

# **“Kwaluke impi”: War and rumours of war in the writings of Mageda Magwaza Fuze.**

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## **Introduction:**

As the author of *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona* (1922) Mageda M. Fuze styled himself as a historian. He presented the book to his readers as a seminal work and himself as a solitary and pioneering writer whose main purpose was to ensure that the book was read in schools and popularised. This self-assumed role may seem arrogant and presumptuous: how could Fuze assume that his readers would be interested in a book about ‘the black people’ and their origins? And, how could he assume that his version of this story of origins would appeal to his Zulu-speaking readers. For Fuze these assumptions seem to spring from the fact that those who would have bought *Abantu Abamnyama* were already familiar with his work. In other words there was already an established readership to whom he was addressing his aspiration that his, and other books on ‘the black people’, should be read by schoolchildren so they may know about their origins. The basic question therefore is how was this familiarity between writer and readers established? Moreover, what did it mean for Fuze to claim that he had written a book about ‘abantu abamnyama’?

In order to assess the validity of these claims by Fuze as an author it is important to first situate his writing within the broader history of literacy and writing in KwaZulu-Natal. As a mission-educated Natal ‘native’, Fuze was like some of his other contemporaries a member of vanguard literati who had more often than not experienced the effects of first-generation Christian conversion and the introduction of literacy into their communities of origin. As such his experience of becoming a writer is both unique and typical because although many converts were literate they were not all aspiring writers and historians. It is therefore important that Fuze’s transformation and growth as a writer be understood in its own terms as both the actualisation of a mission-centric literacy and a personal transformation and commitment that reverberated with cultural and political changes that were occurring outside the mission context. The objective of this paper is to sketch a preliminary outline of

how Magma Fuze utilised his literacy to speak to these cultural and political changes that were taking place outside the mission. In other words the main objective is to outline how Fuze's writing could be described as *worldly* in the sense that it was outwardly directed and political, rather than biographical or personal.<sup>1</sup> By focusing on Fuze's political writing this paper also aims to identify and examine the points at which the personal and the political coincided; that is, the points where political and social events shaped and formed elements of Fuze's biography as a convert and as a writer. Since the body of work written by Fuze is extensive the paper will especially focus on his writings about war and rumours of war. This particular theme is central to Magma Fuze's standing as a writer because he was not only a witness to the destruction of the Zulu kingdom which began with the invasion of 1879, but as an employee of the infamous John William Colenso, the bishop of Natal, he had on several occasions been involved and implicated in Colenso's political activities. In a way it could be argued from the outset that what was unique about Colenso's mission was that as a missionary he did not separate the personal from the political; he in other words did not delimit the mission from the outside world. In doing so Colenso imparted to his converts a dexterous ability to engage with both the spiritual and the secular world.

If we are to understand Fuze as a writer then it is important that we begin with a brief survey of his writing. The difficulty has been in compiling this corpus of work; his writings are fragmented and scattered, and come from different stages of his personal and intellectual life. The earliest texts are from his youth and provide a contemporary testimony of his early induction to literacy. The earliest available piece of writing by the young Magma is an essay he wrote describing the daily routine at *Ekukhanyeni*; it is preserved like that of the other *Ekukhanyeni* boys in the Grey Manuscript Collection (See Fuze, 1857). The young Magma soon applied his skills as a compositor and composed a versified transcription of everyday dialogue titled 'Amazwi Abantu' / 'The People's Words (Voices)' (1859) which Colenso sent to Wilhelm Bleek. This lengthy printed record of people's conversations, fictitious or real, is an important example of the impact of literacy on the mind of the young Fuze. Both the short essay and 'Amazwi Abantu' seem to have been written before Colenso's trip to Zululand and the publication in 1860 of *Three Native Accounts* (Colenso, 1901). This travel narrative is the first instance in which Fuze appears in a published text as a writer and was part of other converts' 1859 narratives about Colenso's visit to the Zulu king Mpande. In his original introduction to the narratives, which were published simultaneously in *isiZulu* and English, Colenso marketed the book as 'well adapted for

any who are beginning to study the language [Zulu]' (1901: n.p.). As late as the 1930s, *Three Native Accounts* was considered to be 'one of the four best examples of the purest Zulu' (Quoted in Guy, 1983: 65, See also Ricard, 2004: 111-12). His narrative of his subsequent travels to Zululand in 1877<sup>2</sup> was published in *MacMillan's Magazine* as 'A Visit to King Ketshwayo' (1878). What is noteworthy is that the account published in the magazine is vastly different from the one in *Abantu Abamnyama*; the account in *MacMillan's Magazine* contains detailed accounts of conversations he had with the Zulu king, whereas this detail is largely absent in the book.

As a characterisation of the earlier years before his *Ilanga lase Natal* period, Fuze could be described as an active letter writer and petitioner. Fuze's contribution in the 1890s to the newspaper *Inkanyiso* included letters to the editor which he wrote in response to the letters and comments of other readers. Some of the issues that were contested on the pages of *Inkanyiso* included the question of whether Natal's Zulu men should continue to wear *izicoco*, the traditional head-rings, which were a symbolic and physical marker of the status of manhood (Khumalo, 2004: 275-78). In 1901 Magma Fuze, together with another former *Ekukhanyeni* student, Mubi Nondenisa collaborated on a series of articles about John W. Colenso, 'uSobantu', and the *Ekukhanyeni* institution (Khumalo, 2003: 215-18, Khumalo, 2004: 86-91). It is in these examples of Fuze's participation in the writing and reading networks of other *amakholwa* that one discerns the basic features of the audience to which *Abantu Abamnyama* was addressed. It is also important to know that in terms of his development as a writer, Fuze had kept an abbreviated and incomplete diary of his journey to St. Helena, and that while he was on the island he continued the Bishopstowe practice of writing letters to friends and acquaintances, and also letters of protest; he even communicated extensively with Alice Werner, the linguist and friend of Harriette Colenso.

In the years after his Bishopstowe career (from 1915 onwards) Fuze wrote serialised articles for the newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* and these serials included, 'Abantu Nemikuba Yabo Bengaka Biko Abelungu' / 'The Black People and their Customs before the Coming of the Whites' and 'Sapumapi Tina? Ukuhlazulula Uhlanga' / 'Where Do We Come From? A Clarification of Origins'. Other articles by Fuze that appeared in the newspaper include, 'Isipeto Sika Zulu' / 'The End of the Zulu People' in 1916; 'Ukuhlasela KwaBelungu KwaZulu' / 'The Attack of Zululand by the White People' in 1919 and from 1916 -1922 Umuntu Kafi Apele / 'When a person dies, that is not the end of him'.<sup>3</sup> What characterises these articles, and letters to the editor is that they more often than not elicited robust and

contrary views from his readers. The impression created by this dialogue and exchange of ideas and queries between Fuze and the readers of these serials is that the readers of *Ilanga lase Natal* regarded the newspaper as a public forum in which they could each be apportioned space to express their views, however unpopular or idiosyncratic. Although no single example of this dialogue can sufficiently capture the liveliness of this interaction it is enough at this point to state that the *Ilanga lase Natal* phase of Fuze's writing consists of a medley of articles and opinions on Zulu history, Zulu customs, Church politics, and sometimes details of Fuze's personal life (as when his daughter was murdered by her husband). This suggests that this collection of texts forms part of Fuze's contribution to both the establishment of the newspaper as a forum for *kholwa* opinion and also to the discourses of history and identity of early Zulu intellectuals. These *kholwa* commentators constituted themselves as a 'community of discourse' (Wuthnow, 1989). Newspapers such as *Ilanga lase Natal* are therefore a crucial source if one is to better understand the general debates among literate Zulu speakers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although it is impossible to critically study the content of the newspaper in detail, it is sufficient to observe that as an organ of the intellectual and cultural aspirations of the *kholwa* elite, the newspaper served the function not only of disseminating ideas of mutual benefit, but it also created an audience for the kind of African and Zulu history Fuze wanted his contemporaries to read and write.<sup>4</sup>

The specific theme of war and war talk could be categorised as falling under the broad rubric of African and Zulu history and therefore be interpreted as a constituent part of Fuze's history writing. On closer inspection however it seems that writing and reporting about war was for Fuze more than just narrating history. This is partly because in many instances he was a witness to the actual war, or was himself involved in either denying or confirming rumours of war. In other words, Fuze's experiences of war were not purely abstract; he had in many instances been an agent, albeit a marginal one, in the trafficking of news about wars both actual and rumoured. This traffic in news often occurred across the geo-political boundary that separated the Zulu kingdom from the colony of Natal. This boundary, which I have labelled the 'Natal-Zululand divide', functioned in the work of Fuze as a conceptual pivot around which his political statements and arguments were constructed. This is especially true of his understanding of the relationship between the kingdom, as a symbol of traditional society, and the colony, which was a symbol of not only modernity but British 'benevolence'. The following analysis will therefore examine the ways in which Fuze positioned himself as a writer vis-à-vis these wars and

rumours of war and how the positions which he assumed are themselves a reflection of a *kholwa* historical consciousness which was coming to terms with the reality and politics of colonialism.

