THE MESSAGE OF THE WARRIORS: THE ICU, THE LABOURING POOR AND THE MAKING OF A POPULAR POLITICAL CULTURE IN DURBAN, 1925-30

by

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Introduction

In 1925, six years after being established in Cape Town, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) opened a branch in the port town of Durban. Three months later A W G Champion, an ex-mine clerk and policeman, assumed control of the struggling Durban Branch and also became Natal Provincial Secretary. In March 1926, the General Secretary of the Union reported that the Durban Branch was "progressing famously".[1] By 1927, Champion could boast that Durban was a "formidable fortress" of the ICU, comprising 27,000 paid up members.[2] Through a sustained and generally successful campaign of litigation aimed at a battery of repressive municipal by-laws, the ICU succeeded in capturing the imagination of Durban's labouring poor.[3]

By 1927 the ICU had opened offices in the smallest of South African towns. Over a large part of Natal, where the economic pressures on rural blacks sharpened with the introduction of extensive sheep and wattle farming, numerous branches of the ICU opened in rural towns[4] stretching from Paulpietersburg in the north to Port Shepstone in the south. The most powerful branch in the country was to be found in Durban. At the end of 1927, however, Champion was suspended from his position, pending investigation into financial irregularities in the Natal Union. Then, in June 1928, most of the Natal branches seceded from the national Union and formed the ICU **yase** Natal. Over the following two years, while the ICU experienced a sharp decline in support in Natal's countryside, the ICU **yase** Natal, under the leadership of Champion, continued in its attempts to organize African workers.

Memories of the spectacular rise and fall of the ICU are today preserved in the thinning ranks of elderly men and women. In some ways, historians have become accomplices in a process of forgetting, with one notable exception: Helen Bradford, whose recent work on the ICU in the countryside explores the ways in which the Union **did** channel popular rural discontent[5] and the complex relationship between Union leaders and their constituencies. In general terms, as Bradford has noted, the ICU's leadership tended to be drawn from a racially oppressed lower middle-class grouping which was both fractured and susceptible to proletarianization. It was this socially ambiguous nature of Union leaders which enabled them, at specific moments, to assume the role of radical spokesmen for the labouring classes in a way which the "Black Englishmen" in the Congress movement could not.

The fierce populism which the Union succeeded in moulding tended to disguise the extent to which leaders had their own class agendas and the ways in which they used the Union to further them. Yet, the common-sensical ideas and the culture of Durban's labouring poor set important limits on leaders' attempts to carve out an urban constituency. And, at least in the short term, the success of Union mobilization hinged on leadership's sensitivity to, and negotiations within, a particular cultural universe. Regional patterns of exploitation, domination and dispossession, as well as popular idioms and traditions of resistance, provided the basis for the development of a peculiar local political culture. Workers could thus appropriate and rework the language and tactics of leadership in the face of the flux of political struggles. It is in these terms that this study seeks to explore the ways in which the Union mobilized a local support-base, how it attempted to forge popular alliances, and how, through political struggles, it ultimately lost the support of its volatile and often desperate constituency.

Urban Control, African Class Formation and Culture

In the early 1920s, while the South African state was making concerted attempts to formulate a "native policy" more appropriate to conditions of capitalist economic growth, Durban could plausibly claim to possess a model for urban native administration in the country.[6] In 1908 the Durban Town Council succeeded in its struggle to obtain legislation which enabled local authorities in Natal to monopolize the sale of sorghum beer (**utshwala**) to African workers in urban areas.[7] Between 1909 and 1928 the net profits from the town's municipal beer halls amounted to at least £551,000, nearly all of which was used to build barracks for migrant workers, to erect more beer halls, and to finance a municipal Native Administration Department (NAD). Unlike other urban centres, Durban was in the unique position of having the administrative and financial capacity to support the reproduction of a cheap urban work force at little cost to white taxpayers. Moreover, strict influx control laws attempted to limit the size of the town's African population to the labour needs of employers and simultaneously undermine the formation of urban African households by policing the presence of women in the town.[8]

In 1928 the African population was conservatively estimated at 38,000, at least 33,000 of whom had known employment. As many as 15,000 black males might have been engaged as domestic servants, most of whom lived in "kias" on their employers' premises. This large service sector established youth as a significant social characteristic of Durban's labour market. The youngest "houseboy" could be ten years old while most were not over the age of twenty. Their monthly wages, including food and accommodation, seldom exceeded £2. An older generation of over 5,000 men, living fifteen to a room in the crowded Point municipal barracks which earned Zulu names such as **Umhlaguva** ("trees with thorns which bite") or **Umfugwana** ("a tightly packed snuff-tin")[9], worked as **togt** (day) labourers on the docks. The **ozinyathi** (buffaloes), as they were popularly known[10], could claim a history of strike action extending back to the turn of the century.

The arduous work of ricksha-pulling provided over 1,500 men from the countryside of Natal, Zululand and Pondoland with a potentially lucrative source of income. The ostensibly self-employed ricksha-pullers (**abawini**) lived in privately owned or municipal barracks scattered through the town, where they frequently sheltered their kin, much to the dismay of white property-owners. The remainder of Africans worked in Durban's numerous small industrial, commercial and manufacturing concerns, while others found employment in the municipal or government service sector. By 1928 the ICU, in advertising its weekly meetings, could appeal to sections of the work force whose self-consciousness, as their Zulu names suggest, was rooted in the new social solidarities of early industrial South Africa. **Abatshayelibezimoto** (car-drivers), **abamagalaji** (garage-workers) and **oweta** (waiters) took their place alongside dock workers, ricksha-pullers and domestic servants as potential constituents of the ICU.

The wages of most male migrant workers, often referred to, perhaps ironically, as the **izimpohlo** (bachelors), remained uniformly low, in the region of £2.8s. Some workers, depending on their experience, might be fortunate enough to earn £4 a month, whilst others, if supplied with a daily ration of maize meal, could expect wages sometimes as low as £1.10s a month.[11] Certainly, the £6 monthly wage paid to compound **indunas** represented a level of wealth which few could hope to enjoy. If some young workers, in a novel rite of passage, braided coins into their hair[12], workers in Durban ranked amongst the worst paid black workers in the country. Throughout the twenties the wages of virtually all workers, even in real terms, had barely risen and, in some cases, had actually declined.

Until at least the first decade of the century, migrant workers in Durban were drawn predominantly from Natal and Zululand. Yet, by the later twenties this pattern of labour migration altered dramatically. After 1926 the reproductive capacities of stressed African rural economies were further undermined by a drought which seared its way through large parts of the countryside. In Durban, an increasing number of blacks, particularly from Transkei and Basutoland, travelled to the town in search of work.[13] In Natal rural dispossession, combined with the

desire by homestead heads to retain access to land, compelled many blacks to enter into labour-tenant relationships with white farmers. Wage labour in towns provided one alternative to these punishing conditions in the countryside.

In general terms, specific groups constituted in terms of regional or ethnic ties appear to have dominated particular occupations.[14] In the late twenties, however, the labour market was restructured and it is more than likely that the arrival of newly proletarianized job-seekers led to heightened competition over access to jobs. Certainly, many Basotho and Xhosa were successful in joining the ranks of dock and railway workers.[15] Yet, as Durban entered the depression in late 1929, and as the size of Durban's reserve army of labour expanded, the displacement of more vulnerable sections of the work force (probably inclusive of many non-Zulu speakers) became a real possibility.

If age and regional origins served to define the social nature of Durban's African work force, so, too, did gender. In a labour market dominated by young male workers, employment prospects for African women were bleak. By 1930, only four per cent of the African work force was female. While several hundred women could hold down jobs as domestic servants, other areas of employment previously available to women were closed down.[16] Beer brewing rapidly evolved as the single main economic alternative to the absence of urban female employment opportunities.[17] The economic marginalization of women was reflected by the provision of only 250 beds for females in the Native Women's Hostel. Similarly, only 120 houses were provided for African families in addition to temporary married quarters in the Depot Road location. These measured concessions to the urban African household were granted against the backdrop of the continuous expulsion of African women in terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923. The convenient refusal to recognize the emergence of urban households and common-law marriages of Durban's labouring poor had important consequences for the geography of family settlement. By 1925 over 22,000 Africans had settled, mostly in shacks, in the peri-urban areas.

It was frequently in the illegal space of these "meanest quarters", as the Mayor put it, that workers were able to create cultural alternatives to everyday coercion and control. Shebeens, in particular, emerged as a central institution within an emerging proletarian culture. The establishment of Durban's beer halls, and the consequent proscription of shebeens and the African drink trade, was rooted in a wider struggle by Durban's white rulers to forge a time and labour discipline appropriate to an urban capitalist social order. The battery of labour-coercive by-laws and penal sanctions anticipated the delivery of a suitably sober, submissive and disciplined work force to local employers. The uneven realization of this goal was as much due to the persistent evasion of work registration, pass forgery and illegal entry into town as to the more general creation of alternative sources of meaning and values by workers.

The experience of rural dispossession and proletarian life injected new content into older modes of social organization and cultural expression. **Amalaita** gangs, for example, had their roots in the social solidarities of a pre-industrial past. In the town, however, they provided a basis for novel migrant youth networks and embodied patterns of ritual moulded by the experience of labour and penal discipline. Noted for their fondness for mouth-organs and light fighting-sticks (**izinduku**), many "houseboys" organized themselves into **amalaita** gangs, each of which established zones of informal control throughout the town.

