

Bertram Mitford and the Bambatha Rebellion'

Bertram Mitford, prolific and popular writer of fiction at the turn of the century, wrote four novels in which the 1906–1907 Natal uprising, popularly known as the Bambatha Rebellion, plays a prominent part. Losing no time, he brought out the first, *The White Hand and the Black* (London, 1907), barely a year after the rebellion. *Forging the Blades* (London, 1908) followed a year later. Then, after a two-year gap, came *A Dual Resurrection* (London, 1910) and *Seaford's Snake* (London, 1912). It is fascinating to see what kind of opportunities the rebellion gave to a white novelist such as Mitford. Since for whites in general the rebellion involved a great deal of panic and even hysteria, one might expect to find reinforcement of such attitudes in contemporary fiction. Yet, although Mitford is by no means free from a tendency to endorse the prejudice, fear and punitive vengefulness so prevalent amongst Natal whites, there are in his case some striking signs of conflict and discontinuity with stock white attitudes. He is capable, indeed, of being not merely critical of the colonial government but also of engaging empathetically — even if inconsistently — with black concerns.

Born in 1855, Bertram Mitford, a member of the English landed gentry, came out to South Africa for the first time at the age of nineteen to engage in stock farming.² Four years later, however (1878), he joined the Cape Civil Service for which he worked as a clerk at border outposts such as Fort Beaufort until 1880. After a period spent back in England, and perhaps travelling elsewhere, he returned with the particular purpose of visiting Zululand to inspect the battle sites for himself, and to meet as many Zulu participants as possible. *Through the Zulu Country: Its Battlefields and its People* (1883), possibly his only non-fictional prose work, was the result.³ His next dateable involvement was as proprietor of the *East London Advertiser* (1886–1888) which seems to have been the turning point in his career since, over the next twenty-five years, he proceeded to write about forty popular novels and short stories, mostly with a South African setting.

First of Mitford's novels, *The Gun Runner* (dated 1882 — the year of his initial visit to Zululand), was also the first of a large number of novels which he wrote about the Zulus. The next three to do so, published between 1894 and 1896, recount the adventures of Europeans like Mitford himself among the Zulus. J. Snyman, however, considers Mitford's outstanding work to be 'a series of four novels in which Untuswa, an old Zulu warrior, narrates his life history in the service of four kings' and claims that the series gives 'an excellent and detailed picture of the life and manners of the principal Native

tribes'.⁴ These four novels are spread over the years 1894 to 1902. Mitford was, on the other hand, not greatly inspired by the Anglo-Boer War, judging from the fact that, although no fewer than seventeen of his novels date from the years 1900 to 1910, only one of them, *Aletta*, relates to that event. This helps to make all the more remarkable his special interest in the Bambatha Rebellion.

The foreword written by Ingrid Machin for Catherine Greenham's novel, *Rebellion* (the only recent novel that deals with the Bambatha Rebellion)⁵ provides a convenient summary of its main events:

One of the most dramatic and tragic events in the history of colonial Natal was the so-called Bambata or Zulu rebellion of 1906: dramatic because the flashpoint was at last reached in the Natal government's exploitation of the Natal Nguni; and tragic because the rising was quelled by fearful men, themselves caught up in events beyond their immediate control, to which they saw only harsh military solutions.

The trigger which set off the rebellion was the collection of the new Poll Tax by the magistrates, early in 1906. Chief Mveli's men attacked police sent to enforce the law at Trewirgie, near Richmond, and Chief Bambata's men attacked police at Mpanza in the Umvoti county. Bambata then crossed the Thukela into Zululand. There he had, earlier, solicited the tacit support of the resentful Dinuzulu, demoted in 1898 from the position of Paramount Chief of the Zulus to that of leader of the Usuthu faction of the Zulu people.

Twenty Natal chiefs and five chiefs from Zululand, a small fraction of the total of 321 chiefs, joined the rebels and gathered, with their followers, around Bambata in the Nkandla forest area. Here the colonial militia, fearing a general conflagration, ruthlessly defeated the rebels with much slaughter. In the final battle at Mhome [*sic*] Gorge, Bambata was killed.