*'Three Native Accounts' and 'Amazwi Abantu'*

When Colenso travelled to the Zululand in 1859 he took along with a party of *Ekukhanyeni* residents and converts which included Magma Fuze, William Ngidi and Ndiane<sup>5</sup>. He instructed them to 'keep journals of their daily doings' and they in turn reported quite randomly on the various conversations, encounters, activities and episodes that occurred during their journey. One such random conversation occurred between Magma, Jojo and two white men. He reported the conversation thus:

**Sahlangana nabalungu bebabili; babuza bati, 'Niya nga-pi na?' Wati uJojo, 'Siya kwa'Zulu.' Bati bona, 'Nicabanga niti, auko umkonto kwa'Zulu?' Wati uJojo, 'Po! nina nibuye ngani na?' Bati, 'Uti nati simnyama?'** (Colenso, 1901: 4)

Colenso translated this dialogue as:

**We met with two white-men; they enquired and said, 'Where are you going to?' Said Jojo, 'We are going to the Zulu country.' Said they, 'Do you fancy saying, there is no assegai in the Zulu country?' Said Jojo, 'Well, but how have you come back?' 'Do you think,' said they, 'we too are black?'** (Colenso, 1901: 110)

This cryptic question, posed by the two white men is interesting precisely because of its lack of context and elaboration; even in the original Zulu the question is rather obscure. Magma does not provide an explanatory context within which to interpret this snippet of conversation: were the white men warning the travellers of a 'war' in the Zulu country? Were they sarcastically implying that the travellers were running away from the 'assegai' in Natal because they fancied that there was 'no assegai in the Zulu country'? Or were they just being typical colonial whites 'fancying' that they could question itinerant Africans whenever they thought they should? The obscurity of the reported conversation should not however diminish its relevance as an example of the kinds of rumours and talk of war that circulated and were part of the schema of the Natal-Zululand colonial encounter. Notwithstanding the absence of contextualisation, this statement, and the narratives that accompany it, provides an illuminating point of departure for an analysis of colonial opinion concerning localised war and conflict, and also of the relationship between colonial Natal and the independent Zulu kingdom.

That this connection, or lack thereof, between colonial Natal and the Zulu kingdom becomes a topic or problematic in the journals of the young<sup>6</sup> literate Zulu converts, is an entry point into the broader question posed by this paper, namely, the extent to which literate skills acquired within a mission context could be used by an aspiring writer to comment on the contemporary political situation. In the case of Fuze and the travelling party of 1859 what is of interest is that their travelogues

also contain references to an actual battle that had recently taken place. In the case of Magera the report of the conversation with the two white men is almost immediately followed by descriptions of the gruesome aftermath of the battle of Ndongakusuka; Colenso showed his companions the skulls of the dead: 'Sobantu made us see the skull of a man, who died on the day when there (fight) fought the sons of Umpande, Cetshwayo and Umbulazi, disputing in a family quarrel.' (Colenso, 1901: 111). This encounter with the macabre was probably reinforced by the conversation these travellers had had with the white men, who warned them about the 'assegai in the Zulu country'. This theme of war and decay appears again in the journals of Magera, William and Ndiane as the three grappled with the political intrigues around Mpande's successor. In their accounts, the three had to in various ways navigate and position themselves within the minefield relationship between the ageing Mpande, the ambitious Cetshwayo and his surviving potential rival Mkhungo. As Mkhungo's peers, Magera, William and Ndiane were well aware of his royal heritage and importance: they were aware that their mere presence in the Zulu country represented the *absence* of Mkhungo as a rival in the succession dispute. These accounts of their conversations therefore represent not just their grasp of the geo-political 'Natal-Zululand divide' but also their first encounter with Zulu succession politics in the historical aftermath of the 1856 Battle of Ndongakusuka. Here we should note, though, how for the converts, especially William Ngidi, warfare had taken on a new meaning. While both Magera and Ndiane merely noted the grim remains of the battle, Ngidi in his closing remarks inserted an anti-war and modernist message. If writing is 'consciousness-raising',<sup>7</sup> then Ngidi's 'Book of Peace' may be viewed as an attempt to harness and 'Africanise' this power of writing. In his closing entry in the journal, Ngidi wrote,

**Yes, indeed, my brothers, the weapons of war should be beaten into ploughs for cultivating the ground, and war-shields be sewed into garments of clothing, and peace be proclaimed, on the north and on the south. And on both sides, through the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Unkulunkulu, who ever liveth, and all evil become peace, I mean become goodness. (Colenso, 1901: 167)**

No doubt, Ngidi's exhortations and later hymn, would have found favour with Colenso's ideals and enthusiasm for a Zululand mission. His articulation of a Christian salvation is modernist in that it merges elements of Christian doctrine with an Africanised progressive ethos. Although it is not clear how much time had lapsed between William's journal entry and the subsequent composition of his 'Zulu Hymn' (See Colenso, 1901: 168-70), it is undeniable that, whether as a simple exhortation or as a hymn, William's summation of the situation in Zululand was a prototype for similar discourses

emerging in the writing of other literate Christians.<sup>8</sup> The contradistinction between ‘war’ and ‘peace’ would not have been lost on a later generation of *Ilanga* readers who were exhorted to turn from ‘darkness’ and embrace ‘light’.<sup>9</sup> The irony is that although it was Ngidi who, in 1859, expressed an awareness of potentially ‘nationalist’ Christian imagery, it was Magma Fuze who brought the project to fruition in his *Abantu Abamnyama*.

Compared to the writings published as *Three Native Accounts* in 1860, Magma Fuze’s unpublished manuscript entitled ‘Amazwi Abantu’ / ‘The People’s Words/Voices’<sup>10</sup> presents challenges of a very different kind. Certainly it presents a twenty-first century reader not only with problems of orthography and of translation but also with challenging problems of interpretation. For our purposes, though it provides written material of special interest. It seems that the document was sent by Colenso to Wilhelm Bleek, who dated it ‘Cape Town, 1859’ and described it as: ‘Composed & Printed by Magma, a Zulu boy of about 14 years, from a rough M.S. (formerly, Skelemu)’. From the fact that Bleek used ‘Magma’ and not ‘Skelemu’, and noted the name change, it is logical to conclude that the text was sent to him after the initial essays on life at *Ekukhanyeni* from 1857. The text itself is difficult to categorise: it consists of 549 lines of verse, written in Zulu, and not translated. It is not poetry, but consists of ‘snippets’ of conversations. Because of the randomness and unselective placing of the sentences and phrases, it cannot be called a ‘story’; at most it is a transcription of dispersed and unrelated conversations, juxtaposed and versed.

The special interest of ‘Amazwi Abantu’ as a piece of writing by the newly literate Fuze is that it comes close to an unmediated text outside conventional genres. So far, our understanding of Fuze’s work has been mediated by translations, provided in most of the cases by Colenso. ‘Amazwi Abantu’ is unique in this regard; it does not seem that Colenso translated it.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps he, like a contemporary reader, might simply have savoured the lushness of the language preserved by the young apprentice. Or, perhaps he was overwhelmed by its experimental nature and just sent it to Bleek as it was, without attempting to translate it. Be that as it may the text of ‘Amazwi Abantu’, removed from its original context of production, still requires translation in two senses: firstly, as a text written in *isiZulu*, the portions of the text used here needed to be translated for the English reader; secondly, the text is, by virtue of its age, a historical document of written Zulu, so that the orthography and sometimes obscure grammar peculiar to the *Ekukhanyeni* press also has to be translated. At the first level of translation, consulting a good Zulu-English dictionary helps. Yet, even here the dictionary,

with its modern orthography can sometimes prove an obstacle. The second level of translation, namely, translating the text as a historical record of written Zulu, presents the greater challenge. 'Amazwi Abantu', as a record of a nascent *isiZulu* literature, represents both Magma's competence at printing, as a technical skill, and his inculcation into the world of writing and its representational power. For the young Fuze the novelty of printing texts written in the Zulu language inspired experimentation and not imitation. In other words, 'Amazwi Abantu' is not a 'mission' or religious text; there are scant mentions of religion or missionaries. Indeed its uniqueness makes it difficult to confine it to a specific genre. Thus, if one accepts that the text is in fact an example of 'classical' spoken Zulu, it becomes important to speculate on what the potential effect of presenting these utterances in written form could have been. Moreover, in some ways 'Amazwi Abantu' suggests that the young Magma was already aware of a growing body of *isiZulu* readers, and he may therefore have implicitly intended his text for this nascent language community.

However, it is by no means clear what the nature or purpose of 'Amazwi Abantu' as a written text actually was. Compared to the case of the *Three Native Accounts*, which fits into a recognised and prescribed genre of travel writing, it represents the exact opposite. This makes 'Amazwi Abantu' of special interest in the context of the transition from an oral community to a newly literate society; indeed it can be taken as an apt example of how the transition from an oral to a literate culture takes place and how the novelty of writing in the Zulu language could translate into new meanings and new identities in the process of creating a literate Zulu-speaking language community. Interpreting this text is therefore an exercise in translating not just its linguistic meaning but its cultural significance. As a practical exercise in writing in the Zulu language, the text is an encyclopaedia, containing as it does the names of trees, animals, plants, diseases (human and animal), medicinal cures, work activities, types of cattle and so on. As for the intellectual purpose and relevance of the text, it is not clear whether it was based on real or fictitious conversations. As a medley of facts, perhaps fictions, conversations and observations, it is near impossible to pinpoint its political, social or cultural import. It is, for example, possible to posit that the young Magma was merely practising his writing and printing skills. Yet, the sheer length of the exercise suggests otherwise. It is therefore prudent to suppose that this example of Fuze's early work is best taken as some sort of documentary montage of *Ekukhanyeni* life and the type of conversations and discussions people held with each other. Taken in this way it may then represent something of the young Magma's appreciation of the social and political circumstances of his fellow



mission residents and other Natal Africans. Not only does the text mention by name various political personalities and *Ekukhanyeni* residents, but it also refers constantly to the *uSuthu* and *iziGqoza* factions.<sup>12</sup> It is with a view to the articulation of this intellectual representation that we proceed to a closer scrutiny of the actual text of ‘Amazwi Abantu’.<sup>13</sup>