In this world, the magistrate and the policeman loomed large. The most common official response to the aggressive self-assertion and petty theft of the **amalaita** was birching.[18] The prohibition of the carrying of sticks by workers[19] and with the arrest of youths found playing mouth-organs in the street were also measures aimed at depriving workers of the rituals and symbols associated with dangerous patterns of behaviour. As the custodians of industrial labour-discipline, magistrates could also impose prison sentences on those found selling or smoking **dagga**, yet the consumption of this drug remained endemic amongst those engaged in manual work. In a town where a red-trimmed calico uniform attempted to impose a rigid identity on domestic workers and where African women found wearing "European" clothes could be arrested as prostitutes by young white policemen, the language of dress could assume an alternative symbolic power. The **abaqhafi** ("drinkers of

spirits") signalled their presence in the streets through their dress: wide-open shirts, coloured scarves, large "cowboy" hats, and either Oxford bags or pants tied just below the knee.

The sustained attempts to eradicate these potentially subversive cultural formations and to separate the "dangerous classes" from labourers foundered, not least because it was often precisely the hard-working domestic servant or dock worker who subscribed to these alternative patterns of meaning. While some white observers noted the danger of socially undifferentiated housing, processes of class formation outstripped the provision of housing for the "best elements among the Native community". Throughout the twenties the families of clerks, teachers and traders could be found holed up in the single rooms of private landlords, impinging on the defensive space of shebeens, prostitutes and crowded workers' quarters.[20]

This is not to say that the culture of Durban's African population was overtly political. On the contrary, the consciousness of workers was infused with notions anchored in pre-capitalist ideologies, and at times re-created imagined rights enjoyed in a collective historical past. **Ngoma** dance, for example, could serve to affirm the kin or ethnic ties of one group of workers in relation to others in competitive, and sometimes violent, terms. Yet, in no sense was the culture and consciousness of workers fixed in a primordial universe. The experience of exploitation and labour coercion continually wrought transformations within consciousness. It was precisely the autonomy of the beer brewer, the self-assertion of the **amalaita**, and the restlessness of the **abaqhafi** which carried with them the potential for mobilization along political lines.

In the less easily illuminated interstices of Durban's labour coercive environment, numerous men and women carved out an even more tenuous existence through a network of activities such as prostitution, beer-brewing, **dagga** selling,and the unlicensed hawking of second-hand clothes and medicines. For some, economic subsistence was squeezed out of the newly proletarianized through rigged gambling games or the sale of love-potions with the help of female accomplices.[21] Together with the unemployed and unemployable, they lived on the outer, and frequently criminal, fringes of the urban social order. A relatively small group of Africans managed to avoid the rigours of wage labour by renting trading stalls at municipal "native" eating houses. By 1929 over 370 cobblers, butchers, skin-sellers, bicycle- and gramaphone-menders, herbalists, tailors and general dealers offered their wares and services to Durban's labouring poor. Although a number of these traders employed black assistants, self-employment on the margins of proletarian existence was a difficult and tenuous enterprise, not least because whites regarded Africans as "temporary sojourners" in the town. African petty traders had to fight a continual battle to improve their conditions of tenure at the eating houses, were frequently ejected from their positions and continually faced competition from Indian traders.[22] Their insecure position found expression in the formation of the African Stall Owners' Association and their appeals to the ICU and the Natal Native Congress for support.[23] After 1928 many of these endemically undercapitalized entrepreneurs threw their weight behind the ICU **yase** Natal.

By and large, Champion's observation that there were "no important (African) businesses when I arrived in Durban" was true of Durban during the late twenties.[24] It should not pass unnoticed, however, that for a small group of traders who were able to take out shopkeepers' licences the profits from their business could be handsome. C Ngcobo and E Mngadi's Abantu Supply Butchery, for example, sold meat to Durban's poorer whites and incurred the wrath of white butchers whose prices they undercut.[25] Similarly, a handful of African-run eating houses, such as "Dube's", "Cele's" and "Cili's", secured their owners a relatively comfortable position within the ranks of Durban's black middle class. By 1930, at least thirty African taxi-owners could expect good returns from their initial outlay of capital. In general terms, these entrepreneurs found their political home in the Natal Branch of the ANC, the Natal Native Congress.

The retreat of the Natal Congress movement into a preoccupation with issues pertinent to a small **kholwa** and propertied elite was to become particularly evident after 1924.[26] It was during this period that a radicalized section of the NNC under J T Gumede split from the more conservative section, led by the Rev John

Dube, a prominent landowner and proprietor of the Durban-based newspaper Ilanga lase Natal. In Durban, the demand for differential treatment, in particular the establishment of housing for "better class" Africans, found a central place on the generally parochial NNC agenda. Not surprisingly, more radical ICU leaders derided NNC members as **Ama-respectables**, while ICU rank-and-file sometimes forcibly closed Congress meetings. Such experiences confirmed the distance between the NNC and the emergent urban under-classes, a dissension which Dube's journalism did little to heal.[27]

Union Leadership: Rural Refugees and Radical Artisans

The ravages of the Pact Government's "civilised labour policy" were keenly felt by black South Africans. As the size of the new white petty bourgeoisie rapidly expanded after 1924, the threat of being edged down the short stairwell into the ranks of the labouring poor became increasingly real for those Africans in the lower reaches of the middle classes. Indeed, it was from the ranks of a "disappointed class" of blacks, as Champion put it, that the ICU **yase** Natal tended to find its leadership.[28] J H London, for example, became Branch Secretary of the ICU in Durban after being "discharged by Europeans who would no longer work with a Kaffir"[29] and also after having given critical evidence to the Wages Board. The shared sense of vulnerability is captured in a description of James Ngcobo, a member of the ICU **yase** Natal Governing Body, as "the last pillar that was stripped by the Krantzkop Dutch, until he remained a beam without a brick". Jacob Mkize, ensconced in the lower levels of leadership, would have spoken for more than one[30] of his colleagues when he claimed "there is no respect for skilled work in Durban".

The majority of ICU **yase** Natal leaders had skills which became increasingly devalued during the twenties. James Ngcobo was a builder and a painter, as was Hamilton Msomi, a member of the ICU **yase** Natal Standing Committee. Both Frances Maqwebu, Assistant Chairman of the ICU **yase** Natal Standing Committee, and Jim London had worked as printers. As a teacher, Bertha Mkize received a salary which might have compared unfavourably with labourers' wages. Having abandoned this profession, she established herself as a tailor prior to working for the Union. On the other hand, Champion and Abel Ngcobo had had long experience as clerks. Similarly, J J Macebo, Chairman of the Union's Governing Body,[31] made the difficult transition from harness-maker to clerk during the 1920s.

Charles Khumalo, a garage worker during the 1920s, recalls that what[32] separated ICU leaders from workers was their ability to survive by their wits. Yet, not all ICU officials fell to one side of the mental/manual divide. David Sitshe, a member of the ICU **yase** Natal executive, was a semi-literate blacksmith's hand, and later a trader, while the illiterate Sam Mabaleka coupled his activities on the Union's Committee with manual labour at the Point. If Congress leaders ever needed confirmation of the "unrespectable" nature of the ICU leadership, they could find it in two early organizers, A P Maduna and Sam Dunn, both of whom had had convictions for theft.[33] Moreover, J A Duiker, one of Champion's chief "lieutenants", had a string of convictions for theft in the Free State town of Lindley, where he had been fired from his job as an interpreter prior to his arrival in Durban in 1924. Duiker might well have provided the Chief Constable with his model when he claimed that "the ICU has no masters; in fact, quite half is made up of the riff-raff of the Union".[34] Certainly, Dunn, Duiker and London, all of whom had served in the South African Native Contingent, helped[35] to inject the ICU with the bitter-edged radicalism of the "returned soldier".

It is likely, too, that the hardships of rural organization which a surprising number of Durban's Union Officials had experienced[36], even if they were at times cushioned by the comfort of a Buick, made them sensitive to the demands and experiences of Durban's migrant work force. In other important ways the social backgrounds of Durban's ICU **yase** Natal officials distanced them from their constituency. One contemporary observer noted that Champion "belong(ed) by birth to the category of landed proprietors in Natal".[37] Not only was Champion, like a number of officials in the ICU **yase** Natal, an exempted African, but he had also inherited land at Groutville. Even so, it is likely that during the later twenties men like Champion found it increasingly difficult to maintain a secure economic bas

in the countryside. After selling his **appanage** in 1927, Champion came increasingly to rely on the ICU itself for his source of income. As Detective Arnold noted, "if the ICU ceased to function tomorrow (Champion) would have to work pretty hard to make a living".[38] Macebo, as the third son of a Groutville farmer who owned 15 acres of land, abandoned the hope of retaining access to a rural income and sought work in Durban. Jim London, despite being the son of a wealthy landowner at Italeni, came to depend on work as a compositor and then as a compound **induna** in Durban for his income. If it was as refugees from the narrowing economic horizons of rural life that some of the key ICU **yase** Natal leaders entered Durban, it was often as frustrated semi-skilled and skilled wage-earners that they entered the Union.