Mitford is interested mainly in the second stage of the rebellion, the stage, that is, which is properly associated with Bambatha after he had fled into Zululand. Bambatha himself does not become a prominent character in any of Mitford's 'Rebellion' novels although in the first two there are scenes where he is presented as plotting with other chiefs (whose names are fictitious). In the third (*A Dual Resurrection*) we are told: 'Bambata's broken out and is lighting the fuse in every location' (p. 173), though he does not appear in person. By the time of the fourth and last of Mitford's 'Rebellion' novels, as part of what seems a growing process of distancing from actual events, Bambatha is not even mentioned. His role is taken over largely by Sapazani (first used in *Forging the Blades*), who is perhaps Mitford's most compelling fictitious Zulu chieftain.

The topic of *The Gun-Runner* indicates, from the start of Mitford's writing career, his interest in that activity so understandably alarming to the colonists.⁶ Some of his interest derives from the way in which the relationship of a gun-runner with the 'natives' crosses the normally rigid social and moral boundaries of the colony. Three of his four main white protagonists in the later novels have participated in gun-running up to the time of the rebellion; but that event, in one way or another, forces them to curtail the trade. In *The White Hand and the Black*, although Thornhill has not been a gun-runner, he shares with all the other key male characters, a shady or suspicious past. Mitford is at



'Down it swept'. Vivid illustrations emphasize Mitford's message. Here it is 'the courage of the noble savage'. [Ed]

some pains, ultimately — in all these cases — to provide strongly mitigating claims for their alleged or actual offences, but there is a kind of perfunctoriness about this rehabilitatory process; Mitford, one has finally to concede, actually seems to relish the 'dubious' character.

Central to Mitford's favouring of these tainted heroes is his endorsement of their interest in making a ready profit. This emerges most strongly in the case of Seaford (of *Seaford's Snake*) who likes nothing better than talking business with black chiefs. Although he has cause to comment sarcastically to his wife, Aurelle:

These people [the blacks] won't look at paper [money]. They'd spit at a five-pound note, but grab eagerly at a golden sovereign. Oh, we've civilised them! (p. 123),

There is no apparent wish on his part (or Mitford's) that the process of commercial corruption should in any way be halted or curbed. The rebellion in this particular novel is indeed only an interruption of business dealings, and Seaford, for his worldly good sense, earns high marks from his author all the way through. A somewhat different impression is created, on the other hand, in *Forging the Blades*. Rendering the animated discussion of expectant Zulu rebels at the forge of Malemba, the expert assegai maker, Mitford gives special attention to the impressions and experiences of one man who had worked at the Rand. Having informed us that the speaker's hearers 'listened delightedly',

Mitford goes on to comment satirically, 'Such experiences, however, were not calculated to deepen their respect for the white man, or for his womenkind' (p. 161). As the context of this part of the discussion is the suggestion that white women will be available as the spoils of war (one of the fantasies over which the colonial mind was most prone to linger), Mitford's satire has a particularly sharp edge.

Although Mitford is thoroughly secular in his interests he does give attention to the Ethiopian movement which the Natal colonists all too conveniently wished to regard as a major cause of the rebellion.⁷ This movement is openly derided in Mitford's first two novels, even while he credits it as a major influence in fomenting black discontent. (In the third and fourth, perhaps another aspect of his waning involvement with the historical situation, this element does not feature at all). The black Ethiopian preacher, Magwagwa, in *The White Hand and the Black*, contemptible even in name, is described as fat, smug, and gluttonous; a 'plausible, smooth-tongued rogue' (p. 54). Significantly, it is the enigmatic black character, Manamandhla, destined to prove one of Mitford's special saviour figures, who from the beginning shares his author's contempt for Magwagwa. And then in a strange kind of volte-face, having built up such antipathy for the preacher, Mitford shows him as anxious to rescue particular whites from the effects of his own teaching. Furthermore, although Magwagwa is sentenced eventually to two years' hard labour and thirty-six lashes for his part in the rebellion, the representations of Elvesdon as local magistrate procure the remission of the lashes and six months of imprisonment. Such compensatory tactics may be merely another sign of a tendency in Mitford which, at its best, may be interpreted as a wish to be fair to all parties; at its worst, a wish to please them all.