The opening lines of ‘Amazwi Abantu’ strikingly illuminate the document’s hybrid nature:

**Inkosi ing’abele = inkosi ingipile = inkosi ingixotyisile<sup>14</sup>.**

**Ngimabele ezinkomeni zami.**

**Yapula ukuni lapo, sibase.**

**uDingane wahlulekile amaSwazi.**

**Yakisa indhlu, uyitote<sup>15</sup> kahle.**

**Ngiy’ahluleka y’iloko, bandhla.**

**Uze ung’ahukanisele umsebenzi.**

**Yanula leyo’nnewadi<sup>16</sup> etywabeneyo.**

**Umbila aub’anele<sup>17</sup> abantu bonke.**

**Ubandakanye izinkezo nesitya.**

**Lwas’ahlula uSutu tina’ziQoza.**

**Was’apuea amageja etu, siyakulima.**

**Isela liti, lingabanjwa l’eba, libakaze.<sup>18</sup>**

**Umuti, owau lapa, wahlulwa umGeni.**

**Lueityile ubaqa; yoka lapo pandhle. (1859: i)**

These lines may be translated as follows:

**The king [chief] has given me a grant = the king [chief] has given me a gift = the king has given me a present.**

**I gave him a share from my own herd.**

**Break [chop] the firewood there, so we can light a fire.**

**uDingane was defeated by the amaSwazi.**

**Help build the house, bind it tightly.**

**I am failing at this matter, dear folks.**

**Do give me a share of the work.**

**Straighten that book [letter]<sup>19</sup> that is creased.**

**This corn is not enough for all the people.**

**S/he<sup>20</sup> has mixed the spoons and the dish.**

**The uSuthu defeated us the iziQoza [iziGqoza].**

**S/he snatched our hoes, when we were on our way to the fields.**

**When a thief is caught, s/he will look about nervously.**

**The tree that was here was uprooted by umNgeni [the river].**

**The torch has gone out; relight it from the fire outside.**

On the face of it this is a random list of sayings, with no apparent topic or recognisable logic. Removed from their original contexts and rendered in printed form such sayings no longer bear their determinate meaning and significance. In an important sense this represents a crucial difference between contextually-based oral communications and literate texts.<sup>21</sup> If we read such lines as the literal rendering of oral sayings in printed form, shorn of their oral contexts but not yet fashioned into the conventional forms of literate texts, that makes 'Amazwi Abantu' into a fascinating documentation of the very transition from orality to literacy. But it also follows that as such an interstitial document there is no proper way to know how to either 'hear' the original voices or to 'read' this text. Taking this into account we may nevertheless, by dint of reconstructing some of the missing social and historical context of the mission community at *Ekukhanyeni*, discern some of the issues articulated in this text. Considering, for example, that the word 'inkosi', as in the phrase 'Inkosi ing'abele', was used both for traditional Zulu chiefs and also for missionaries who disbursed land to their converts, the opening line of 'Amazwi' could invoke the ambiguous position of *Ekukhanyeni* residents vis-à-vis both Colenso and traditional society.<sup>22</sup> There is no clear referent in the sentence, and the sense of ambiguity is intensified by the fact the next saying, rendered in the first person, could suggest that the 'inkosi' in question had given a grant of cattle taken from his private herd. At this point in the text, though, a possible sense of continuity is interrupted by the subsequent and unrelated saying about firewood. Politics then makes an appearance in the phrase about the defeat of Dingane by the *amaSwazi*.<sup>23</sup> The latter confirms that even among the *Ekukhanyeni* converts, Zulu history was still a topic of conversation. However, it is the later saying, written in the passive voice, about the defeat of *iziGqoza* at the hands of the *uSuthu* faction that positions the speakers within the conflict and marks them as a member of the defeated faction. Again, because of the nature of the text, it is not clear whether it is Magera himself who identifies with the defeated party, or whether he is merely recording someone else's utterances.

From the above it is evident that even before Colenso's journey in 1859, the residents of *Ekukhanyeni* showed an interest in the goings-on in the Zulu kingdom and in the colony. As stated the text of 'Amazwi Abantu' includes some scattered references to contemporary politics. Chiefs, colonial officials, and missionaries are all mentioned, by name in most cases. Theophilus Shepstone, for example, appears under his Zulu name 'Somseu'. Thus one saying is a brief story about Shepstone who sent a messenger to deliver a summons to Ngangezwe<sup>24</sup> (Fuze, 1859: xii). No other information is provided as to why Shepstone would have summoned Ngangezwe, but the fact that Magera notes this

incident, even if cursorily, indicates that it must have had some local importance at the time. One of the other political episodes that the young Magera mentioned in 'Amazwi Abantu' would prove oracular in the light of later developments leading up to Langalibalele's rebellion and trial. Again, it is a single and simple phrase stating:

**Kwaluke impi, iye kwa'Matyana. (Fuze, 1859: ii)**

**A war party has gathered; it is going to Matshana's.**

The significance of the attempted arrest of Matshana by an *impi* would only be apprehended fifteen years later when Langalibalele, chief of the *amaHlubi*, was tried for supposedly rebelling against the colonial government. In 1858, some of Langalibalele's men had participated in an attempt to seize the unyielding chief, Matshana kaMondise. In what was meant to be a peaceful meeting, John Shepstone, Theophilus Shepstone's brother, produced a concealed gun; in the ensuing fracas Matshana escaped while thirty of his men were killed. He summarily returned to Zululand (Brookes and Webb, 1965: 114, Guy, 1983: 197). In the light of the later trial the irony of this contemporary reference to the so-called 'Matshana affair' is that *Ekukhanyeni* residents, like Fuze, evidently knew about John Shepstone's concealed gun in 1858 (Guy, 1983: 244), and yet it was only in 1874 that it became 'public knowledge' when Colenso cited the incident in his defence of Langalibalele.<sup>25</sup> In particular, it was the fact that the Hlubi themselves had participated in the attempted arrest of Matshana, and therefore knew the potential treachery involved in being summoned, which retrospectively gave the affair its poignancy. That an intimation of the importance of the Matshana affair to some of the residents of *Ekukhanyeni* should appear in the young Magera's text of 1859 demonstrates that 'Amazwi Abantu' should be understood as a *vox populi* and a summary of the concerns, quotidian tasks, human characters and dialogues that defined Magera's young life.

*"For the blacks are not soldiers": The 1875 kholwa petition and 'A Visit to King Ketshwayo'*

Politically, the trial and the banishment of the *amaHlubi* chief also revealed the precariousness of the Shepstonian system of 'indirect' and personal rule. For the *amakholwa* of Natal, the event may also have re-ignited their resentment of 'customary law'. It is therefore not surprising that in 1875 Fuze was party, as a printer and signatory, to a petition requesting their exemption from the application of 'customary law'.<sup>26</sup> In 1863 these *amakholwa* had drafted a similar petition but due to disagreements with, first an unnamed advocate and next a missionary, to whom they had entrusted the petition, they had not received satisfactory representation. As an example of *kholwa* grievances, the 1875 petition,

and its relation to the Exemption Law of 1865, highlighted the 'tools' used by this first generation of *kholwa* intellectuals and therefore allows one to analyse the pre-Congress politics of *kholwa* identity, and how such petitioning of the colonial authorities foreshadowed the twentieth-century politics of protest. Written in the immediate aftermath of Langalibalele's trial and transportation, the petition implicitly alluded to the 'rebellion' and expressed the *amakholwa*'s objections against forced military conscription while they lived without civic protection. They declared,

**That we fled from Zululand through fear of fight, having no power to fight, but all the same it is often ordered by Government that our people ought to go to fight, whereas we have been told that this 7s. hut tax is paid by us for purpose of keeping soldiers who will guard us and that we shall only stay comfortable, not going to fight. At this last fight it was ordered that our people must go to fight, but some of them who returned home were fined £20 by Government. We pray to the Great Chief to see to this, for the blacks are not soldiers, and do not like to kill their own relatives, besides having no right weapons to fight with, as Government refused natives to possess firearms. (Khumalo and others, 1875: 624)**

The reference to the prohibition on Africans owning guns, suggests that the petitioners had the 1872 law in mind. This is the same law that Langalibalele was alleged to have refused to implement. The contrast, drawn by the petitioners, between British refuge and Zulu 'despotism' and by implication British civil law and 'Kafir Law' functions to place them within a continuum of events that links their residence in colonial Natal to the Zulu kingdom. By making their objection to conscription known, these *kholwa* petitioners were also distancing themselves from the colonial response to the Langalibalele 'rebellion' and therefore making it clear that they did not regard their residence in the colony of Natal as a reason to fight in the colony's wars. In other words the petitioners were rejecting not only the colonial definition of them as 'refugees' but also the expectation that they should function as an auxiliary or mercenary army.

Whereas in 1859 the Natal-Zululand divide was still largely about the Zulu royal refugees who had fled to Natal and were residing with the Bishop; by 1877, when Fuze visited Zululand again, converts had become a more prominent population group; their status, within the independent Zulu kingdom, was a growing bone of contention. As a consequence, Zulu authority and sovereignty were challenged as being intolerant to converts and conversion. There were rumours that the Zulu king Cetshwayo was killing converts, and missionaries were also known to be abandoning their missions (Etherington, 1978: 84-86). Fuze travelled to Zululand in July of 1877 to investigate the allegations that the Zulu king was ordering the execution of converts. His account, 'A Visit to King Ketshwayo', was published in the prestigious *MacMillan's Magazine*. This published account was remarkable in that,

apart from the records of Fuze's conversations with the king, it also included ethnographic details about the practices of the Zulu people as well as historical information about the graves of deceased clan chiefs. Of principal interest, for our purposes, was Fuze's admiration for what he termed the 'government of Zululand', and his proposals of how educated Africans could be of use to this government. The text was, according to Colenso, written in Zulu and translated and edited for publication by him.