The salaried positions of ICU **yase** Natal officials represented one way of retaining a brittle economic independence. An ICU official, depending on the state of Union funds, could earn at least £8 a month. In 1929 Champion himself was drawing a relatively handsome salary of £20 a month.[39] There was a variety of other ways in which ICU organizers in Durban could harness the Union to recoup for themselves more secure positions within the ranks of the middle classes. The clearest example of this is to be found in the establishment of the All African Co-operative Society in 1927. The Co-operative Society, described as the "greatest step to economic emancipation of the African Workers"[40], attempted to attract £1 subscriptions from workers. By June 1928 the Society, having been incorporated into the ICU **yase** Natal, had only 400 subscriptions and operated under the name of the Star Clothing and Shirt Factory. This enterprise provided work for over fifty men and women, including Bertha Mkize and her brother (one of Durban's first African tailors), who were supplied with an outlet for their down-graded skills.[41] It is small wonder that the ideology of this frustrated petty bourgeoisie should have taken the form of economic nationalism which owed more than a little to Garveyite notions of black self-improvement. Caleb Mtshali, for example, exhorted workers at a mass meeting to:

> be independent, commence small stores yourselves, and make it a strict rule to deal no where but from your own colour ... we have one sound trading concern now, that is a clothing factory ... we will model our plans on the system of the American Negroes.[42]

The African Workers' Club set up by Champion in 1925 was, in spite of its name, inspired by the desire to create a sense of community amongst this aspirant middle class. Certainly the philosophy behind the Club - "Ask for what you want, Take what you can get, Use what you have" - would have struck a chord amongst its members, who were drawn predominantly from the ranks of the "shoemakers, bicycle menders and stall holders".[43]

Whereas the first Branch Secretary came to rely on the sale of chickens to supplement his income, Champion proved more ambitious in this regard. By 1928 he had established two businesses: a general dealer's store and the Natal Boot and Shoe Repairing Hospital. The name of Champion's store, **Vuka Afrika** (Africa Awake), was certainly a symbolic acknowledgement of Union officials' indebtedness to the separatist vision of black Americans.[44] It seems that Champion was not averse to financing these businesses, both of which collapsed in 1929, with Union funds. Furthermore, Union members were increasingly exhorted to underwrite a constellation of Union-based ventures such as the African Workers' Club and the local ICU paper, Udibi lwase Afrika, with subscriptions from their meagre wages.

Perhaps it was the uneven reception of these appeals which encouraged more peremptory forms of Union recruitment. As Charles Khumalo recalls, organizers fostered the belief amongst the more credulous migrant workers that Union membership was a prerequisite for obtaining employment.[45] Yet high-handed leadership styles might have resonated with workers' experience of an older political culture which assigned individuals particular places within an hierarchical social order. The generational gap between prominent Durban Unionists (many of whom had been born during the 1880s) and younger workers could have strengthened rather than diminished leadership's authority. Certainly Jacob Cele, a young harness-maker at the time and later Ladysmith Branch Secretary, saw nothing wrong in the fact that "because we were

juniors (in the Union) we never knew what was being discussed in the Cabinet".[46] Undemocratic leadership styles did, however, have important implications for the Union in wider political terms. Accusations of corruption, initially directed at Sam Dunn, led to Champion's suspension in 1927 and the secession of the Natal ICU in 1928.[47] It is hardly surprising, then, that the relationship between Union leaders and their constituency was mutable and dynamic. For example, only a few months prior to secession, workers had attempted to force the Union into organizing a general strike, but had been told by leadership to "approach the proper authorities".[48] Worker support for the Union thus remained conditional. Political action was to test this support to the full.

Secession: the Creation of a "Zulu" Trade Union

During the first part of 1928 the future of the ICU in Natal looked anything but rosy. In the countryside, the Union suffered setbacks at the hands of the state and white farmers, while a number of organizers found themselves without jobs, either because of accusations of corruption or because pleas for salaries from the Durban headquarters went unheeded.[49] In Durban itself, in the absence of funds and faced with large debts, officials were living hand to mouth, Champion sold Vuka Afrika and membership apparently declined. Yet, ironically, Champion's suspension in April 1928 seems to have been greeted with anger and a sense of betrayal by many workers in Durban. Even in Johannesburg "hundreds of Zulus ... handed in their tickets and refused to have anything further to do with the Organisation".[50] In an impressive show of defiance, the ICU in Durban organized a rally on 5 May 1928. Over 2400 of the several thousand men and women attended in ICU-manufactured khaki uniforms, red-twill tunics, or sported exuberant red sashes and rosettes. In a display notable for its capacity to syncretise "idioms of the masters" with those of an heroic Zulu past, the members of this parade marched in military formation, under "duly appointed leaders", through the streets of Durban.[51]

In a number of ways the parades, more or less timed to coincide with May Day, capture the underlying significance of the Natal ICU's secession a few weeks later. In a region of South Africa where the disbanding of the **amabutho** in the late nineteenth century and the Bambatha rebellion of 1906 were both firmly embedded in popular consciousness, it is not surprising that ethnic and racial identity in Durban were closely interwoven. While it is debatable whether the negligible successes of the first ICU Natal Provincial Secretary, the Xhosa-speaking A P Maduna, can be ascribed to the fact of his birth, there is no doubt that he was transferred from Durban for this reason.[52] Both David Sitshe and Champion were well known for their capacity to deliver rousing speeches in the Zulu language, while the coloured organizer Sam Dunn was popularly known as **Zulu kwa Malandela**, "for he always used this expression when in the course of his great oratory he appealed to the inner feelings of the Zulu people".[53] In a town where members of **amalaita** gangs sometimes adorned themselves with the **umshokobezi** (a decoration comprising ox-tails bound round the head which was worn by rebels in 1906), where **utshwala** was self-consciously referred to as "Zulu beer", and where some Zulu workers were prepared to countenance the dipping of Pondo-speakers[54], Dunn's manipulation of his own identity in relation to the past was not inappropriate.

Clearly, the Union leadership helped to mobilize and channel the ethnic identity of migrant workers in Durban. The Zulu articles in Udibi lwase Afrika frequently appealed to a sense of Zulu nationhood, especially where those derided in its pages were non-Zulu speakers.[55] The formation of the Independent ICU (IICU) in early 1929 was part of a broader process of fragmentation in the national Union. In Durban, however, the establishment of an IICU Branch was also precipitated by local conditions of struggle. It appears that men such as George Lenono, resentful of being labelled "foreigners"[56], retreated to the outskirts of the town and formed a small, predominantly Basotho Branch of the IICU. If Champion's suspension suggested a form of betrayal of Zulu-speaking workers by "foreign natives", then the founding of the ICU **yase** Natal was a formal manifestation of the relative autonomy of local patterns of opposition at a time when regional political economies underpinned the receptivity of the under-classes to exclusivist appeals.

In order to embed itself in popular assumptions the Union's leadership had to develop a language resonant with Durban's labouring classes. Yet, if Zulu nationalism came to represent an increasingly important ideological tendency within the Union, it was tempered by a range of other ideological elements. These ranged from Garveyism, infused with anti-white, anti-Indian and anti-clerical ideas, through to a broader African nationalism and, in some instances, socialism. These discrete elements were moulded into a remarkably syncretic ideology of popular protest, overlaid with Zulu nationalism and continually modified by pre-capitalist ideologies and the less structured ideas of Durban's labouring poor.

For most of 1928 the main concern of the ICU **yase** Natal leadership was to keep the Union afloat and to defend itself, sometimes violently, against the "meddling" of the National ICU organizers in its affairs. Having been forced to abandon its tactics of litigation, owing to financial constraints, the leaders reverted to petitioning the Town Council. These petitions, in the main, were concerned with the restrictions on petty trade and took precedence over the demands of workers for higher wages and improved living conditions, even though Champion had guaranteed thousands of workers in May that, within three months of their joining the new Union, they would be "getting better wages".[57] Towards the end of 1928 Detective Arnold, a seasoned observer of ICU activities in the town, could claim with confidence that the ICU **yase** Natal was a "spent force" which would "never recover its former power".[58] Two developments, however, served to alter the position of the Union in the town. The first was the decision of the Sydenham Local Administration and Health Board to erect a beer hall in its peri-urban area of jurisdiction. The second was the arrival of Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) organizers in Durban in January 1929.

The establishment of a branch of the CPSA in Durban by S P Bunting and Douglas Wolton at the beginning of 1929 coincided with the attempts of the Party to implement a political programme which called for a "South African Native Republic" to be achieved through a national democratic revolution.[59] In a series of mass meetings, some of which were held under the auspices of the ICU **yase** Natal, the white Party organizers articulated the United Front politics which underlay the "Native Republic" programme.[60] Their fiery speeches undoubtedly found some resonance with local idioms of resistance, as the large numbers of workers who attended their meetings suggest. The response of Union leadership to the CPSA was ambiguous. Although Champion and Union officials had frequent dealings with Party organizers, the leader of the ICU **yase** Natal publicly denigrated the Communist Party since he had "never held with white men leading (blacks)". Perhaps more to the point was Champion's claim, a short while later, that he repudiated Communism on the grounds that it would dispossess "men like myself who hold landed properties".[61]

The reservations which Champion expressed were not wholly shared by other Union leaders and rank-and-file. At least one member of the ICU **yase** Natal's governing body joined the Party along with other Union members. The concerted attempts to spread the Party message to dock and railway workers was greeted with alarm by local police informers, one of whom noted that "it is open talk that Natives will join up in the Communist Movement, in their hundreds".[62] In a situation where there was no necessary correlation between the interests of ICU **yase** Natal leadership and those whom they claimed to represent, it is likely that the activities of Party organizers encouraged increasing downward identification by this leadership with rank-and-file. In many ways the economic hardships experienced by most Africans in Durban during the late twenties gave impetus to the process.

