances underwent various changes during his later years. A friend and advisor to Solomon kaDinuzulu⁵²¹, he became closely identified with Zulu nationalism and was involved with the establishment of the first *Inkatha* movement in 1922 – 23⁵²². He continued to use *Ilanga* as a vehicle for his political opinions, and it is interesting to note that his newspaper, inevitably considerably changed over the course of time, celebrated its centenary on 10 February 2003.

⁵²¹ See Nicholas Cope. *To bind the nation Solomon ka Dinuzulu and Zulu nationalism 1913 – 1933*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993.

⁵²² Shula Marks. *The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986. p. 69.

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