It was Colenso who framed Fuze's article as a defence of the Zulu king Cetshwayo. It is obvious that the article was intended for an English audience and therefore Colenso began by describing reports of 'atrocities' as 'exaggerated'. The Bishop wrote:

**Such exaggerated accounts have been sent to England of the state of things in Zululand, and particularly of the "atrocities" which are said to have been committed by orders of the king, in respect of numerous native converts, and to have caused a sudden flight of many of the missionaries from the district, that your readers may be interested in a narrative of a visit which has just been made to the Zulu king, by a Natal native, written down by himself in Zulu, and literally translated into English. (Fuze (Magwaza), 1878: 421)**

Colenso then went on to describe how Fuze worked as a manager of the Bishopstowe printing office and vouched for the reliability of his account. Colenso's English readers would probably not have thought that it was significant that Fuze was described as a 'Natal native', but the fact that Magemba Fuze and his fellow converts were from Natal was in fact relevant both to how they perceived the political situation in Zululand and were themselves perceived by Zululand's 'heathens'. This cultural and social difference, embodied in the position of the 'Natal native', was evident in Fuze's approach to the Zulu king. Although he, as expected of a Zulu subject, saluted, praised, and was obsequious in his conversations with the Zulu king, Fuze also took great liberties in advising the king on how he should be governing the Zulus. Thus, after hearing all the reports concerning the converts who allegedly had been killed and the king's denial of his involvement in these killings, Fuze and Cetshwayo entered into a conversation about the missionary, Robert Robertson. The king alleged that Robertson had been saying that all his Zulu people *and* soldiers should be converted. Cetshwayo told Fuze, 'I answered him that we don't know anything about that; he had better go and make converts of the soldiers of his own people first, and after that these people of ours may be converted' (1878: 426). That Cetshwayo well understood the double standards of British imperialism and its agents was thus clearly enunciated. Fuze, true to the controversial teachings of his mentor Colenso, responded to the king's obvious unease at the implications for his authority of more conversions to Christianity, by stating that:

**King of kings! That is good. Gumedede!<sup>27</sup> And I too say, sir, that the soldiers of the king and the whole Zulu people should be converted. For what means that being converted? Is it not a good thing to be converted? To be converted, sir, it is to practise what is right and good before men and in one's own heart, to carry a white heart through reverencing Him who made all men. That is not being converted, Gumedede, when people cast off the power which is appointed to rule over them, and despise their king, and go and live with the missionaries. (1878: 426)**

Fuze's apparent acceptance of Zulu authority, that is, his translation of the meaning of conversion to include obedience to the temporal powers of the Zulu sovereigns, might seem surprising. After all, he had been to see Mpande in 1859 and had heard the laments of Mkhungo's sisters and their fear that they would be killed when Cetshwayo came into power. By claiming that there is no contradiction between the secular power of the Zulu king and the sacred act of conversion, Fuze performed the kind of explanation-by-analogy which Colenso had used to explain baptism to his father.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, it is obvious that Fuze's understanding of the legitimacy of the Zulu king was not just concerned with his customary authority but was instead envisaging a basis for the future autonomy of the kingdom. Thus, in Fuze's ensuing comments on Zululand, it became apparent that his notions of proper governance were by no means 'traditional'. In his assessment of Cetshwayo, he for example stated:

**It is right that all people should know that Cetshwayo loves his people; he does not at all wish that they should kill one another, or that he himself should kill them. He has altogether abandoned the policy of Tshaka and Dingane, and carries on that of the English in earnest. (1878: 428)**

At another point, Fuze chastised the Zulu councillors of the king, for allowing diviners ('*izanusis*') to continue their practices of 'smelling out' supposed witchcraft. In these comments, Fuze's Victorian ideal of Zulu sovereignty was explicitly stated:

**I wish to tell you that all the Zulus across the Tugela (refugees in Natal) wish to return here to-day, being oppressed with trouble coming from the white men, through having to pay much money to the government and to the white landowners. But I assure you that there is not one who will come back to be killed, for truly you are people ruled by *izanusis* [diviners], who tell you that this or that person is an evil-doer...Why, don't you know that you have now joined yourselves entirely with the laws of the Queen?...Further I wish to tell you that it would be good that all the children of Zululand should be instructed...and get power to be wise like white men. Your sons ought to speak with the white chiefs, and to go across the sea, and speak with the great Queen of the English, who is kind and gracious in all she does; you ought to know that. (1878: 431)**

Fuze's complex articulation of the views of the Natal refugees; his desire for a modernised, albeit Victorian Zulu mode of governance and justice; and his exhortation that the Zulu aristocracy should be educated to converse with the colonial and imperial order, encapsulated the dilemma of the 'Natal native' within the geo-political Natal-Zululand divide. Fuze's comments, rather than suggesting a complete capitulation to English ways, seemed to be about the pragmatic management of power as a response to the presence of European power and expansion. Thus, although the reference point is

Queen Victoria, and to a certain extent Christian notions of just government, this should not suggest that Fuze was a Zulu imperialist. Rather, what Fuze articulated was the novel idea that the political divide between the independent Zulu polity and colonial Natal was temporary, and would be bridged if and when Zulu government was reformed, along Victorian lines.

Fuze's 1878 article thus gave a generally sympathetic view of the reign of the Zulu king, Cetshwayo. His admiring comments on the peacefulness of Zululand and the kindness and virtues of Cetshwayo were evidently written to counter the unflattering reports of those who were fleeing the kingdom. Notably, Cetshwayo himself expressed his suspicion that there was a hidden strategy behind the accusations that he was killing converts. After Fuze had told him about the appeals that had been made on behalf of Langalibalele by Colenso, Cetshwayo replied:

**You see Sobantu there is a father to me, he is not like other white men; his words are different from theirs, they are pleasant...I hope that Sobantu will always have a care for me, for those white men are talking – talking – talking, and they want to come down with might upon me. But for my part, as I have done no wrong, I will not run away. And yet through that I know the ruin of the land will come. (Fuze (Magwaza), 1878: 426)**

The king's appreciation of his predicament is extended by Fuze, who compared the position of Cetshwayo to that of Langalibalele and Matshana. In his own assessment, Fuze emphasised the potential ruin of the Zulu king. He stated:

**One who knows the story of the ruin of Matshana will see plainly how matters stand with black people, and how the black chiefs are attacked with accusations... Why, Matshana was completely ruined through it; it was said that it was he who sent his people to kill that Sigatiya; and that talk, in fact, drove Matshana away from Natal, and he fled away to Zululand. After many years the truth was brought to light through the trial of Langalibalele, that Matshana never sent men to kill Sigatiya; and so Matshana was ruined for nothing at all, and his people were killed for nothing at all. Will it be the same, I wonder, in the case of Ketshwayo? It ought to be thoroughly known that Ketshwayo is wholly blameless in respect of the death of the convert. (1878: 428)**

This portentous judgement of how indigenous leaders were ruined by rumours and accusations that they were killing converts, defined not only Fuze's sympathy for Cetshwayo, but underscored his personal interpretation of the Langalibalele trial. Like Cetshwayo, Fuze could from experience appreciate the hidden colonial strategy in the accusations, and this informed his conclusions that Cetshwayo's rule was benevolent. When he wrote *Abantu Abamnyama*, Fuze repeated his laudatory assessment of Cetshwayo's government and although the book's account of his conversations with the king differed from the 1878 article, he re-iterated the argument that at the time Cetshwayo had sensed an imminent invasion. His later views, on Zulu government and Zulu kings would be consistent with those expressed at this time.

### *Writing Zulu History*

In the Introduction we posed the general problem that Fuze's authorial project took the form of writing a *history* of 'the black people' while noting at the same time that 'writing history' was not an obvious consequence of the introduction of writing into an oral culture. As a *kholwa*, Fuze would have been expected to limit his literate activities to religious and theological matters. Why then was it that as an aspiring *kholwa* intellectual he chose 'history', and not religion or theology, as his particular authorial project? So far the paper has presented snippets of Fuze's writings on the theme of war or his reporting of rumours of war. Our next step is to clarify why and how from the 1870s on Fuze became committed to 'writing history', which from the manner in which he wrote amounted to 'writing Zulu history'. Our concern is still with the issue of war, but with a more specific account of how Fuze integrated his experiences of war into a general account of the history of the Zulu kingdom and its people.