Mitford does not make use of white ministers of religion at all in the four Bambatha Rebellion novels. Apart from trader-adventurers, and the type of young man who is trying to find himself, Mitford's special interest is in troopers and police. Of these, only one individual, Sergeant Horrabridge in *A Dual Resurrection*, almost becomes a major character; it is the group of such men that is usually prominent. What appeals to Mitford is their lives of adventurous, risky action rather than the opportunity to patronise authority figures. So attractive were his fictional versions of this spirit found to be, that the journal of the Natal Mounted Police, *The Nongqai*, several times commends his novels to its readers with lavish praise.⁸

It can hardly be coincidence that *A Dual Resurrection*, the novel in which the Natal Mounted Police receive such favourable and marked attention, is the one in which Mitford seems at his least sympathetic to the Zulus. At the very outset the chief, Ndabamatoba, threatens to burn down his gun-running agent's house if he does not get the arms he needs. The momentum of the novel, in which we are virtually plunged headlong into the rebellion once the protagonist arrives in Natal — an uncharacteristic procedure for Mitford — allows no space for consideration of the black viewpoint. Moreover, in 1910, the year in which *A Dual Resurrection* was published, Mitford's relationship with *The Nongqai* seems to have been particularly close: it solicited from him a short story, 'Maxted's Temptation', dealing with a fictitious Bambatha Rebellion event that closely resembles the climactic war scenes of the novel.

Had Mitford been inclined to theorise his position with regard to blacks he would probably have opted for a fairly strong Shepstonian position.⁹ Certainly he places much stress on the superiority of the tribal Zulu. Blacks in European clothes earn mockery. Educated blacks such as the Rev. Magwagwa provoke

scorn while those who have retained authentic tribal ways deserve respect. *Through the Zulu Country* reveals considerable interest in Zulu life and a readiness to understand the War from their point of view. In some ways, in fact, he seems to have been able to make a leap of sympathetic imagination and offer a convincing rendering of black consciousness. In the novels the reader is given access to intimate discussions amongst Zulu chiefs; and, surprisingly, even to farm servants' private jokes about their masters. Nor does Mitford minimise the implications of an opportunity thus created: when invited to join in such mirth in *Seaford's Snake*, we are informed that it is at the 'expense of their employer in particular, and of the Ruling Race in general' (p.215).

Most notable of all, Mitford creates fictional equivalents of confrontations between an individual Zulu and a magistrate, the white authority figure with whom the Zulus had most to do, and who were often, according to Marks and others, incompetent, blinkered or provocatively partial¹⁰. In *Forging the Blades* Mitford prepares carefully for his powerful rendering of the confrontation between Sapazani and Magistrate Downes (clearly modelled on historical situations such as Bambatha's defiance of the Greytown magistrate). Early in the novel Sapazani exclaims to one of his followers: 'What is a chief in these days? I am no chief. Every white man is chief now, if he is sent by government . . .' (p.41). When a member of the Natal Police, Trooper Francis, complains to the sometime gun-runner, Ben Halse, that Sapazani cheekily refused to offer a 'Bayete' salute to the magistrate, he is rebuked as follows: 'There's no law in existence here or anywhere else I know of, that compels a native to address his magistrate as "Your majesty", which is what giving him the salute royal amounts to' (p. 72). Sapazani, having scorned as a 'white man's dog' the court messenger who summons him to the magistrate, later apologizes on the grounds that *all* his people and himself are : 'white man's dogs' (p.82).

Of the remarkable interchange between Sapazani and Downes I have space only for a brief excerpt:

[Downes, querying why Bambatha ('Babatyana') and another Natal man have been seen near Sapazani's kraal in Zululand]

'A man of your intelligence, Sapazani, must know that the Government has the power to sweep this land from end to end if necessary until there is not a man left alive in it.'

'The Government? Which Government?' answered the chief, with his head on one side. 'The Government of Natal or the Government of the Great King beyond the sea?'

'Both Governments. Both work together. The question is childish.'