The peri-urban areas of Durban supported increasing numbers of landless Africans. In Sydenham, where at least 10,000 Africans had settled, eviction by local authority proved "an impossible task". The majority of African male inhabitants in this area worked in Durban itself, while an increasing number of women brewed **isitshimiyane** to supplement household incomes. It was in this area that the Local Health Board obtained permission to erect a beer hall in March 1929. This move would effectively enforce prohibition in the area and pave the way for the destruction of a resilient shebeen trade. The ICU **yase** Natal was approached by local inhabitants to assist in opposing the erection of the beer hall. In the first formal protest, Champion wrote to the Board on behalf of the "voiceless members of our Community", stating objections to "attempts to obtain monies from the low paid

natives for the purposes of financing (the Board's) advancement".[63] Numerous meetings in Sydenham during March indicated the level of grassroots opposition to the beer hall. On successive Sundays in May groups of Africans numbering between 300 and 800 marched from the ICU Hall in Durban to these meetings. A witness of one of these marches reported that:

> They were an organised body - headed by a brass band preceded by a native in Highland costume - a kilt. They had a Union Jack and a red flag with a hammer and sickle on it ... Many of them were dressed in uniform and carried sticks in military positions.[64]

This richly syncretic and subversive language of protest came increasingly to signal the Union's public presence in the town. The ICU dance hall, which survived a sustained official campaign of proscription, was central to the creating of a common sense of identity amongst racially oppressed workers.

The physical distance between the Union's open-air meetings and its dance hall was short. Union demagogues made every effort to transfer and consolidate their political message in the cultural arena provided by the dance hall. Marching **ngoma** troupes, clad in **umutshas** and beads, could lead hundreds of workers from Durban's "Hyde Park", as Champion put it, to the ICU dance hall, singing **amahubo lamabutho** (regimental anthems) en route. Song was also used to provide collective experience with a political frame of reference. One song performed by **ngoma** dancers, most of whom were domestic workers, was recorded as follows:

> Who has taken our country from us?
> Who has taken it?
> Come out! Let us fight!
> The land was ours. Now it is taken.[65]

Song and dance could also act as a vehicle for the creation of new identities and meanings in the town. The emergence of a new performance style, known as **ingom'ebusuku** or **isicathamiya**, was the result of complex processes of innovation. Although this style was rooted in the traditional idiom of wedding songs, migrant workers also appropriated elements from black mission choirs to create a richly syncretic song and dance style.[66]

If rural and urban identities for the majority of workers were closely intertwined, some sections of Durban's African population gave expression to a more fiercely self-conscious urbanism. Many workers, probably outside of the ranks of barrack-dwellers, differentiated themselves by wearing Oxford bags. No doubt they were members of a social grouping which the local composer, Reuben Caluza, celebrated in one of his songs, part of which ran:

> Put on Oxford Bags like a modern man.
> Men dressed in Oxford Bags are always confident like
> modern men and walk like great men.
> There are young men and women who misbehave and who no
> longer return home.[67]

The Union's own Brass Band and Choir also symbolized the emergence of more self-conscious urban identities. Ragtime music, too, might have had a particular appeal amongst members of Durban's middle classes in search of cultural idioms expressive of their particular position as an oppressed grouping. Certainly, the popular ragtime group Dem Darkies could expect an enthusiastic response when they performed at the dance hall. Yet non-traditionalist styles simultaneously expressed and disguised emerging class distinctions. Champion's comment that he "captured" most of the ICU membership through the Union's cultural institutions[68] is revealing not only of his style of leadership: it is also suggestive of his skills as a cultural broker and of the way the Union's message was advanced through providing cultural expression with a political context. Financially, too, these Union-sponsored institutions were important. Their monthly income could be as much as £400.[69]

Deprived of a political voice, the Union also created its own alternative sources of authority. **Ngoma** dance and **amalaita** gangs provide the most striking examples of the way in which popular culture in Durban was infused with the military symbols and rituals drawn from a pre-colonial past. The stick- and sjambok-wielding Unity League (also known as the ICU Volunteers or Mob Crowd), welded from 150 Union members, assumed the responsibility for recruiting new members and, as Champion more ominously put it, "carrying out justice" according "to our own law". An equivalent body for women, the ICU Women's Auxiliary, was also formed at this time. It, too, was organized along military lines and its members were led by uniformed women.[70]

"Bad Beer", Riots and **Amalaitas**

In early May, in response to the proposed Sydenham beer hall, the ICU **yase** Natal formed the Anti-Kaffir Beer Manufacturing League. The League's main aim was to oppose the "obtaining (of) monies from the poorly paid natives" through the principle of beer monopoly.[71] "Hostile" speeches were made in Sydenham while intoxicated protestors returning to Durban left a trail of assaulted motorists in their wake. In an atmosphere increasingly charged with violence, workers in Durban symbolically smashed the windows of the Point beer hall and raided the overseer's office. In late May an incident at the overcrowded Point barracks heightened worker disaffection. At the instigation of a local Indian trader, the Compound Manager ordered the cessation of the brewing of **mahewu**. Dock workers, who relied on **mahewu** either as a partial source of income or as a cheap, nutritious food, responded by boycotting the Indian trader's store. In addition, one worker, Mcijelwa Mnomezulu, attempted to organize a boycott of the Point beer hall. The municipal NAD acted quickly.[72] A short time after being interrogated by the Deputy Manager of the municipal NAD, Mnomezulu's **togt** badge was confiscated along with his right to work.

Workers at the Point soon called for a systematic boycott of Durban's beer halls and took up the issue with the ICU **yase** Natal as "a matter which affected them all".[73] At a meeting on 12 June many dock workers advocated strike action and were unanimous in their opposition to municipal **utshwala**. Champion, however, was less than inspiring. He was neutral on the beer issue and was actively opposed to the proposed strike action since, as he explained to the workers, it was "not a matter between employers and themselves".[74] On the following day, however, at a meeting in the ICU hall, the League, under the chairmanship of J H London, endorsed the beer boycott. In the face of unyielding **togt** worker militancy, Champion and the Union's leadership "pledged to support" African workers in organizing the boycott. As Champion later claimed, "I did not favour the boycott ... Subsequently I took advantage of (it)".[75]

In some ways, the municipal beer monopoly was a singularly appropriate target for the Union's lower middle class leadership, since it was a striking example of the more general marginalization of small black capitalist enterprise in Durban. Yet, Champion's initial attempts to marshal support for the boycott by employing Christian temperance ideology, espoused by a number of black nationalists at the time, proved a dramatic failure. At one meeting he was "extricated with some difficulty from an angered audience which resented the idea of their beer being done away with altogether".[76] For the majority of workers the brewing of beer was both a traditional and a "national right" of which women, in particular, had been deprived. These ideas fused with notions which held that municipal beer "burned one's insides" because it was "doctored" and brewed by ignorant whites. Such notions, compounded of folklore, myth and daily experience, were to underpin the extensive boycott. Furthermore, the municipal monopoly was increasingly linked to low wages, deteriorating living conditions and the everyday regimentation of workers.[77]

Against a background of violence in which up to one thousand strong beer-hall pickets clashed with police, the ICU **yase** Natal held a meeting at Cartwright's Flats, attended by over 5,000 blacks.[78] The first to speak was Champion:

> They say that this trouble was started by the ICU ... but from today the ICU is taking up the burden of the togt boys - and are willing to die with them ... We should get money in Durban and go and build homes outside ... Down with beer! (Loud cheers)

J T Gumede, the radical President of the ANC who was in Durban during May and June, also spoke at the meeting. His speech, infused with the ideas of the CPSA's Native Republic programme, served to underline rank-and-file militancy:

> The ICU has taken the place of the Congress (NNC) absolutely in Natal and that shows that officers of the (NNC) were wrong to think they could think for other people ... Now let us combine and take our freedom ... Today the Black man and the poor White man is oppressed ... the money goes to the Capitalists ... then, work together for the National Independence of this country.

For Gumede, the struggle was as much about passes, "unjust laws made by Hertzog" and exploitation, as about the beer monopoly and the confiscation of a **togt** worker's badge. Not surprisingly, Champion directed his invective at local forms of oppression, using the Borough Police and municipal NAD as examples, and exhorted those present to join the Union. Champion also claimed that **togt** workers were "earning a very good salary", which could well have been a way of justifying his opposition to strike action.

It is unlikely that Champion's "lieutenants" would uniformly have shared this opinion, least of all Sam Mabaleka and Mtshelwa Ndhlovu. Mabaleka was a worker at the Point and Ndhlovu, a key ICU representative at the docks, was a railways **induna** with strong CPSA ties. If the Union's leadership was increasingly impelled towards a downward identification with Durban's labouring poor, this was, not least for the Provincial Secretary, an ambiguous process.

On 17 June Durban's five beer halls were systematically picketed by stick-wielding workers and members of the Unity League. During clashes with police a white motorist was killed by the workers. Champion, in the meanwhile, secured police protection. Together with the Chief Constable and District Commandant of the South African Police (SAP) he went to the Point, where he told workers "there must be a stop to this ... your grievances will be considered by the proper authorities".[79] This call went unheeded by workers when it was learned that over 600 white vigilantes had besieged the ICU hall in the town. Over six thousand workers from barracks and hostels throughout the town converged on central Durban. Dock workers, led by Ndhlovu wearing a skin cap and allegedly carrying a revolver, were heard to shout the Zulu war cry, **Usuthu!** Also conspicuous were members of the Unity League dressed in khaki shirts and riding breeches.[80] The violent clashes which followed left 120 injured. Six workers and two white civilians were killed.

One immediate consequence of the violence of June 1929 was the appointment of a government commission to investigate the disturbances. In his report, Justice de Waal viewed workers' grievances as "utterly devoid of any substance". Moreover, Champion, as a "professional agitator", "capable of much good, or of infinite mischief", had used supposed grievances to "foment trouble". The Commission vindicated Durban's system of native administration. De Waal recommended the establishment of a location for married workers, the creation of an Advisory Board in terms of the Urban Areas Act, and the setting aside of adequate space for recreation.[81] For his part, Champion claimed that the ICU **yase** Natal would disband if a location for "better class natives" and an advisory board were established.[82]

The Commission's agitator thesis was hardly appropriate to the realities of popular protest in Durban. The continuing ICU **yase** Natal meetings led to official fears that the position could "become dangerous again at any moment", and the Chief Magistrate made an attempt to ban meetings under the Riotous Assemblies Act. In August, Duiker, Sitshe, Mabaleka, Gwala, Vilakazi and Macebo were sentenced to between two and three months' hard labour for violating a ban which had been

placed on one Union meeting.[83] By September 1929 the ICU yase Natal in Durban had an estimated 700 paid-up members, although over 5,000 workerscould attend regular Union meetings.[84] Their support for the beer boycott during 1929 was unremitting.