As we have seen Fuze's earliest encounters as a young *kholwa* exposed him to key events in contemporary Zulu history. The 1859 visit to king Mpande took place in the aftermath of the 1856 battle of Ndongakusuka and was shaped by the fact that Mkhungo, one of the survivors, had found refuge in Natal at *Ekukhanyeni*, thus directly implicating Colenso and his mission in these Zulu succession conflicts. It is no accident that the battle of Ndongakusuka would become a central event in the emergence of Zulu historiography and more especially in Fuze's own historical consciousness as reflected in *Abantu Abamnyama*. In this work Fuze described how the internecine conflict between Cetshwayo and his brothers was not just another case of succession politics turned violent but was a battle about who the rightful inheritor of the Shakan legacy was (See Fuze, 1979: 60-61). Considering that he knew about the 1856 battle of Ndongakusuka and the associated image of the survivor, Mkhungo, and the Shakan legacy which he symbolised, Fuze's portrayal of this legacy was central to his reinterpretation of Zulu history. Fuze was however not atypical in this re-interpretation of Shaka's rule: the Shakan model of government has appeared as an ideal of social order and discipline, not only in colonial discourses, but also in recorded oral traditions, albeit in ambiguous terms. As Hamilton argues, various African informants, in James Stuart's oral records, depicted the Shakan state in terms of the order within and the chaos without (Hamilton, 1994: 6-12, Hamilton, 1998: 68-69). In general these latter representations were based on the assumption, negative and positive, that the legitimacy of Shaka's rule rested not on hereditary entitlement but on his achievements, namely his military organisation and its effective establishment of law and order. Fuze's 'writing' of Zulu history drew on



some of these accounts of the Shakan legacy, sometimes contradicting and sometimes complementing the oral traditions.<sup>29</sup> Fuze's commentary on the rule of various Zulu kings was a pervasive theme in all of his writing, and the most notable features were his explicit admiration of Shaka and his declarations on the legitimization of all kings. First, while giving credence to both the oral and written evidence of Shaka's cruelty, Fuze chose to focus on his intelligence in dealing with the 'white people'. Thus, in comparing him to Dingane, Fuze wrote:

**Even though we may condemn Shaka for having a lust for killing people, we can say with conviction that he was a clever man who liked to act intelligently. He wished to cooperate with the white people, having seen the products of their knowledge. I feel sure that had he not been killed, our life would have been different for us, because he ardently desired to associate himself with the white people in respect of all their works of wisdom. (1979: 85)**

Thus, in Fuze's view the Shakan state was a modernising state; keen to acquire the technology of the Europeans and to use it for the benefit of its subjects. Fuze's emphasis on Shaka's interest in cooperating with Europeans should however not be interpreted as a naïve 'invention' of Zulu modernity. Fuze was aware that Shaka, while extending the power of Zulu sovereignty to include European 'chiefs', did not concede his own sovereignty. In Fuze's narrative, and this links to the second aspect of his account, Shaka's demise was divine in origin and not secular or colonial, because he forgot that he was ruling the Zulu people on behalf of his kingly ancestors and *uNkulunkulu*. He noted:

**...it is right to remember that all kings are supported by God, and it is He who appoints and supports them. If sovereignty is not supported by Him, it is dead, and authority non-existent. Also if a king rules without the realisation that he is a servant, a mere headman to represent his people to God, his kingship is non-existent and dead, because God will soon bring it to an end.**

**Shaka, who moulded the sovereignty [*ubukhosi*] of the Zulu nation, ruled for only ten years. For when he defied the Owner of all people for whom he ruled his people, his rule was terminated and God roused his brothers to kill him...(1979:97)**

Although this excerpt suggested, as argued by Draper (1998: 23), a biblical and millenarian legitimization of Zulu kingship, Fuze also proposed that Zulu rule failed because Shaka discarded 'the old ways of Senzangakhona and his forebears' (1979: 146). In the Zulu version of the above extract, Fuze (1922: 170) used the term *uNkulunkulu* to suggest a divine foundation of all kingship. By suggesting that all kingship is divine, Fuze introduced the notion of the ideal sovereign, whose purpose and source of authority did not derive from their temporal prowess. Although possibly infused with Christian notions, Fuze's idea was 'modern' because it suggested the possibility of an African state that governed justly, and would be committed to transcendent moral values. Furthermore, such a view of

statecraft also suggests a continuity between his ideas as expressed in the 1878 article and his subsequent assessment of Zulu kingship in *Abantu Abamnyama*. In other words, it is possible to argue that in both cases Fuze was searching for a way to resolve the dichotomy of the 'benevolent' colonial state and the 'despotic' Zulu kingdom (the Natal-Zululand divide): his solution was that Zulu kings need only pursue divine ends and Zulu sovereignty would be restored to a modern status, perhaps to parallel and counterbalance the colonial state. The extent to which these views on providential election were based on purely Christian notions is questionable. What is clear is that as a common theme in both his 1878 article and the book *Abantu Abamnyama*, the problem of defining a role for the *kholwa* intellectual in traditional society and government was central to Fuze's preoccupation with reforming Zulu society

As argued Fuze's involvement in the trial of Langalibalele led to his more direct interaction with the Zulu king as a member of Harriette Colenso's 'Zulu National Party'<sup>30</sup> and intensified his concerns with Zulu affairs and history. As a witness to the miscarriage of justice of Langalibalele's trial, Magesa Fuze would in *Abantu Abamnyama* draw parallels between the death of Colenso and the death of his son, who both died, according to him, in defence of this cause – Colenso in the defence of Langalibalele and his son in the defence of Dinuzulu (Fuze, 1922: 250, Fuze, 1979: 144). Strangely, though, given its undoubted and formative significance to Fuze, the Langalibalele trial is hardly mentioned in *Abantu Abamnyama* compared to his extensive account of the arrest and trial of Dinuzulu. It must therefore have been Fuze's visit to king Cetshwayo in 1877, at a time when the imperial threat to the survival of the Zulu kingdom was just becoming palpable, that definitively focused his enduring concerns with writing Zulu history. Whether it was a case of a perceptive premonition, or an appreciation of the inevitability of colonial subjugation, Fuze's statements in his published account of 'A Visit to King Ketshwayo' about the prospective 'ruin' of the Zulu king, and other African leaders, was a first articulation of what would become an enduring concern with the historical fate of the Zulu kingdom and people. Many years later, in *The Black People*, Fuze revisited Cetshwayo's suspicions by re-iterating the argument that at the time Cetshwayo had sensed an imminent invasion; Fuze accentuated the Zulu king's premonitions by noting the fact that one of the king's residences was renamed '*Olandandlovu*' and explains that this was evidence of the Zulu people's prescience. He wrote,

**It was then said to be ‘Olandandlovu’, which means, ‘It is from here that the elephant is fetched’, the elephant of course being Cetshwayo. For at that time it was well known that the white people were about to invade Zululand, to fetch the king, and to abolish Zulu rule. (1979: 109)**

In writing about Cetshwayo’s premonitions in this way, he was evidently constructing a specific narrative of Zulu history, namely, that the ‘benevolence’ of Cetshwayo was ‘rewarded’ with colonial antagonism and African internecine strife. Thus, in his ‘Isipeto sikaZulu’ / ‘The End of the Zulu Nation/People’ articles which appeared in *Ilanga lase Natal* in June 1916, Fuze spent a few editions describing the deposal of Cetshwayo and his exile. In one of these articles, he described the 1880 visit of Colenso and his daughter Harriette, to the now incarcerated king, in Cape Town (See also Guy, 2001: 63). In subsequent articles in the same series, Fuze gave more details about the incarceration and the perfunctory restoration of the king. His narrative of the events was both laudatory and critical in that he, for example, included the praises (*izibongo*) of Cetshwayo in the June 23, 1916 article, but also made it clear that the ‘restoration’ of the king, for which he travelled to meet Queen Victoria in 1882, was meddled with by Shepstone (Fuze, 1916: 3). Fuze then discussed how *kwaZulu*, following the restoration of Cetshwayo, was split into ‘two’.<sup>31</sup> Fuze’s conclusions about this splitting up of the Zulu kingdom indicate a discerning reading of colonial politics and Zulu history. Fuze chose the term *amaMbuka* or ‘deserters’<sup>32</sup> to describe those Zulus who opposed Cetshwayo’s rule, and argued that they defected because they had been deceived by false promises:

**Lapa pela abangamambuka basebete ngokwahluleka ukulwa, bavama ukulwa izwi lokuti “Senizakwenziwa nibe amakosi nonke, nizibusele nani, ningaloku nibuswa umuntu munye ozinge enibulala.” Poke, isituta esi umuntu omnyama sesizwa sikohliswa kutiwa sizauba yinkosi, salahla ubukosi baso besiminya saqoma ukwambata ingubo enobulele njengeselesele emanzini...(1916: 3)**

**It was so that once the *amaMbuka* could no longer fight, they contested this assertion [word] that “You will all be made into kings, and rule yourselves, instead of being ruled by one person who continually “kills”<sup>33</sup> you.” Yes indeed, the fool that a black person is, on hearing the deception that he will be king, abandons true sovereignty and would rather wear a gossamer [mossy/webbed] blanket like a frog in water...**

Fuze’s barbed indictment of the gullibility of the traitorous *amaMbuka* is conspicuously absent in his *Abantu Abamnyama*.<sup>34</sup> This is evidence that the eventual book was not necessarily Fuze’s most extensive or authoritative exercise in ‘writing Zulu history’ compared with the series of articles which appeared in *Ilanga lase Natal*.