'Both work together,' repeated Sapazani, still with his head on one side. 'Au! That is strange. Because when the men down in Natal were ordered to be shot for killing two of the *Nongqai* the King's Government prevented it.'

'That was only until they had inquired further into it,' answered the magistrate. 'But they were shot — were they not?'

'We have *heard* so.'

There was a note of incredulity about this reply which was exasperating. Perhaps it was intended to be. (pp.283–284)

Sapazani is, par excellence, the tribal Zulu and yet he is also a rebel, full of pent-up bitterness and thus ready to challenge the entire colonial administration. There is, implicitly, a considerable dilemma here for Mitford, one that he

either remains unconscious of, or simply will not allow to surface in the novel. The more overtly rebellious Sapazani becomes, the more he seems to slip from Mitford's imaginative grasp to become the stereotype of the cruel and treacherous black. And Mitford spares nothing in persuading us of the malice to which Sapazani will stoop. Having allowed the reader a glimpse beneath the surface of the stock colonial view, Mitford does not seem to have realised how jarring would be a lapse back into it.

Two of Mitford's novels on the rebellion involve the use of a black saviour figure. There is the strange Manamandhla of *The White Hand and the Black* who, before his role of goodwill towards the Thornhill family can be manifested, is almost eliminated by the falsely suspicious Thornhill. Although Thornhill's son, Hyland, remarks before a climactic Zulu attack on his fortified laager, 'you can trust none of these chaps after all' (p.250), the outcome of the novel, in terms of Manamandhla's persevering loyalty, gives the lie to his words. And Hyland has apparently done some rethinking, for at the very end of the novel it is revealed that Manamandhla and he had 'twice met in battle face to face but the assegai of the one and the revolver of the other had simultaneously turned upon another enemy' (p.316).

Seaford's Snake includes no less than three black saviour figures. The most important of these is the ancient wizard/witchdoctor, Fumanisani, who, for reasons that remain rather mysterious, befriends and empowers the trader, Seaford, with his magical powers (chiefly through the snake). Perhaps most impressive of all the enchantments that Fumanisani performs is the change in attitude of Seaford's hitherto racist and highly discontented wife, Aurelle:

. . . it was supposed to be a truism that the days of miracles were past. Yet, here was one wrought by a very ancient savage, in the heart of a wild, forbidding forest in Zululand. (p.307)

Innyoniyentaba [*sic*], the servant of Seaford's partner, Torrance, is another saviour figure, unique as a female in this category of Mitford's characters. Not only does she save her master from his burning house but she goes back a second time to try to rescue some of his possessions. Moved by her loyalty and devotion, to which the narrator has already paid tribute, Torrance exclaims to himself: 'And these are the people to whom *we* send missionaries!' (p.117).

However far Mitford's black saviour figures enable him to transgress conventional colonial boundaries, there is one route barred to them — support for the rebellion. The thought of Innyoniyentaba's being consulted on her political views of course never arises, while all the male saviour-figures are scornful of Bambatha's activities. Furthermore, Sapazani, who — in the earlier novel, *Forging the Blades* — had been the trusted friend of the trader, Ben Halse, and of his daughter, Verna, becomes their enemy once he joins the rebels' cause.

In line with the lack of evidence which would implicate Dinuzulu directly in the rebellion,¹¹ Mitford is careful to insist, as in *A Dual Resurrection*, that the 'king has held aloof' (p.251). In *The White Hand and the Black* the old chief, Zavula, who was loyal to the white government during the Anglo-Zulu War, and remains loyal in the rebellion, is termed by Elvedon, the magistrate, a 'dear old boy' (p.106), and his murder by opponents is presented as an act of devilish villainy. Mitford does not try to pretend, however, that Zavula's loyalty is based on anything other than a pragmatic recognition of superior British power. Through this chief Mitford makes a rare reference to the tax