Yet patterns of organization only partially charted by local policemen served to underpin the boycott. While opposition to municipal beer became a central motif in the speeches at Union meetings, the boycott also appears to have been secured through other, more hidden, forms of organization. Since the turn of the century, **amalaita** gangs had been a feature of Durban's social landscape. Forged in the backyards of white dwellings, the gangs were clearly one way in which migrant youth confronted the colonization and isolation of domestic service. Yet these street gangs could also single out symbols of local oppression as targets for their violence, as is suggested by the running battles between the police and a gang known as the **Ngqolayomlilo** (Fiery Wagons) in 1919. At a time when the municipal NAD noted with concern that a new generation of **amalaita** comprising the "habitually idle classes" had emerged in the town, the ICU appears to have engaged in mobilizing the **amalaita**.[85] In 1929, for example, **amalaitas** successfully closed down a NNC meeting. Union meetings themselves could be postponed because work obligations prevented domestic workers, and therefore, possibly, gang members, from attending. It was at the height of the boycott, however, that the degree of gang involvement in political activities was suggested. Secret meetings between Champion and gang leaders at C D Tusi's dance hall led one ex-gang leader to pronounce: "I say that all the Lietas today are in league with the ICU."[86] Union claims that Champion was the "head and guide" of Durban's **amalaita**, although invoked to threaten local authority, clearly went beyond the hyperbole which could characterize Union officials' speeches.

The Women's Auxiliary was also central, and more public, in mobilizing support for the boycott. This group of women, who armed themselves with sticks and dressed in the masculine women's fashions of the twenties, were responsible for extending the boycott to municipal beer halls in Natal's rural towns during late 1929.[87] In Durban they were known for their uncompromising use of violence against boycott-breakers. For example, in November 1929, 25 of these women attacked workers in the newly erected Sydenham beer hall.[88] Despite the proscription of informal brewing, a largely female-controlled shebeen trade emerged in Durban's populous peri-urban areas.[89] With the onset of depression and further legal curbs placed on brewing, there can be little doubt that women in peri-urban and rural areas found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. The ferocity with which the Women's Auxiliary attacked workers cannot, however, be simply ascribed to an assumed involvement in the shebeen trade.[90] Men squandering wages on municipal beer became a symbolic and economic attack on the brittle integrity of the household in which women occupied a pivotal role.

Inscribed within the radicalism of these women's beer protests lay a conservative impulse: an attempt to restitute imagined female roles in an older social order. The overt "masculinity" of these women, their denigration of "weak men" and their oft-expressed claims that "the men have failed and we women will show them what we can do" were an expression of this complex articulation of radicalism and conservatism.[91] One report of a speech by C Ntombela, an ex-nurse and "mother" of the Natal ICU, ran as follows:

> She wanted to tell those Natives who drank at the Beer Halls (that) the day of their doom was not far distant ... when ... they would be 'blotted out' ... she warned those dogs of persons who called themselves Natives who were selling their manhood in working for the Police that their day was at hand.[92]

In the case of some Auxiliary members, this usurpation extended into the sphere of their personal lives. Hilda Jackson and Bertha Mkize, two key boycott leaders, rejected female roles as mothers and wives: both were, and remained, unmarried.[93] On various occasions during 1930 a number of them were arrested for attacking men drinking in municipal beer halls or, in the case of Jackson and Mkize, for assaulting policemen.

Against a background of soaring arrests for the possession of illicit liquor and intelligence reports predicting a general strike and goal mutiny, the central government intervened in dramatic fashion.[94] On 14 November the Minister of Justice of the newly elected Nationalist government arrived in Durban together with 690 members of the para-military Mobile Squadron. Over the following weeks the Squadron swooped on compounds to check workers' poll tax receipts and embarked on an extensive operation to crush shebeens and the illicit drink traffic in the town and its peri-urban areas. Well over 2,000 workers were arrested and thousands of gallons of **isitshimiyane** destroyed. While revenue from the beer halls remained negligible, in one week Durban's intimidated workers paid £5,000 in taxes.[95]

This undiluted repression was undoubtedly welcomed by the municipal NAD, Borough Police, and harshly paternalist Natal ideologues such as J S Marwick. It was criticized, however, by the recently elected liberal Mayor, A Lamont, and a handful of Town Councillors. Their criticisms were embodied in a report of the local Joint Council which claimed that Africans were "in that state of mind in which revolutionary propaganda easily thrives" and that "Native opinion should be scrupulously consulted and sympathetically considered".[96] Similarly, the Report of the Native Affairs Commission conceded that Africans had genuine grievances, particularly that of low wages. The Report stated, moreover, that the lack of a "native village" and adequate recreation facilities had led to a situation where Africans had resorted to:

> illicit drinking, listening to the ill-informed and unbalanced agitator of communistic or anti-European tendencies, the attendance of dance halls where the notaries of the national Zulu dances rub shoulders with others indulging in European dances.[97]

As a consequence, the Commission reiterated the need for a location, a Native Advisory Board and recreational facilities. The implementation of these recommendations during the early thirties represented a real victory, particularly for the leadership of the ICU **yase** Natal.

The Native Advisory Board and the Beer Boycott

The establishment of a Native Advisory Board (NAB) in January 1930 was clearly a response to a situation where Africans' shared experience of class and racial oppression had facilitated the formation of the popular alliances of 1929. As the Chief Native Commissioner noted, the NAB would "be useful as a buffer between the mass of the people and the local authority".[98] The Board comprised four Town Councillors and ten African representatives. In an unprecedented step of recognition, the ICU **yase** Natal was allocated two seats which were subsequently occupied by Champion and James Ngcobo. The NNC was also allowed two representatives while the remaining six seats were given to residents of government and municipal barracks. The Board, however, had no legal status since it was not constituted in terms of the 1923 Urban Areas Act and was thus deemed a "goodwill gesture".[99]

Initially, the Board members presented a united front on the issue of the boycott, despite councillors' threats that rents at municipal barracks and trading quarters would have to be increased to offset the "unfavourable position" of the Native Revenue Account.[100] Most Board members urged discussion of the "economic question", which they regarded as integral to the beer boycott. Yet some members attempted to distance themselves from the boycott. The NNC, represented by the entrepreneurs J R Msimang and A F Matibela, passed a resolution in March 1930 stating that Congress had no "connection whatsoever with the Beer Boycott".[101] Indeed, the Congress movement, having lost its claims on the support of the masses, warmly embraced liberal bodies such as the Joint Councils. In Durban this took the form of endorsing the Durban Joint Council's plea for greater formal recognition of the "difference between the umfaan" and the "growing class of educated native clerks, teachers, artisans etc".[102] In broader regional terms, the NNC concentrated its political initiatives in attempting to gain state recognition of Solomon kaDinizulu as Zulu Paramount through Inkatha.[103] Dube suggested the recognition of

Solomon as a means of dampening popular protest in Durban, and also published the contents of an anti-ICU speech by the Zulu king precisely because of the potential threat which the Union posed to Congress' political programme.[104]

Matibela clearly suggested this failure of the NNC to extend its organizational roots when he claimed that, with regard to the boycott issue, it was "impossible" for the NNC "to get in direct touch with the Natives whom they represented".[105] Ironically, the continuing boycott provided Congress demands for a location for married Africans with additional ballast. The call for adequate family housing had been a central demand of Congress leaders such as Dube, as well as of a broader sub-stratum of Durban's African middle classes, for over a decade. For a **kholwa** elite there was little doubt about the eligibility of the "raw native" for such accommodation; he was perfectly well suited to Durban's barracks.[106] This was an issue about which ICU leaders were a little more ambiguous. The ex-artisan J M Ngcobo, for example, stated that the proposed location should be built by, and for, African bricklayers, carpenters and painters.[107]

If members of the Board made repeated demands for local employers and the Town Council to address the question of wages, they spent as much, if not more, energy in pressing the demands of Durban's struggling petty traders. At the end of March the Native Administration Committee, having obtained evidence that Union leaders were threatening beer drinkers with violence, resolved to increase rentals for all African traders. At this point the solidarity over the boycott, at least at the level of the NAB, collapsed. J R Msimang proposed a motion, which was seconded by his fellow NNC representative, that "the promoters of the beer boycott be requested to suspend the same until such time as the proposed Native village is established".[108]

The motion was carried by eight votes to two. Champion strategically abstained, while Ngcobo, along with the railway workers' representative, voted against the motion. Champion's abstention was hardly surprising. He was caught between a government Native Affairs Department which viewed his activities with increasing suspicion and the "many people" who had "grave doubts about the usefulness of the Board". Ngcobo vehemently abused Msimang and the NNC, claiming that workers' demands for higher wages and better housing had yet to be met. Indeed, only a day before, a deputation of municipal workers, acting independently of the Union, went to the municipal NAD to protest that their wages were unable to meet the demands of taxation and the high cost of living.[109] A day after the resolution was passed the NNC held a mass meeting in order to present their position on the boycott. The meeting, which was heavily guarded by police, was able to register only nine votes. Nearly 700 members of the assembly indicated their animosity towards the NNC by leaving prematurely. As for Msimang, he "stood condemned in the eyes of his own people" and was forced to vacate his business premises under threat of death.[110] Msimang, who had drawn up the 1926 Constitution of Inkatha[111], was forced to resign from the NAB when Champion laid charges of bribery and corruption against him.