As already noted one of the strangest features of *Abantu Abamnyama* is the absence of any extended account of Langalibalele’s ‘rebellion’ and trial. This is even more inexplicable in view of the fact that between September 1919 and January 1920, Fuze penned a history of the *amaHlubi* for his

*Ilanga* readers. As an example of popular history, the *Ilanga* series was a thorough genealogical and historical account of the creation and destruction of the Hlubi clan. Of particular significance for our purposes, though, is that in both its first instalment and its last, Fuze chose to lecture his readers on the work he was doing as a writer of history, and Zulu history specifically. As an epilogue to his history, Fuze told his readers that:

**Bantu bakiti, – Ngiyigcinile namhla le indaba ebuhlungu yokuciteka kwamazwe asemaHlutshini nelakwa Mazibuko. Angitokoziswa luto – ukuxoxela abantu abangelekeleli muntu odabeni lwakubo – ingabi kwoza kukale nyonini basambuluke ebutongweni. (1920: 3)**

**My dear people, – This is the last on this painful matter about the dispersal of the lands of amaHlubi and Mazibuko. I am not pleased in any way – I am narrating for people who don't help anyone in telling their own tale – I wonder what bird has to chirp before they are roused from their sleep**

This expression of annoyance at the fact that the readers of *Ilanga* did not adequately support his literary efforts, and maybe did not grasp the significance of his labours in 'writing history' would be repeated time and again in his articles and letters. The story of the destruction of the *amaHlubi* also offered Fuze an opportunity to comment on the colonial order and the experience of conquest in general. In an imaginatively complex metaphor, Fuze defined the difference between 'black' and 'white', by stating that 'whites' are like an ocean into which the waters of other rivers do not flow. He wrote,

**Umlungu wahlukene kude nomuntu, njengelanga nomhlaba. Kakonzeki, kapululeki, ufana namanzi olwandle wona engangenwa ngamanzi eminye imifula. Kungaloko abakiti abengapambili kwetu babuzile kubo bati, "Sitsheleni ukuba nina nikonzwa kanjani?" bebabuza ngoba bebabona bentshampuntshampu,<sup>35</sup> bengangeneki mihla yonke. (1919: 2)**

**An English [white] person is very different to the black person, it is like sun and the earth. S/he cannot be paid homage [tribute], s/he cannot be flattered [stroked], s/he is like the waters of the ocean into which other rivers do not flow. That is why our predecessors asked them saying, "Tell us how do we pay homage to you?" they were asking because they saw that they [the English] were superficial and impenetrable on any day.**

As a prologue to his history of the *amaHlubi* this statement was both political and cautionary. Politically it reflected the lessons of assimilation and acculturation: Fuze seemed to be arguing that given the 'impenetrability' of the English, as conquerors, Africans would inevitably continue to bear the burden of finding their own ways of dealing with colonial intrusion. As a cautionary tale, Fuze might have been suggesting to his readers that the old methods of 'paying homage' (*ukukhonza*) were now inappropriate in dealing with the present order. In the epilogue to the series, Fuze advocated a new approach, not only to political engagement but to other traditional practices like the consulting of diviners (*izanusisi*). He told his readers:

**Bakiti, konke kuyapenduka namhla, kuvela okutsha. Makuyekwe okudala kwenziwe okutsha, kulandelwe izizwe ezihlakaniphile. Ngiyazi ukuti uma siqinisa sonke siya pambili, siyakucina ngokufinyelela kuloko esikufisayo. (1920: 3)**

**My dear people, everything turns [changes] now, new things appear. Let us abandon the old and do the new, in imitation of the wise nations. I know that if we all persevere and move forward, we will reach our desired goal.**

Although he did not explicitly state what the desired goals of his readers should be, it is clear that Fuze interpreted the demise of the *amaHlubi* as a cautionary tale of how Africans should not deal with a constantly changing and 'modern' political and social world.

Although it is tempting to speculate on the lack of continuity between the articles in *Ilanga lase Natal* and the book in their respective versions of Zulu history, it is likely that the different tones adopted in the two works were due to Fuze's more direct interaction with his *Ilanga lase Natal* readers. Since it is difficult to establish whether *Abantu Abamnyama* had already been written, and waiting for a publisher,<sup>36</sup> while Fuze was writing for the newspaper, it is wiser to assume that, at least in the latter case, Fuze wrote for his readers. Thus his description of, for example, the antagonists in the Zulu civil war as those who 'would rather wear a gossamer [mossy/webbed] blanket like a frog in water', a Zulu equivalent for the 'emperor's-new-clothes' metaphor, was probably intended to provoke the readers with whom he was conducting this dialogue on Zulu history (as evidenced in the numerous letters addressed to him). Thus, the immediacy and directness of the dialogues in the newspaper, though also their transient nature as serial publications may be contrasted with the enduring nature of the book as well as its more distant and elusive readership.

Denouncing the petty power squabbles of petty chiefs was a pervasive theme in Fuze's *Ilanga lase Natal* serials. As part of the weekly dialogue that he was conducting with his readers, Fuze used these articles to present to them a selective but belligerent Zulu historiography. The series of articles titled 'Ukuhlasela kwabelungu kwaZulu' / 'The attack of the English [whites] on Zululand' was printed in the newspaper in the year 1919 between the months of January and May.<sup>37</sup> This series was however not the first in which Fuze gave an account of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom, in 1916 he had published, as already noted, a few articles under the title 'Isipeto sikaZulu / 'The End of the Zulu Nation/People'. As examples of Fuze's history writing these articles emphasised his position that Zulu monarchical rule was modern and in line with the Victorian ethos of humane governance; he had said as much to Cetshwayo's councillors in 1877. Fuze's preference for a Cetshwayo-centric historiography structured his description of Dinuzulu and his trial, imprisonment and exile on St. Helena. The fact that Cetshwayo had been officially demoted by the imperial and colonial governments also meant that

Dinuzulu had not been automatically recognised as his successor as the Zulu king; indeed Sir Henry Bulwer, Special Commissioner for Zululand and Governor of Natal, used the opportunity to rewrite Zulu history by declaring that Dinuzulu could not be heir to Cetshwayo because succession had been secured not by custom but ‘by force or by right of force’ since the establishment of the Zulu nation by Shaka, (Quoted in Guy, 2001: 11). Rather than refute this distorted colonial historiography of Zulu history or re-assert the value of ‘custom’, Fuze adopted a historical perspective informed by a re-interpretation of cultural and linguistic meanings. Therefore, in line with his conclusion that ‘a name reflects its owner like a person’s shadow’ (1979: 90), Fuze punned on the meaning of Dinuzulu’s name – according to Fuze, Cetshwayo gave his son the name because it ‘means that the Zulus would be made tired and exhausted by him’ (1979: 90). To link the last Zulu king, Cetshwayo to the fate of his son and heir, Dinuzulu, he stated that:

**When Dinuzulu was still a boy of about ten years...the European army invaded the country and destroyed the nation. It was at that painful time that the Zulus began to weary of their king. For when Cetshwayo gave this name to his son, he was giving expression to his very own feelings. And indeed the Zulus promoted and completed all that which had been predicted by Cetshwayo in naming his son Dinuzulu and in the end they sold him to foreigners because of their weariness of him. (1979: 122)**

The history of the strife and civil war that followed the death of Cetshwayo in 1883 is well-documented (See Guy 2001: 71-73, 209-261; 1983: 335-348); Magma Fuze did not merely rehearse the facts of these events to the readers of the *Ilanga* serials; he was more interested in condemning the balkanization of Zululand and the minor titles and chiefdoms that were awarded to those who participated in the dismemberment of Zulu sovereignty. He gave his historical account of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom a nationalist slant by asserting that:

**Kwa njaloke ukupangwa kwezwe lakwaZulu. AmaBhunu kawalipanganga ewodwa; kwabe kuyisifiso sabelungu balapa eSouth Africa ukuba kuncitshiswe amandhla kaZulu; kona abantu be ngezuhlangana babe muntu munye; ngoba beqonde kahle ukuti “ukuhlangana ku amandhla.”<sup>38</sup> Umuntu ongakuboni kahle loku okuhlelweyo, kufanele ukuba ake abukisise ukuti angakanani amakosi (okutiwa ngamakosi kambe) alapa eNatal nakwaZulu; ngiti anga’amakulu, kukona neziphakanyiswa eziningi, ezenezelela ukuba kwandiswe ubuning’ balaba ababizwa ngamakosi oselwa. Kwenzelwani-ke loko? Kwenzela ukuba abantu bangahlangani ukuba babe moya munye; ngoba kwaziwa ukuti, kwoti mzuku behlanganayo besebeba abantu. (Fuze, 1916: 3)**

**So went the plunder of the land of the Zulu. The Boers did not plunder alone;<sup>39</sup> it was also the wish of the English of South Africa that the power of the Zulu nation [people] be diminished; so that the people would not unite into one body; they knew that “unity is power.” The person who cannot see this plan, should look closely at the number of chiefs (if they are chiefs at all) here in Natal and kwaZulu; I would say they are a hundred, there are also numerous appointed chiefs [officials/dignitaries], to increase the number of those who are called royal chiefs [hereditary chiefs]. Why is this done? It is**

**done so that the people should not unite and be one in spirit; since it is known that when they unite they will become a people.**

That this condemnation of indirect rule was both a judgement on contemporary politics and also involved a retrospective interpretation of Zulu history is evident in Fuze's exposition on Zibhebhu kaMaphitha Zulu, the main rival of the *uSuthu*. He argued that, like 'Mbopha ka Sitayi', who was asked to conspire in the assassination of Shaka, he had also been promised 'umuzi om'kulu, abe yinkosi naye njengabo...' / 'a large homestead, so he could be king like them' (Fuze, 1916: 3). This comparison neatly connects the Shakan legacy and tragedy to what Fuze perceived to be the contemporary manifestation of this internecine conflict and dissension, namely, the destruction of the Zulu kingdom and the elevation of Zibhebhu and his allies to the status of 'royal chiefdom'.