grievance which was in fact at the heart of the rebellion; Zavula tries to convince his followers that it should be seen as payment for their own protection by the British since otherwise they would be ruled by much worse masters, the Amabuna (boers). Mdabamatoba in *A Dual Resurrection*, who had ambitiously hoped to renew the Zulu achievements of the Anglo-Zulu War, is shown as a bitterly frustrated man when his plans come to nothing. Even the experienced assegai-maker, Malemba, in *Forging the Blades*, pours scorn on young enthusiasts for the rebellion, warning them in a sombre echo of the chief, Sapazani's bitter comment: 'We are the white man's dogs to-day, and always shall be' (p. 160). Their credulous belief in the invincibility of the witchdoctors' *muti* is dismissed with the unanswerable question: 'Will the *Izanusi* doctor themselves and then stand up and let themselves be shot at?' (p. 156). Thus Mitford gives some sense of the spectrum of attitudes shown by the Zulu chiefs and elders, while broadly favouring those who were opposed to the rebellion. Again it is in terms of worldly values that the second group is seen to be wiser; because Mitford is not concerned with high-minded Empire sentiment, the sense of injustice or bitterness shown by the proponents of rebellion is not in any serious way gainsaid.

Mitford's unfortunate inclination to try to please all is shown at its worst in his pandering to white fears through several distortions and falsifications of history, in order to evoke scenes of maximum horror. The deliberateness of this process can be inferred from the fact that one of the most appalling occurs in the first of the four rebellion novels, *The White Hand and the Black*, when the historical events must have been startlingly fresh in the author's mind. The young English sergeant, Parry, is coldbloodedly butchered within the kraal of the chief, Nteseni, and at his command. This takes place within the hearing of the two men who had been held prisoner with him, viz. Thornhill, the main protagonist, and Elvedon, the magistrate. What provided Mitford with some justification was the conflation of two separate white deaths in the course of the rebellion. First was Sergeant Brown's death which occurred when a column of the Natal Police, while providing an escort for whites stranded at Keates's Drift, was attacked by Zulu rebels.¹² Four members of the police were killed altogether, four wounded, but the body of Brown, missing at the time, was later found mutilated.¹³ In a quite separate later incident a young postal official, O. E. Veal, who had accidentally wandered into the domain of the fully roused Qwabe tribe (despite a warning not to take a short cut through this part of the country), was murdered because he was, quite understandably, believed to be a spy.¹⁴ In opposition to the Chief, his Induna, Meseni, and several others decided to make use of parts of Veal's body for 'doctoring in war'. However, neither of these events matches the fictional circumstance in which the chief himself gives the order for murder, and in which the atrocity takes place within the hearing of fellow white prisoners.

A more complete fabrication occurs in *A Dual Resurrection* when the young Halfont is captured by Zulu warriors after what is called in the novel the Battle of Gcoma Valley (a fictional version, judging from the geographical detail, of the Battle of Mome Gorge, probably the most famous incident in the course of the rebellion).¹⁵ Although the Chief is at first reluctant to yield to his soldiers' clamour for Halfont to be handed over to them, he eventually does so because of the incessant background noise of shelling from the Natal forces. At this point Mitford regresses to the most conventional type of colonial horror story: Halfont, stripped naked, is held over an ants' nest while his tormentors jeer. (Only the very close bursting upon them of some accidental shelling, brings an

end to the fearful experience.) Although the torture is interrupted, the point is made: utter barbarism is at work. It is true that the context of 'iron hail' [shelling] from the white forces which has brought ruin upon the Zulu rebels' army, is offered as a reason why they are incited to such lengths of cruelty. But Mitford's overall strategy in his handling of the Battle — the central episode of a novel in which he seems intent on boosting Natal police morale — is not one that allows for much sense of impartial judgement. When it becomes clear to the white troops that victory is to be theirs, we are informed:

Those now becoming victorious here had old scores to pay — a recollection of comrades cut off and slain, and worse still, barbarously mutilated [probably a reference to Veal's death: see Marks, p. 231]. No quarter had been offered *them*, and now the tables were turned. Blood ran hot. (p. 194)

Here Mitford quite unscrupulously exploits a sense of jingoism and battle fever, making vast capital out of minimal evidence, and simply eliminating from his readers' minds any possible concern with the rebels' just cause.