Although it was reported in June that larger numbers of workers were drinking municipal beer, the boycott had been remarkably effective for over a year. Revenue from beer sales, usually comprising well over half of the income to the Native Revenue Account, fell to £6,107 during the same period, the shortfall of £47,517 "was almost entirely due to the boycott".[112] The local press warned that even after a year the boycott was still "influencing, and indeed intimidating, 40,000 natives in the Durban area.[113] Undoubtedly the Union, together with its militias and **amalaitas**, played an important role in sustaining the boycott. In more general terms, however, the strength of the boycott lay in broader patterns of worker disaffection. While the consumption of home-made brews in shebeens was in all likelihood cheaper than municipal beer, the beer boycott was rooted in opposition to the beer hall as a disguised form of taxation. Undoubtedly, too, it was seen as a way of expressing workers' demands for higher wages. It is likely that these notions found their way into the language of Union leaders. Hamilton Msomi, for example, reportedly claimed that the "European could no longer exploit (workers)" and that the Town Council would have to "make submission according to the Zulu custom and give a full explanation before any beer would be allowed to be drunk".[114] Msomi's language also hints at those ways in which traditional views of

social norms and obligations underpinned the boycott. Men and women were motivated by the commonsense beliefs that they were defending a traditional right which had been violated by the authorities.

Although the ICU **yase** Natal was still able to attract a diverse cross-section of Durban's African population to its meetings, in the countryside of Natal and Zululand it had all but disappeared. Even in Durban itself Union subscriptions were not sufficient to offset its financial problems.[115] Given the Union's failure to fulfil its ambitious promises to workers, it is hardly surprising that it failed to attract paid-up membership, despite implicit grassroots support for the Union. During 1930 it is probable that the active participation of the Union on the Advisory Board did little to advance flagging rank-and-file support.[116]

Urban Militancy: the Zulu King and the Union's Imbongi

Anxiety over declining support underlay a conscious shift in the Union strategy. At a meeting on 11 May Champion claimed that he was "going to call a Meeting of all Native Chiefs in Natal, including Solomon kaDinizulu".[117] While the financial problems of the Union had much to do with this shift in tactics, the mobilization of traditionalist authority should also be understood in terms of the exigencies of local struggles in a town where many workers saw themselves as members of particular clans, bound through a network of reciprocal obligations to chiefly authority. It was on this social terrain that Union organizers responded to and manipulated particularist symbols and loyalties, while Champion continued to see himself as the last in a lineage of great organizers extending back to Shaka.[118]

At the end of May, sixty-two African chiefs and headmen from Natal and Zululand arrived in Durban. The purported reason for their presence was an invitation extended to them by Champion to discuss a ricksha strike which began on 19 May - eight days after Champion had announced his intention of meeting with Solomon and the chiefs. While crowds of workers thronged the streets in anticipation, Union leaders held a closed meeting with the chiefs. The hidden agenda of the chiefs undoubtedly related to the question of wage remittances. Rising levels of unemployment which accompanied economic depression, together with the need to ensure the continued flow of urban incomes into rural households, helped clear the way for this meeting with Union leaders. The intimate connection between agrarian and urban struggles was reflected in the resolutions of the meeting which dealt with cattle-dipping, the Land Act, taxation and restrictions on beer brewing, and black court interpreters.[119] Yet, this was the first conscious attempt by leadership to link urban and rural struggles.

The following day a public meeting was held at which various chiefs addressed an audience of 6,000. Most speakers told of hunger and starvation wages, although Ngonyama kaGumbi of the Union's Pietermaritzburg branch invoked British injustice and the "murderous acts" of whites, suggesting that Africans should "cut the throats" of government officials "as the Russian Communists had done". It was also reported that:

> An elderly Native from the seats of the alleged Chiefs got up and thanked Champion publicly for what he was doing. He said that they would carry on the work undertaken by him in Durban to the country also a younger Native from the crowd ... commenc(ed) 'bongering' or singing the praises of the chiefs from the past and the warring acts. He commenced with Tshaka and ended with Champion ... this is a most dangerous proceeding in a gathering of the ICU variety ... the effect (is) electrical.[120]

At the close of the meeting J Duiker shouted **Humu! Humu!** (Regiments Disperse!) while thousands of voices took up the cry of **Ematsheni!** (Beer halls!)

There was good reason for increasing concern of local police officials over the incorporation of traditionalist idioms and symbols into the speeches of ICU organizers, at a time when the state was exploring ways in which traditionalist authority could be used as a form of domination appropriate to an industrializing society. It was not only the large number of chiefs who responded to the invitation of a "commoner" which perturbed local authority but also the apparent fusion of the nationalist rhetoric of ICU organizers with traditionalist folklore. If the independent appropriation from below of the language and symbols of a pre-colonial past and their reworking in the context of urban struggle were perceived as highly subversive, how much more so was the arrival of the Zulu king himself in Durban a few months later? Although Champion had opportunistically claimed that the meeting of Chiefs indicated that the "District and Rural areas would combine with (workers) in one general movement"[121], it is unlikely that the government officials, who were watching the situation closely, expected Solomon to arrive in Durban. However, in late August, he arrived in the port town. Three days after having visited workers at the Bell Street barracks, he slipped into the ICU Hall where he interrupted a concert by Dem Darkies, received a rapturous welcome, and addressed an enthusiastic meeting. After a private meeting with Champion in which Solomon apparently appealed for unity between the Union and the NNC, Champion arranged a public meeting for Solomon. The Zulu king, no doubt acutely aware of the potential repercussions which his visit to Durban would have in government circles, failed to appear and quickly retraced his steps to Eshowe.[122]

The traditionalism of the Zulu royal family constituted a potential bulwark against radical change, not only for wealthier African landowners such as John Dube but also for ideologues of segregation, the most notable of which was the sugar baron G Heaton Nicholls. Certainly the role which the Zulu royal family and Inkatha could play as an antidote to ICU radicalism was not missed by certain government officials.[123] Despite the occasional public antagonism between the ICU and Solomon, it is unlikely that popular support for the Zulu king and the Union were ever mutually exclusive. In 1928 Solomon had indicated a keen interest in the affairs of the ICU and claimed that he had publicly condemned the ICU the previous year because the Union did not ask his permission to hold meetings in "his kingdom, Natal".[124] When one of the rural organizers uttered "We look upon Chief Solomon as a king because of hereditary blood"[125], it is likely that his words would have found a resonance amongst the urban and rural poor in both town and countryside. It has been suggested that what might appear to be deep ethnic continuities may also be unmasked as contingent historical creations.[126] In many ways Union leaders, and for that matter the NNC, did consciously rework history to legitimate claims to cultural autonomy and political rights.[127] Yet the creation of these continuities with the past was not entirely factitious. Zulu-speakers in Natal and Zululand did share a language, a common culture, a remembrance of autonomous statehood, and a tradition of resistance to white rule. Moreover, there is much evidence to suggest that by the 1920s the Zulu royal family had been invested with an almost mythological power as protectors of ordinary people's rights. Undoubtedly Solomon's visit to Durban was motivated by the self-interested desire to secure further financial and political support for his increasingly arduous quest for State recognition.[128] Yet his appearance in Durban was made increasingly feasible by local conditions of struggle.

One immediate consequence of the presence of the chiefs and Solomon in Durban was the deportation of Champion from Natal under the amended Riotous Assemblies Act. Clearly, during a period when the loyalty of traditional chiefly authority to the state was regarded as tacit, the brief public association of Solomon and a large number of chiefs with the "radical" ICU **yase** Natal was, at least in the more alarmist sections of local and central government, regarded as a possible prelude to the combination of urban and rural popular protest under the symbolic leadership of the Zulu king.[129] In Durban itself, the shifting tactics of the Union appear to have resulted in a brief increase in rank-and-file support. The Union, having installed a resident **imbongi** (praise-poet) at mass meetings, could claim that "the Zulu nation was one and any future action would be as one solid action by the Zulu nation".[130]

Conclusion: Shaka's Nemesis

When no tangible benefits accrued from the Union's purported alliance with the Zulu king and chiefly authority, mass support for the ICU **yase** Natal appears finally to have evaporated. Disillusioned workers, who had paid Union subscriptions in the hope that Champion and his Union would successfully lead their struggle for better wages, demanded their money back. Certainly, economic conditions in Durban hardly favoured trade union demands for higher wages. Many workers had lost jobs through wage determinations, while others were simply dismissed by employers seeking to maintain profit levels during the depression. Moreover, the municipal NAD used the Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1930, together with the Native Taxation Act, to eject systematically large numbers of blacks "with no visible means of subsistence" from the town. Durban's unskilled African workers were rendered increasingly exploitable by the presence of a large reserve army of labour in the town.