In the course of 'writing Zulu history' in this way, Magera Fuze recast the role of the main Zulu kings into a heroic and providential mode. This was especially true of the legacy and legend of Shaka Zulu which becomes in Fuze's *Abantu Abamnyama* a centripetal axis around which his narrative revolved. However, Magera Fuze's Shaka was not a deified hero but a tragic figure, whose fatal flaw, Fuze argued, was that he forgot that all power is granted by God. In Draper's terms Magera Fuze's exposition of Zulu history turned it into a 'salvation history' (1998: 22-23). But, before expanding on Fuze's contribution to the Shakan legacy, it is worth knowing that he also assigned a new role and agency in the founding events of Zulu history to Dingiswayo,<sup>40</sup> Shaka's guardian and mentor. Fuze stated it as a fact that Dingiswayo, as the exiled son of the Mthethwa clan, had returned on his father's death, 'riding a white horse given to him by white men' (1979: 16).<sup>41</sup> The return of an exiled son to assume power is a standard feature of political foundation myths, but the appearance of white people, as *deus ex machina* agents in a succession dispute, suggested something else, namely the intrusion of a foreign power into a traditional society. The way in which Magera Fuze mentioned this incident suggests that he thought the gift and use of a horse symbolically legitimised Dingiswayo's ascension by associating him with the alien and intruding presence of the white men and perhaps also their 'superior' military power. Likewise Fuze's account of Dingiswayo's assassination by Zwide, the Ndwandwe chief, was imbued with symbolic significance. Fuze wrote:

**In my opinion Zwide did not act of his own volition when he put Dingiswayo to death. I maintain that Zwide, who was a very powerful chief, was motivated by the intuition as to what would happen, and so killed Dingiswayo without the slightest guilt, because his removal would enable all these things to be brought about. In relying on his own great power, he brought about his own downfall, not knowing that all human power comes from One only, God indeed. (1979: 59)**

By inserting a fatalistic and providential reading of the history of the Zulu people, Fuze both confirmed the centrality of Shaka to the history of southern Africa's peoples, and revealed his own modernist assumption of a linear and purposive history. The latter aspect is especially true of his arguments about Shaka's government and its significance for the black peoples of southern Africa. He wrote:

**At that time Shaka was the ruler of the whole of South Africa, there being no chief who dared to touch him...It was the first time that there had been a government to unite the whole country of South Africa under a single ruler like Shaka. And it was for this reason that all people were said to be Zulus. (1979: 66)**

For Fuze therefore Shaka's role in history was that of a unifier whose power and influence encompassed 'the whole of South Africa'. The significance of Fuze's exposition of the roles of Dingiswayo and Shaka was that it amounted to an implicit interpretation of the origins of the *Mfecane*. When Zwile killed Dingiswayo in 1818,<sup>42</sup> Fuze observed, 'there began the series of evil events that brought about the many wars that have never ceased' (1979: 47). This interpretation of the *Mfecane*, as a fated set of repercussions resulting from the assassination of Dingiswayo, and of Shaka's subsequent attack on Zwile in order to avenge his death, is the basic foundation of Fuze's history of the Zulu people. The actions of Dingane, Shaka's assassin and successor, were inevitably compared to those of Shaka and Fuze concluded that,

**Dingane, although a person in form, had the heart of a dog and the nature of a witch [umthakathi]...Not a single good act was ever committed by Dingane, in contrast to those I am now about to narrate about Shaka. (1979: 84)**

The symbolic value of Shaka to African interpretations of the history of South Africa and Africa has been acknowledged and theorised (See Golan, 1994: 5-7, Hamilton, 1998: 4-7, 36-71). The preceding discussion of Fuze's explanation of Shaka Zulu as divinely ordained serves to underscore these theories concerning the 'invention' of Shaka as a nationalist symbol. There is however a further theoretical point to make, namely that the significance of Magema Fuze's Shaka is not so much whether the image was similar or different to that of other *kholwa* writers, but that Fuze's image was born of a contest between a nascent historical consciousness of his Africanness, a novel discourse in his time, and the lessons of a colonial historiography, which denied the historical agency of Africans. In Fuze's history therefore, Shaka is not only a tragic hero, whose lust for power was compatible with his wisdom, but he also becomes a standard by which to judge his successors. Moreover, if one recalls Fuze's conversation with Cetshwayo in 1877, the image of Shaka as an innovator and modern ruler dovetailed with Fuze's entreaties to the king to reform Zulu governance so that the 'refugees' living in Natal could return. The effect of this representation of Zulu, Nguni and African history was that it simultaneously created a role



for the *kholwa* writer who became indispensable to the historical narrative precisely because s/he represented the convergence of modernity and history into a single narrative. Thus, what Fuze did when he spoke to Cetshwayo about reform was to insinuate that he, and other mission-educated *kholwa* were the necessary interlocutors between the past and the present and that they were in essence continuing with the modernist project inaugurated by Shaka. To Magera Fuze Shaka was therefore more than a nationalist symbol, he represented the entrance of modernity into Zulu life and history.

## **Conclusion:**

In reading Magera Fuze's writing as political and worldly this paper has attempted to map the contours of a *kholwa* historical consciousness of which Fuze was a leading proponent. The basic approach of the paper has been to present a disparate set of arguments and statements that Fuze made about war and strife. This was not intended to be an exhaustive account of Fuze's philosophy of war or an account of either his pro- or anti-war sentiments. The purpose of our interpretation was to demonstrate how the very act of *writing* about war was in the case of Fuze part of a larger process of intellectual development and growth. As demonstrated Fuze began to mention and write about scenes and causes of conflict as early as his unpublished 'Amazwi Abantu'. His experiences of travelling with Colenso through the grim remnants of Ndongakusuka were recorded and are also examples of his earliest statements on war. What is most significant about Fuze's writing is that as he grew and developed as a writer this theme was more eloquently elaborated and articulated. By the time he wrote articles for *Ilanga*, Fuze could be said to have developed his own theories on the place and function of war and conflict in Zulu history. Thus, what for example began as reportage in 'Amazwi Abantu' was consolidated in 'Isipeto sikaZulu' into a sagacious account of the nature of colonial invasion and domination. What Fuze presented to his readers was not the 'correct' or 'authentic' version of these conflicts. Rather, what he wrote and published was a metanarrative on 'war'. By imbuing 'war' with historical agency Fuze was reinterpreting not only the traditional and indigenous accounts of Zulu history but he was also challenging colonial historiography and its particular misrepresentation of local wars and conflicts. It could therefore be argued that in this regard Fuze was a modern historian who didn't believe that facts speak for themselves but that every event was part of a larger and evolving historical process.

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<sup>1</sup> This distinction between worldly and biographical writing is partly a response to the claim made by Jean and John Comaroff that the written products of mission-educated intellectuals reflected the internalisation of mission and bourgeois ideology. They state:

**...when mission-educated black intellectuals were to build a new literary canon, they began by writing life-stories, chronicles of events, lyric poems, novels, even translations of Shakespeare... They had internalized the lessons of linguistic colonialism and the bourgeois ideology that lay silently behind it, concealed in such genres as narrative history and individual biography, such precepts as moral universalism and semantic transparency. (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991: 224)**

<sup>2</sup> There is some uncertainty as to when Fuze actually made this trip, that is, was it 1877 or 1878. In his introduction to the article Colenso signed and dated it 'Oct. 29, 1877', at the end of the article the same date is included but in *The Black People and Whence They Came*, Fuze wrote that he had set off for the journey on the 15th of July 1878 (1979: 108). To deal with this uncertainty, references to the trip will state 1877 as the year in which it took place, and 1878 as the year in which the article was published.

<sup>3</sup> Although La Hausse (2000: 22) provides translations for the titles of Fuze's *Ilanga lase Natal* serials, I have altered some when I thought necessary. Also, some series like the 'Umuntu Kafi Apele' were published over several years, and La Hausse only mentions the 1918 series.

<sup>4</sup> The role played by *Ilanga lase Natal* in the emergence of a *kholwa* historical consciousness is summarised by La Hausse thus:

**If, as some have argued, the *kholwa* 'left [their] pre-colonial Zulu roots behind relatively quickly', then there are already signs that by the turn of the century they were stumbling towards some form of *rapprochement* with that past. Possibly the most illuminating evidence of this can be found in *Ilanga*, the newspaper founded in 1903 by Natal Native Congress leader, landowner and educationalist John Dube. In the early issues of *Ilanga*, beside articles on church history, reports on the elaborate gift giving associated with African Wesleyan weddings, and diaries of local mission communities, one can also find reports, for example, of Cetshwayo studying Zulu history whilst in England, the popularisation of the idea of Shaka as a 'Black Napoleon'... These tentative turn-of-the-century reflections on ethnic history and identity were not only the result of a deepening sense of pessimism about the future but also reflected a sagacious grasp of the politics of the history. (2000: 11-12)**

<sup>5</sup> I have been unable to find further reference to Ndiane. In Colenso's 'Glossary' in the *Three Native Accounts*, he is described as 'son of Zatshuge, senior lad of the Institution at Ekukhanyeni.' (1901: 69). It may be relevant that Zatshuge was one of Theophilus Sheptone's 'indunas' (see Fuze, 1979: 102) and was later involved in the prosecution of Langalibalele which will be discussed in the later parts of the paper.

<sup>6</sup> Fuze (1979: ii) writes that he first met Bishop John William Colenso, when he was, according to the Bishop's estimates twelve years old. Thus, if he was twelve in c.1855, he was sixteen years of age when he travelled to the 'Zulu country' in the company of Colenso and his entourage. Ndiane and William Ngidi were probably in their twenties, although Ngidi was in the Bishop's words already a 'young man' (Introduction, 1901: n.p).

<sup>7</sup> Walter Ong, in the concluding remarks of *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* offers this assertion on consciousness:

**The interaction between the orality that all human beings are born into and the technology of writing, which no one is born into, touches the depths of the psyche... it is the oral word that illuminates consciousness with articulate language, that first divides subject and predicate and then relates them to one another, and that ties human beings to one another in society. Writing introduces division and alienation, but a higher unity as well. It intensifies the sense of self and fosters more conscious interaction between persons. Writing is consciousness-raising. (1982: 179).**

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<sup>8</sup> David Attwell's article provides an excellent summary and discussion of this emerging proto-nationalist discourse. Attwell aptly describes the common thread in these narratives as a 'desperate struggle with a sense of accelerated time' (1999: 267).