In general, however, what Mitford says of Seaford might well have some application to himself: '[He] had always recognised the sound policy of having these men as friends rather than enemies' (p. 47). A somewhat less pragmatic or self-interested version occurs later in the same novel:

He understood [the natives], and looked upon them as brother humans and friends. They had their shortcomings, but when you came to weigh them with those of his own and other civilised races, why he thought with a frank sneer, that these did not need any missionarising. (p. 71)

Such a sentiment echoes the characteristic impression conveyed by *Through the Zulu Country* of a most congenial people:

I think there can hardly exist a more thoroughly good-humoured race than these people; they never seem out of spirits, always cheerful and lively, ready with a jest too. (p. 247)

Granted that Mitford and his hosts were no doubt on their best behaviour during his visits, and allowing for the condescension betrayed in phrases such as 'a savage also, but a fine savage', one cannot but note the unusual degree of admiration in Mitford's response. Although such high regard is given only to specific individuals in the novels, his basically favourable disposition towards tribal Zulus is reflected fictionally through his engagement with black life in its own right. What then of his incorporation of episodes such as the torturing of Halfont? Mitford must have been fairly sure that his novels would not be read by blacks. To win acceptance from the bulk of white colonial readers necessitated a good deal of pandering to prejudice and stereotyped thinking. In any case he had his own ready safety valve — his support of Shepstonian policy — by means of which he could slide without much discomfort into a not too flagrantly racist mode and be in a state approaching harmony with his fellow-whites. To be admired is the black uncorrupted by civilisation; since such types are hard to find, however, and do not *have* to be found in fiction, the more positive and favourable attitude can be undercut when convenient. When an uncontaminated Zulu such as Sapazani, however, is on the side of rebellion,



'In the whirl of the rising'. This image of 'white woman facing a horde' is from a later work on the 'Matabele Rising' and reinforces colonial gender stereotypes, images of peril and civilisation versus savagery. [Ed]

enough evidence of barbarism has to be mustered to offset his potential nobility. And at this art Mitford is as adept as any conventional colonist when occasion requires.

My investigation of Mitford's work has not extended beyond the 'Bambatha' novels. Consideration of his other novels, particularly those about Zulu life, might necessitate an adjustment of my overall assessment. On the basis of the four 'Bambatha' novels, however, I suggest that his value for us lies in the combination of pragmatism and imaginativeness with which he approaches the possibility of improving race relations. I do not wish to suggest that his primary purpose in writing novels was educative, nor that all the contradictions which appear in his work are part of a conscious strategy of appeasing the colonists while undermining their habitual attitudes. He is clearly culpable of pandering in certain ways to his white colonial readership, most prominently shown in his treatment of the Natal Police and the colonial military establishment generally, and in the endorsement of the proud boast that the rebellion was effectively quelled 'without the aid of a single Imperial soldier' (*The White Hand and the Black*, p.315). He is prejudiced also in favour of tribal ways with a certain inclination to the 'noble savage' concept, although there is at least some evidence of genuine concern on his part about the corrupting influence of colonial culture.

Given all Mitford's weak points, I would nevertheless like to put my final stress on the positive use he made of the freedom afforded him by the adventure/romance genre, especially his attempts, however inconsistent, to

counteract racist thinking. In some of his renderings of black characters, whether in the company of whites or amongst themselves, he offers an ordinary, everyday man-of-the-world sense of them which is remarkably free of colonial presuppositions, and ready instead to acknowledge a common humanity. At his most fictional he is capable of cunningly challenging stereotypes as in his depiction of the witchdoctor, Fumanisani. In subtle and unexpected ways he reveals a readiness to mock the assumptions of whites as superior. The comment of a black character in *Seaford's Snake* will help to illustrate this point and provide closure through a suitably Mitfordian moment of truth. When Torrance, gazing at the 'smouldering heap' that had been his house, jokes with his servant, Ufengu, that they 'could roast a big lot of beef on that fire', we are given the following glimpse of the Zulu's thoughts:

The Zulu emitted a half laugh. These whites! They make jokes about everything. Nothing was *hlonipa* to them. Yet they did not know everything — no, not everything, *impela!* (p.117)¹⁶