There were, however, other forces at work which served to detach Union leaders from its volatile constituency. Through the Board, the grievances of a small section of Durban's African population were receiving some degree of attention. The establishment of the Board and the promise of a location at Clairwood for "more civilised" blacks partly fulfilled their demands. The provision of this proposed housing scheme depended substantially on the decreasing revenue accruing to the Native Revenue Account, since white labour fiercely opposed the use of cheap migrant labour in the erection of houses. Not surprisingly, then, those sections of the African population which were to benefit from the proposed location also had, along with Durban's ruling classes, a stake in the termination of the beer boycott and the moulding of popular protest along more conservative lines. Although the leadership of the ICU **yase** Natal continued to support the beer boycott after Champion's departure from Durban in October 1930, their position vis-a-vis the labouring poor became increasingly ambiguous. It is unlikely, too, that workers who were demanding a living wage would have enthusiastically embraced an organization which was calling for £1 donations to the "Champion Defence Fund" and which was partially discredited through its involvement in the affairs of the Advisory Board. Indeed, frustrated workers led by Mtshelwa Ndhlovu took the law into their own hands and severely assaulted the NAB representative for the Bell Street barracks, whom they regarded as unrepresentative.[131]

It is no wonder, then, that when the CPSA began mobilizing local support for its proposed pass-burning campaign at the end of 1930 it should have drawn 6,000 workers (including many ex-Union supporters and lower-level Union leadership) into its ranks and also forced the ICU to prolong its meetings in order to prevent workers from "crossing the railway line" to listen to fiery Party speeches. Yet not all workers responded to the call to destroy passes. Older dock workers, for example, demanded of the youthful Nkosi "if his parents knew what he was doing". Others, anticipating renewed violence, simply returned to their rural homes. It was probably with more than a degree of surprise, then, that the police approached the gathering of thousands of workers on "Dingaan's Day", witnessed the destruction of passes and heard praises of Solomon and his royal predecessors. Police intelligence had confidently claimed that the Party's campaign would attract a few hundred "Basutos of the low type".[132] Indeed, while the ICU leadership publicly dissociated itself from the campaign, the predominantly Basotho IICU gave what support it had to the campaign. It was not without reason that the local police stated that the "riff-raff", "scum" and "habitually idle" of the town were in strong evidence on "Dingaan's Day". It was precisely those workers who felt most vulnerable in the face of the restructuring of the labour market, as well as unemployed urban outsiders (many of whom might have been non-Zulu and of a younger generation), that the CPSA could claim as its constituency. For these individuals, the pass and the poll-tax receipt were in a very real way "badges of slavery" for they underpinned both low wages and restricted employment opportunities.

As men and women who retained a residual optimism that they could wrest greater recognition of their status from the ruling classes, the ICU leadership in Durban was, at the best of times, hard-pressed to make the transition from tactics of litigation and the amelioration of individual workers' grievances to mass worker action. By the late 1920s the members of this middle class manque sacrificed their position as ideologues of the masses, in the hope of differential accommodation with

local relations of domination and subordination. It was left to men such as Mbutana Vanqa, a shoemaker from the Transkei, and Cyrus Lettonyane, the leader of the IICU who had a string of criminal convictions ranging from theft and assault to malicious damage to property, to mobilize popular support for the pass-burning campaign. Together with the most oppressed sections of Durban's labouring poor, they confronted the brunt of local police repression in the last desperate attempt to challenge exploitation. With depression, state repression, unemployment and drought at their backs, their gesture of defiance marked the collapse of the popular alliances of the twenties, the retreat of political movements into factionalism, and the withdrawal of workers into their own struggle for survival.

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1 University of South Africa (hereafter UNISA), ICU yase Natal Microfilm, Reel 3, General Secretary's Report of Branches, 6 March 1926.

2 Udibi lwase Afrika, June 1927. For early membership figures, see University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter UW), Champion Papers, Champion to J la Guma, 12 November 1925; and Champion to C Kadalie, 9 November 1926.

3 For an outline of these court victories, see UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 4, Manuscript by Champion (n.d.). For these formative struggles of the Union, in particular the campaign against the enforced bodily disinfecting of workers, see P la Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: alcohol, the Ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-36", MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984, pp 144-52.

4 UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 4, List of Natal Delegates, 16 December 1927.

5 H Bradford, "The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa in the South African Countryside, 1924-1930", PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985.

6 For attempts by the state to reformulate urban "native policy", see Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws, 1920, UG 41-'42.

7 Natal Government Gazette, No 3710, 10 October 1908, Act to Amend the Law relating to Native Beer.

8 Native Affairs By-laws which were introduced in 1917 laid down precise procedures for work registration, passes and service contracts. The laws also introduced a harsh curfew and compulsory medical examination. See Mayor's Minute, 1917, p 15.

9 Interview by P la Hausse with Charles Khumalo and Alfred Tshabalala, Durban, 28 August 1986. These are Charles Khumalo's translations.

10 See NA, Police Report Book, No 6, 4 March 1903.

11 NA, TCF, 63, 467, Evidence of Town Council to Native Economic Commission, March 1931; and Durban Corporation - Statement re NEC.

12 Interview with Khumalo and Tshabalala.

13 NA, Durban Municipal Inquiry, August 1927, Evidence of C Dube, p 582. Also see C Murray, Families Divided - the impact of migrant labour in Lesotho (Johannesburg, 1981), pp 14-16. For worsening conditions amongst rural blacks in Natal, see Bradford, op. cit., pp 52-65.

14 Interview with Khumalo and Tshabalala; and Interview by P la Hausse and M Marrengane with F Zondi, Maqadine, 25 February 1987. The extent of this tendency awaits further reserch.

15 See NA, Commission of Inquiry into Durban Native Riots, 1929, Minutes of Evidence (hereafter Commission Evidence), p 300 (Det Sergt R H Arnold).

16 For example, by 1926, the rise of white- and Indian-owned laundries had effectively marginalized African washerwomen. See Mayor's Minute, 1926, p 318.

17 For women and illicit brewing, see CAD, Native Economic Commission (hereafter NEC), Minutes of Evidence, p 6372 (Mrs Sililo).

18 NA, Durban Criminal Records (hereafter DCR), Case heard 3 January 1916.

19 NA, TCF, 103, 467B, Amendment of General By-Law No 71.

20 For example, see Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth General Missionary Conference of South Africa (Durban, 1922), pp 73-95.

21 Interview with Khumalo and Tshabalala.

22 UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 1, Regulations for the Management and Control of Municipal Native Eating Houses; and A Mtembu and 16 others to Manager, Municipal NAD, 13 September 1929.

23 See, for example, NA, TCF, 43, 315, Petition of Native Stall Owners' Association, 1 December 1925.

24 UNISA, Champion Papers, Box 1, 2.2.2, Interview by M W Swanson with A W G Champion.

25 See UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 2, Points put forward by Deputation from Borough Market Stallholders, 18 November 1929.

26 For a recent, perceptive study, see S Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1986), pp 42-73.

27 See Ilanga lase Natal, 19 August 1927, for criticism of the ICU and its constituency.

28 See UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 4, Champion to J Astor, 7 March 1935. Bradford's discussion of the nature of the national ICU leadership is illuminating. See "The ICU", Chapter 2.

29 CAD, Native Affairs Department (hereafter NTS), 7606, 49/328, Part I, Translation of **Igazi ne Zinyembezi**. Champion referred to London as a "victim of (the) white labour policy": see UNISA, Champion Papers, Interview with Champion. It is difficult to document the lives of the lesser known (and less recognized) office-holders of the ICU in Durban, of whom there were at least 60 between 1928 and 1930.

30 CAD, NTS, 7214, 49/328, Part I, Translation of **Igazi**; and UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 3, Report on a meeting called by Native Advisory Board members, 11 March 1930.

31 NA, CNC, 210A,913/1915; CAD, NTS, 7214, 56/326, Part I, Det Sergt Arnold to Officer (CID), 6 September 1929. For further information on Mkize, see UNISA, Interview by T Couzens et al with B Mkize, 4 August 1979. For the plight of teachers, see, for example, Ilanga lase Natal, 25 March 1927.

32 Interview with Khumalo and Tshabalala.

33 Both Dunn and Maduna had been forced out of the Union by the end of 1927. See Wickins, The ICU of Africa, pp 145-49; and Bradford, "The ICU", p 114.

34 NA, Commission Evidence, p 251 (Chief Constable Alexander).

35 For a discussion of the subsequent political impact of black war veterans, see B Willan, "The South African Native Contingent, 1916-1918", Journal of African History, Vol 19, No 1, 1978.

36 These included Jim London, Bertha Mkize, Hamilton Msomi, Abel Ngcobo, James Ngcobo, George Conjwa, David Sitshe and Hilda Jackson.

37 NA, Commission Evidence, p 305 (R H Arnold).

38 NA, Commission Evidence, p 289 (R H Arnold).

39 UW, Champion Papers, Bc1, Minutes of the Governing Body of the ICU yase Natal, 27 June 1928; and NA, Commission Evidence, p 289 (R H Arnold); Interview by P la Hausse with A Gumede, Durban, 16 April 1986. For a fascinating discussion of the upward mobility of leadership, see Bradford, "The ICU", pp 125-33.

40 UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 2, R Tshabalala to all Provincial and Branch Secretaries, 27 October 1927.

41 See UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 5, Regulations of the All African Co-operative Society Ltd. Also see CAD, JUS, 920, 1/18/26, 16, R H Arnold to CID, 4 June 1928; and Interview with Bertha Mkize.

42 CAD, JUS, 917, 1/18/26-sub, R H Arnold to CID, 6 February 1928.

43 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, 6301/29, Cowley and Cowley to T C, 5 March 1926; UNISA, Champion Papers, Box 3, 5.1, Rules and Constitution of Natal Workers' Club, Durban. Membership of the Club was limited to 500, annual subscriptions were 2/6, while the entrance fee was also 2/6.

44 For the impact of black separatist thought on Champion, see UW, African Studies Institute (hereafter ASI), "Autobiography of Champion" (ms), p 53. Also cf Bradford, "The ICU", pp 184-89.

