The Afterlife of Words: Magema Fuze, Bilingual Print Journalism and the Making of a Self-Archive

Abstract:

Since the publication of the English translation, The Black People and Whence They Came (1979), Magema Fuze has been read as a seminal author; the first Zulu-speaker to publish a book in the language. The original text Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona which was published in Zulu in 1922 has largely receded into the background and the English text now stands in for both the seminal moment of the publication of a book-length Zulu text and the posterity of Fuze’s writing especially its place in the construction of Zulu historiography. This paper is an exploration of the disruptive effects of discovering an ‘archive’ of Fuze’s work that is not only independent and unrelated to the book but that also redefines him as an author. From the late 1890s to the early twentieth century, Fuze published serialised articles and letters in bilingual newspapers that were often, but not always, published by missionary presses. As with other contributors to these newspapers, Fuze was concerned with the literal question of the afterlife, but as an author he was also working towards the preservation of his and others’ words. This other archive therefore represents Fuze’s practice of self-archiving. The paper will examine the ways in which the spiritual question of life after death (eschatology) and the literary question of authorial posterity melded together to produce a kholwa reading community that was at once versed in the biblical and missionary promise of the hereafter while also being grounded by and inspired by the promise of the printed word, namely, a self-archive and readership in the here and now.
The historiography on the black press in South Africa owes much of its vibrancy to the seminal bibliography published by Les and Donna Switzer titled *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, Newsletters and Magazines 1836 – 1976*. The specificity of the concept of the “black press” reflects not only the contemporary paucity of literature on this publishing history but it also encapsulates the Switzers’ attempt to cover an enormous historical period that would have otherwise been ignored or subsumed under a general history of newspapers in South Africa. As evidenced in recent publications, this historiography that was inaugurated by *The Black Press in South Africa* has grown enormously and matured through nuanced and detailed focus on individual newspapers, editors, writers and publishers; and, the “glamour” quality of magazines such as *Drum* has also indirectly contributed to an expanding interest in the history of the “black press” in South Africa. In her recent book, *Gandhi’s Printing Press: Experiments in Slow Reading*, Isabel Hofmeyr captures one of the main defining characteristics of the printed and circulated texts that comprise the “black press”. She writes that Gandhi’s *Indian Opinion* (established in 1903) and the printing press that produced it, “on a daily basis enacted a novel order of community, drawing in different castes, religions, languages, races, and genders.” Later on she describes the context of imperial and colonial South Africa, and specifically the port city of Durban as having engendered “zones of enforced cosmopolitanism.” These characteristics were not unique to Gandhi’s experiments with publishing but can be generalized and applied to the entire “black press”. As with the image of “India” which defined much of Gandhi’s writing and publishing, Africans – especially those who had grown up on mission stations – published and wrote not as “Xhosas”, “Zulus” or “Sothos” but as “New Africans” who were attempting to come to terms with their subjugation as imperial subjects while constructing new notions of nationhood that were capacious enough to accommodate ethnic nationalism while also not contradicting the promise of Victorian imperialism.

Magema Magwaza Fuze (c. 1840 – 1922) was such an imperial subject. Writing and publishing in mission newspapers from the 1890s onwards, his life and career as a

---

3 Ibid., 8.
printer are emblematic of the convolutions and imbrications of empire and nation and localized and globalized self-identities. Elsewhere, I have written about his fuller biography but the basic critical events and moments in his life are worth repeating. Magema Magwaza Fuze was born in the colony of Natal and his father, Magwaza, sent him to be educated at Ekukhanyeni (“The Place of Light”) as part of a larger group of young boys who were sent to the newly-arrived Bishop of Natal, John William Colenso. From the moment he left his home in 1856, Magema Fuze experienced the meaning of being a colonial subject: his separation from his mother at the age of about twelve; his enrolment at Colenso’s Ekukhanyeni school; his 1859 baptism which made him the first in his family to be baptised as a convert to Christianity; his learning to write and his service as an assistant and printer for the Bishop of Natal all placed him in the forefront of the major events and crises that shaped the relationship between colonial Natal and the independent Zulu kingdom that was still in existence across the Thukela River. As with many of his contemporaries, his chosen vocation as a writer was a consequence of his education at a mission school and his residence at a mission station. Importantly, his inculcation into the culture of letters began when he was the scribe of the controversial

5 At different times in his life Magema Fuze used different surnames and signed his name differently: he sometimes wrote as ‘Magema Magwaza’ at other times as ‘Magema M. Fuze’ and when he wrote for Ilanga lase Natal he signed his articles as ‘M. M. Fuze’. In the notice about his death, published in Ilanga, his son Sol. M. Ngcobo called him ‘u Magema ka Magwaza ubaba wakwa Ngcobo’ / ‘Magema Magwaza the father of the Ngcobo family’ while also mentioning that ‘Owaziwa kakulu ngokuti uFuze’ / ‘He is well-known as Fuze’ Ngcobo, Umbiko: M. M. Fuze, 5. This suggests that Magema Fuze could have at other times used the surname ‘Ngcobo’; his own account of his genealogy suggests that the clan names ‘Fuze’ and ‘Ngcobo’ could be used interchangeably Fuze, Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona, iii. In compiling the bibliography I have used the surname ‘Fuze’, but have indicated in brackets when the surname Magwaza was used. I have also used the initials ‘M. M.’ when he used them and ‘Magema M.’ when he signed himself in this way. I have also been unable to establish whether an original manuscript of Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona exists. Citations of the book therfore refer to the book published by City Printing Works in 1922.