NOTES

1. This article was given as a conference paper to AUETSA (the Association of University English Teachers of South Africa) in July 1994. It is an adapted version of part of a longer article entitled 'Reading the Bambatha Rebellion in South African English Fiction' which appears in the *Journal of Literary Studies* 10: 3 & 4 [combined special issue on South African literary history]. As the form, 'Bambatha' is preferred in current Zulu orthography, I have used it throughout the article except in the case of two quotations, both of which occur in the fourth paragraph of the article, and which use the form 'Bambata'.
2. The *Companion to South African English Literature* (comp. David, Adey; Ridley Beeton; Michael Chapman; Ernest Pereira. Johannesburg, 1986) gives a certain amount of information about Mitford. The compiler's claim that there is a strong element of biography in all Mitford's novels suggests that, if fuller attention is to be given to his work, a biographical study would be a valuable tool for a critical account of the fiction. Most of the information I have used for this study comes from the *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol. III (ed. C.J. Beyers, Cape Town, 1977).
3. In his introduction Mitford explains that his book is:

. . . an account of everyday experiences during a trip through Zululand in 1882 [three years after the end of the Anglo-Zulu War], undertaken with the object of making the round of the battlefields in succession — which, till then, had not been done by anybody . . .
4. J.P.L. Snyman, *The South African Novel in English* (1880–1930). University of Potchefstroom, 1952, p.38.
5. Catherine Greenham, *Rebellion*. Durban, 1991.
6. Apart from those included in my project, the only other novel on the Bambatha Rebellion that I know of is Jack Cope's *The Fair House* (London, 1955). Like Greenham, Cope's characters are from both sides of the rebellion due to black-white friendships with which the course of history interferes. Cope's novel, in many ways an impressive one, comes close to attempting a serious historical reconstruction of the 1906–8 events.
7. Information obtained from Snyman, p.50.
8. For further consideration of this movement see the relevant sections of the accounts of the Bambatha Rebellion by Shula Marks (*Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906–1908 Disturbances in Natal*. Oxford, 1970); Edward Roux (*Time Longer than Rope*. Madison, 1964[1948]); and David Welsh (*The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal (1845–1910)*, Cape Town, 1971). Welsh draws attention to Marks's finding that the Black Christians [Amakolwa] of Natal 'took up no single stand on the 1906 disturbances: they were as divided as their fellow tribesmen' (p.311).
9. Welsh gives a useful and extensive account of Shepstone's policy in the first half of his book.

10. See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 147–153 in particular, and numerous other references. Her most significant observations are the following:

In general, the magistrates shared fully in the settlers' stereotypes of Africans and in their views on most subjects, especially their preoccupation with the questions of land, labour, and stock theft.
(p. 148)

... as the Natal Native Affairs Commission remarked, Africans regarded the magistrates 'not as their friends and protectors, but simply as the punishers of wrong-doers and the collectors of taxes'. *Ilanga lase Natal* went much further, and called them bluntly 'the oppressors of the natives' (p. 149).

11. See especially Marks (1970), Ch. XI (on Dinuzulu's trial).
12. See the accounts of this attack by: Captain Walter Bosman, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. London and Cape Town, 1907, (pp. 22–24); James Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906*. London, 1913, (pp. 170–174); and Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion* (p. 206).
13. Stuart gives the details and indicates the purpose of the mutilation (pp. 175–176). Marks strangely ignores this aspect of the incident.
14. Once again Stuart gives the fullest account (pp. 377–378), and is at some pains to emphasise that Veal was not tortured. H.G. Lugg, in a briefer, more informal report, *A Natal Family Looks Back*. Durban, 1970, pp. 96–97, confirms Stuart's main details. Marks does include this case of mutilation but fails to mention that Veal had been warned not to enter Chief Meseni's area.
15. Bosman devotes the whole of Chapters XVI and XVII to an account of the Battle of Mome Gorge; it is Stuart's topic in Ch. XIV; for Marks it is the climax of her material in Ch. VIII ('Phase II: With Bambatha in Nkandla').
16. 'Hlonipa' — worthy of respect; 'impela' — exclamatory word, here the equivalent of 'by no means' or 'no, indeed'.

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