45 Interview with Khumalo and Tshabalala.

46 Interview by P la Hausse with Jacob Cele, KwaMashu, 27 August 1986.

47 For the chaotic state of union finances, see CAD, JUS, K22, Box 2, Judgement of Justice Tatham in case of Champion v Lenono, 1 December 1927. Peculation and lax book-keeping, however, were not solely responsible for the financial problems of the branch. By July 1928 Cowley and Cowley, the Union's lawyers, were owed £3000 for legal expenses.

48 CAD, JUS, 917, 1/18/26, 8, R H Arnold to CID, 5 May 1927. Dockworkers had taken independent strike action in 1926 and 1927. See D Hemson, "Class Consciousness and Migrant Workers: dockworkers of Durban", PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1979, pp 202-05.

49 See CAD, JUS, 920, 1/18/26, 16, R H Arnold to CID, 14 May 1928.

50 CAD, NTS, 7214, 56/326, 1, R H Arnold to CID, 24 May 1928; and UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 3, Batty to Champion, 18 May 1928.

51 Cf T Ranger's discussion of the Beni **ngoma's** in Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970 (London, 1970).

52 C Kadalie, My Life and the ICU (London, 1975), p 162.

53 Ibid., p 96; and Bradford, op. cit., p 165. Interview with Cele.

54 Interview by P la Hausse with C Khumala, KwaMashu, 15 April 1986.

55 See, for example, Udibi lwase Afrika, June 1927.

56 NA, Commission Evidence, p 399 (A W G Champion); and Ilanga lase Natal, 9 March 1928, St L Plaatje to Editor.

57 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, 6301/29, Memorandum submitted by the Representatives of the ICU yase Natal to the Mayor, 19 September 1928; and JUS, 920, 1.18.26, 17, Det Sergt Arnold to Inspector (CID), 22 May 1928.

58 Arnold was a close confident of Champion, who saw it as his task to "worm" his way into the Union in order to destroy it. He had allegedly drawn up the Constitution of the ICU yase Natal. See NA, Commission Evidence, p 441 (A F Batty).

59 By 1928 the membership of the CPSA was predominantly black. See H J and R E Simons, Class and Colour, pp 407-09. For an examination of the programme, see M Legassick, "Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: the South African Communist Party and the Native Republic, 1928-34", Syracuse University, 1973; and B Bunting, Moses Kotane - South African Revolutionary (London, 1975), pp 14-42.

60 See CAD, JUS, 922, 1.18.26, 23, Constable Hobbs to CID, 18 February 1929; and R H Arnold to CID, 22 January 1929.

61 NA, Commission Evidence, pp 337-8 (A W G Champion).

62 CAD, JUS, 922, 1.18.26, 23, R H Arnold to CID, 20 February 1929. Membership of the Party at this time was probably not more than 100.

63 NA, Commission Evidence, p 25 (C W Lewis).

64 NA, Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p 24 (C W Lewis). Other witnesses claimed that the militia displayed the red ICU flag. That this was subject to debate is revealing in itself.

65 Margery Perham recorded a rich diversity of dance forms after a visit to the ICU dance hall during this period. See African Apprenticeship (New York, 1974), pp 196-99.

66 D Coplan, In Township Tonight! (Johannesburg, 1985), pp 65-67.

67 Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets, 7C, **U Bhungca (ama Oxford bags)**. (Translation.)

68 UNISA, Champion Papers, Interview with Champion.

69 CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/332, Consultation in CNC's Office, 7 September 1929.

70 NA, Commission Evidence, pp 285-86 (Arnold); and cf Bradford, "The ICU", pp 203-11.

71 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, Exhibits A-RR, Document entitled Anti Kaffir Beer League, 5 May 1929.

72 NA, Commission Evidence, p 46 (T J Chester).

73 NA, Commission of Evidence, p 424 (M Mnomezulu).

74 NA, Commission Evidence, p 350 (A W G Champion).

75 NA, Commission Evidence, p 381 (A W G Champion).

76 CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/332, CNC to SNA, 31 August 1929.

77 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, Exhibits A-RR, Memorandum of Togt Labourers of the Bell Street Barracks.

78 For the speeches, see CAD, K22, Box 1, Exhibits A-RR, Const Hobbs to CID, 20 June 1929.

79 NA, Commission Evidence, p 229 (Chief Constable Alexander).

80 See NA, Commission Evidence, passim.

81 Library of Parliament, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Riots of Durban, 29 July 1929, Annexure, 133-1929.

82 NA, Commission Evidence, p 354 (A W G Champion).

83 NA, DCR, A Court, Case heard on 28 August 1929.

84 CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/33, CNC to SNA, 31 August 1929; and Minutes of the Native Administration Committee (hereafter NAC), 8 October 1929.

85 Ilanga lase Natal, 5 April 1929.

86 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 2, Native Unrest in Durban - Affidavits and Statements,

No 23, G Dhlamini, 12 November 1929; No 27, C Nxaba, 12 November 1929; and No 34, T Myeza, 13 November 1929.

87 For these struggles, see Bradford, "The ICU", pp 312-61.

88 Natal Mercury, 6 November 1929.

89 Convictions for the possession of illicit alcohol were enormous. During a six-month period in 1928, over 2,792 Africans were convicted.

90 This was the view of some government officials and Dube. See CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/332, Meeting of Minister of Native Affairs and others in CNC's Office, 6 September 1929.

91 NA, TCF, 63, 467, W North to Town Clerk, 19 November 1930. Also see CAD, NTS, 7606, 49/328, I, Translation of Igazi ne Zinyembezi.

92 CAD, JUS, 823, 1.18.26, 25, R H Arnold to CID, 27 April 1930. (Thanks to Helen Bradford for comments on Ntombela.)

93 Interview with Khumalo.

94 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 2, Affidavits and Statements.

95 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 2, Report on Mobile Squadron; and Natal Mercury, 18 November 1929, 20 November 1929.

96 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, 6301/29, Statement of the Executive Committee of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives concerning SAP raids and Demonstrations, November 14-21, 1929.

97 NA, TCF, 57, 323, Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 12 December 1929.

98 CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/332, CNC to SNA, 31 August 1929.

99 NA, TCF, 57, 323A, Memorandum for Native Administration Committee, 25 August 1931.

100 NA, Minutes of the NAB, 19 February 1930.

101 NA, TCF, 21, 91, F M Xulu to TC, 5 March 1930.

102 UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 1, Extract from Report of Joint Council of Europeans and Natives (June 1930) on the Urban Areas Act of 1930. Champion referred to the Council as "a self-constituted body that refuses to admit the accepted leaders".

103 These attempts to bolster traditional Zulu authority were seen as a way of securing the class interests of the propertied elite. See N Cope, "The Zulu Royal Family under the South African Government, 1910-1933: Solomon kaDinizulu, Inkatha and Zulu Nationalism", PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1985.

104 See CAD, NTS, 7665, 46/332, Report of Meeting in CNC's office; and Ilanga lase Natal, 12 August 1927.

105 NA, Minutes of the NAB, 16 April 1930.

106 NA, Commission Evidence, p 408 (John Dube).

107 NA, TCF, 57, 323A, Ngcobo to TC, 6 June 1930.

108 NA, Minutes of the NAB, 16 April 1930.

109 NA, TCF, 315E, T J Chester to TC, 16 April 1930.

110 Natal Mercury, 17 April 1930; and NA, Minutes of the NAB, 16 April 1930, and TCF, 57, 323A, Msimang to TC, 12 May 1930.

111 Cope, "The Zulu Royal Family", p 224.

112 Mayor's Minute, 1930, p lii.

113 Natal Mercury, 28 August 1930.

114 CAD, JUS, 923 1.18.26, 25.

115 See UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 3, Champion to President and Governing Body, ICU yase Natal, 24 February 1930.

116 CAD, JUS, 923, 1.18.26, 25.

117 CAD, JUS, 923, 1.18.26, 26, R H Arnold to CID, 11 May 1930.

118 UNISA, ICU Microfilm, 5, Fragment of Champion's writings (n.d.).

119 CAD, NTS, 7214, 56/326, Part I, Document entitled Resolution, 31 May 1929. For official confusion over the number of Chiefs who came to Durban, see NTS, 7214, 56/326, Part I.

120 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, 6301/29, R H Arnold to CID, 2 June 1930.

121 CAD, JUS, K22, Box 1, 6301/29, District Commandant, SAP, to Commissioner, SAP, Natal Division, 16 June 1930.

122 NA, CNC, 81, 58/7/3, N.1/1/3(32)1, R H Arnold to CID, 16 September 1930.

123 Marks, Ambiguities of Dependence, pp 40–41, 70–71; and Cope, "The Zulu Royal Family", Ch 6.

124 CAD, JUS, 922, 1/18/26, 22, Report of Det Const M Zondi, CID, 18 December 1928. Solomon had apparently told this to Kadalie in 1928.

125 CAD, JUS, 920, 1/18/26, 17, Det Const van Vuuren to Dist Commandant, SAP, 7 May 1928.

126 G Eley, "Nationalism and Social History", Social History, Vol 6, 1981, p 94.

127 Cf E Hobsbawm's characterization of "invented tradition" in terms of the creation of a factitious continuity with the past, in E Hobsbawm and T Ranger (eds), The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge, 1983), p 2.

128 Cope, "The Zulu Royal Family", p 380; and Marks, Ambiguities of Dependence, pp 15–20.

129 CAD, JUS, 582, 3136/31, I, Commissioner, SAP, to Minister of Justice, 19 September 1930.

130 CAD, JUS, 923, 1/18/26, 28, Report of Det J Andrews, 2 October 1930.

131 NA, TCF, 57, 323A, A Gumede and S Ngcobo to NAB, 21 November 1920.

132 CAD, JUS, 924, 1/18/26, 29, R H Arnold to CID, 8 December 1930.