<sup>9</sup> The masthead of *Ilanga lase Natal* stated:

**Ubusuku sebuyadhlula, ukusa seku sondele, ngako masiyintyinge imisebenzi yobumnyama, sihlome zikali zokukanya. – Rom. XIII, 12.**

**The night is passing, dawn is near; therefore let us discard the deeds of darkness, and arm ourselves with the weapons of light – Rom. XIII, 12. [My translation]**

<sup>10</sup> The document is part of the Grey Collection (Shelf Number G10 C31) at the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town. The title of the piece is difficult to translate because the word '*amazwi*' can mean 'voices' or 'words'; idiomatically the word can even mean 'a message'.

<sup>11</sup> The translations of the text provided below are mine, and because some of the orthography is different from present-day Zulu, I have had to guess the words and they will be indicated accordingly.

<sup>12</sup> For details of how this conflict between the two brothers, Cetshwayo and Mbulazi arose, see Fuze (1979: 4, 98, 99, 102). The conflict culminated in the battle of Ndodakusuka (1856) and the followers of Mbulazi became known as *iziGqoza* and those of Cetshwayo as *uSuthu*.

<sup>13</sup> Since the text is in Zulu and lengthy, the following analysis will be selective and the translations provided are my own. Where relevant I have made use of dictionaries and other reference books and they will be indicated accordingly. Also, in my translations I have opted for the contemporary orthography, especially when writing people's names.

<sup>14</sup> The x with a strikethrough is one of Colenso/*Ekukhanyeni* press' orthographic choices; it is used to represent the click that in present-day Zulu orthography is simply represented by an 'x'. The word '-xoshisile' means both to 'help to drive away' and to 'Present with, give a present to' (See Doke, et al., 1958: 868). The 'ty' sound is in the contemporary orthography written as 'tsh' or 'sh'.

<sup>15</sup> Guessing that 'uyitote' would today be written as 'uyithothe', I looked up the word 'thotha' and Doke et. al give its meaning as, 'Place closely together, pack tightly; bind tightly together' (1958: 802).

<sup>16</sup> The 'e' is represented in the modern orthography as 'c'. The word would in a modern text be written as 'incwadi', that is, without the double 'n' and the apostrophe.

<sup>17</sup> Vowels do not normally follow each other in the modern orthography. The 'au' would in a modern text be written as 'awu', the word would therefore be 'awubanele' (without an apostrophe).

<sup>18</sup> The word seems to be derived from the verb 'bakaza', for which Doke et. al give one of the definitions as, 'Move the eyes timorously, cast looks about through nervousness (or in presence of a superior)' (Doke, et al., 1958: 59).

<sup>19</sup> In Zulu the word 'incwadi' is used for both a printed book and a letter.

<sup>20</sup> In the Zulu language there are no gender pronouns, so it is often difficult, in a phrase like this one, to determine whether the subject is male or female.

<sup>21</sup> On this relation between text and speech Ricoeur states:

**...the text is a discourse fixed by writing. What is fixed by writing is thus a discourse which could be said, of course, but which is written precisely because it is not said. Fixation by writing takes the very place of speech, occurring at the site where speech could have emerged. (1981: 146)**

<sup>22</sup> As previously cited Colenso, on his 1859 trip to Zululand, at one point makes the following observation about his patriarchal relationship to his young converts:

**I happened to call out to Undiane and Magema, "not to get wet in the rain – to go into the wagon." "So," said the girls, "he has consideration for his people," which seemed to them quite unusual in a chief. (1982: 108)**

<sup>23</sup> There are different and conflicting accounts of how Dingane died. This short phrase suggests that the young Magema preferred the version that pointed to the amaSwazi as Dingane's assassins. Etherington even goes as far as to state that the oral tradition version is that the Swazi king, Sobhuza's, men

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executed Dingane at the Lebombo mountains (2001: 285). See also Fuze's later version in *The Black People* (1979: 82-83).

<sup>24</sup> The original reads:

**Kwafika ubani, wati, Ngangezwe, uyabizwa uSomseu. (Fuze, 1859: xii)**

**A person arrived, and said, Ngangezwe, you are called by uSomseu.**

<sup>25</sup> Colenso's exhaustive defence of Langelibalele and his interrogation of the evidence presented, or disallowed, at the trial was eventually published as a report to the British Houses of Parliament in 1875.

<sup>26</sup> Jeff Guy, first brought this petition to my attention. Magma Fuze printed on the 1875 petition the names of all those who had signed the 1863 one, including the names of those who had died. He was accused of fraud by the colonial government (personal communication, Jeff Guy & Vukile Khumalo). Sir Garnet Wolseley, the recipient of the petition, also blamed Harriette Colenso for instigating the petition (Guy, 2001: 47).

<sup>27</sup> 'Gumede' is a title of respect and a salutation.

<sup>28</sup> The conversation between Colenso and Magma's father, Magwaza is recollected in *The Black People*. See Fuze (1979: iii).

<sup>29</sup> In his examination of the influence of oral traditions on African literatures, Quayson argues that writers like Rev. Johnson were in fact attempting to arrest oral traditions that were in flux. He writes:

**It is clear that to speak of the oral background to literary writings is to implicitly invoke a notion of the intervention of writing in a conceptual arena of flux. Though it is important to demonstrate the specific strategic configurations of the oral traditions that each writer draws upon, it is useful to conceptualize this as a process by which writing attempts a stabilization of flux in oral traditions. This process is by no means a one-way street. It may be shown that the configurations in literary writings also feed back into the oral context even if not to the same degree. (1997: 13)**

<sup>30</sup> The Colensos' involvement in Zulu politics soon gave rise to an informal, but organised circle of supporters of the Zulu cause, whom Harriette Colenso audaciously called, 'the Zulu National Party' (Guy, 2001: 150).

<sup>31</sup> Although the imperial government had agreed to restore Cetshwayo to a portion of his former kingdom, the splitting of Zululand into three was the innovation of Shepstone and Natal's colonial officials. The three territories were split between Cetshwayo, Zibhebhu and something the colonial officials called the 'Zulu Native Reserve' (Guy, 2001: 69-71). On Zibhebhu's claims to power and the cause of the civil war, see Guy (2001: 3 & 5).

<sup>32</sup> The verb 'embuka' means to desert. Doke et al. (1958: 494) also state that the nouns 'imbuka' and 'amambuka' refer, not just to a traitor or deserter, but also to the 'Followers of John Dunn during the reign of Cetshwayo.'

<sup>33</sup> The verb '*bulala*' (to kill) is used by Zulu-speakers to describe dispossession and destruction, and therefore it should not be interpreted literally. It is a misunderstanding of the use of the word when, for example, Trevor Cope, the editor of *The Black People*, notes of Fuze's statement that, 'He [Shepstone] went on to kill Langelibalele in 1873' (1979: 104), that 'Langelibalele was not actually killed. He was captured, brought to trial, sentenced, imprisoned, and finally exiled.' (1979: 174n4).

<sup>34</sup> He does mention that when Cetshwayo died in 1883, Sir Melmoth Osborn ('*Malimati*'), wanted him to be buried in Eshowe, where he was living under the supposed protection of Osborn as the British Resident, and that he tried to prevent the *uSuthu* from transporting the body to Mahlabathini, where the other Zulu kings are buried. Fuze described the encounter between Osborn and the *uSuthu* by stating: 'When the wagon arrived [to transport the body], Malimati had already assembled his force of traitors [*amambuka*]. A fight took place, but the traitors were routed' (1979: 121).

<sup>35</sup> I could not find the word '-ntshampuntshampu' in the dictionary. Since the word sounds like an onomatopoeic word in which '-ntshampu' is repeated I looked up a similar sounding word '-shampu', from which several words, including '-shampushampu' are derived. The latter word, when used as the noun 'ishampushampu' means amongst other things, 'Careless person; one who is not thorough, one

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who acts in a superficial way. / One who lacks interest in others; one lacking in expected feeling' (Doke, et al., 1958: 731).

<sup>36</sup> La Hausse (2000: 12) in his description of Fuze's book states that it 'languished unpublished for nearly two decades before the Zulu cultural revival carried it into print.' This suggests that the book preceded the *Ilanga lase Natal* articles. See also H.C. Lugg's preface to *The Black People* in which states that he met Fuze in 1902, and that he thought the book was already written or partially written since Fuze was a constant visitor, to the Native Affairs Department, with requests for financial support to publish the book (1979: xviii)

<sup>37</sup> The original title of the series was 'Ukuhlasela kwabelungu kwaZulu' / 'The attack of the English [whites] on Zululand', but later Fuze altered the title to 'Ukuhlasela kwabelungu kwaZulu ngo1879 – Ukuqala Kokuhlupeka' / 'The attack of the English [whites] on Zululand in 1879 – the beginning of the troubles [suffering]'. The first instance of the first title was on January 31 (1919); the second title is used for the first time on May 2 (1919).

<sup>38</sup> Fuze repeated his support for this slogan 'ukuhlangana ku amandhla' / 'unity is power' in a letter to the editor titled 'Ukuhlangana Ku Amandhla' (1920: 2).

<sup>39</sup> For an explanation of how and why Transvaal Boers were drawn into the conflict between the Zulu royal family and the colony of Natal, see Guy (2001: 92-97).

<sup>40</sup> According to Fuze, Dingiswayo (a.k.a. Godongwana) had fled his father's attempt to kill him and his brother, Tana. The father, Jobe was upset by his sons' quarrel over a piece of land, and the fighting made him suspect that his sons were his main rivals and that they would eventually kill him; he chose to kill them instead (1979: 14).

<sup>41</sup> E. A. Ritter gives an interesting account of how Dingiswayo acquired his horse and gun (Ritter, 1955: 24).

<sup>42</sup> Shaka became Zulu chief, in 1816, with the help of Dingiswayo; the latter was only assassinated by Zwide in 1818 (Cope, 1979: 166n5, 2).