6 In his essay, “Metonymies of Lead”, Leon De Kock uses the concept of “inculcation” in a more precise meaning by referring to the instances in which British soldiers, fighting on the “frontier” in the 1840s, resorted to melting the lead type from the printing press at Lovedale (a mission school). This interchangeability between “type” and “bullets” is summarized in the observation that: “Print culture, the technonological base item of which was “hot metal” or “type” – individual letters and words fashioned in metal and arranged into the template of rectangular folios by human hand – was historically implicated in a singularly brutal metonymy of lead.” Leon De Kock, ‘Metonymies of Lead: Bullets, Type and Print Culture in South African Missionary Colonialism’, 52.

7 This phrase is borrowed from John M. Coetzee’s book White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa, White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa.
and notorious John W. Colenso whose views on the contribution of Africans to biblical exegesis earned him the accusation of being a heretic.\footnote{See Jeff Guy’s \textit{The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883}, \textit{The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883}.}

The extent to which the amakholwa (African converts) represent a unique class of individuals in colonial society has been debated in the literature for decades. Most recently, Paul la Hausse’s \textit{Restless Identities}\footnote{Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière, \textit{Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c. 1936).}} foregrounded the literary careers of the two protagonists who are the centre of his historical explication. In defining their historical role as intermediaries and translators of Zulu culture, he noted:

“…operating in the no man’s land between the powerful and the dispossessed; between the respectable and the disreputable. They lived – and died – at the broken boundaries between nominally distinct worlds and came into their own as mediators between chiefly and other forms of authority, brokers between written and oral forms of knowledge, interpreters of modernism in a world of traditionalism, translators of the religious in secular terms and redeemers of the past for the present.”\footnote{Ibid., 2.}

It is the last function of the redeeming of the past for the present that may be said to define Fuze’s singular contribution to the Zulu language canon. To understand the specificities of what these authors contributed to the historical memory and commemoration of the past we have to turn to an early twentieth scholar of the Zulu language, Clement Doke, who in the 1930s and 1940s published articles in the journal \textit{Bantu Studies} on the contemporary state of Zulu literature. Doke was also in the years 1932 to 1933 the convenor of a committee that investigated the state of African literatures in southern Africa. The committee’s report made special mention of newspapers as a medium through which “vernacular” writers were expressing their literary creativity. The authors of the report stated that,

“The part played by the “Native Press” constitutes a special subject fit for investigation…Much of the writing in newspapers is admittedly poor, but some is of a much higher standard. Often gems of literature, praise songs, history, folklore, etc., find their way into the Bantu papers. The best-known names are the following: Umteteli wa Bantu, Abantu-Batho (now defunct), Ilanga lase Natal, Imvo Zabantsundu…”\footnote{Clement M. Doke, ‘A Preliminary Investigation into the State of the Native Languages of South Africa with Suggestions as to Research and Development of Literature’, 28.}

Although Doke would not have used the term “memory” to describe the “gems of literature” which he enumerates, Fuze and his contemporaries imagined themselves as preservers of the collective memory of the Zulu people and Africans in general. Expressed differently, La Hausse argues that the Zulu intelligentsia of the early twentieth century, “confronted the challenge of rendering literate forms of knowledge in popularly accessible form”\footnote{la Hausse de Lalouvière, \textit{Restless Identities}, 265.}. Consequently, as populists they “had to create languages appropriate
to different audiences.

This same predicament and challenge is present even in the efforts of the earlier generation of Zulu intellectuals to which Fuze belongs. As in the 1910s and 1920s, the intellectual output of the writers who were Fuze’s contemporaries was imbricated in the politics of Zulu ethnic nationalism and the contingencies of a Zulu kingdom threatened with implosion and external invasion. Thus, memory does not just play the role of accounting for the present, but it is also a chronicle of the growth of this intellectual class. Selecting a single writer as a representative of this social and cultural milieu has the effect of occluding the fact that Fuze was not a lone voice but a participant in a dialogue that found the newspaper an amenable medium. Thus, medium and memory become one since Fuze and his contemporaries even debated whether copies of the newspaper should be collected and kept by readers. Importantly, as La Hausse notes, at the turn of the twentieth century, the bilingual newspaper Ilanga lase Natal, began publishing “turn-of-the-century reflections on ethnic history and identity [which] were not only the result of a deepening sense of pessimism about the future but also reflected a sagacious grasp of the politics of the history.”

The newspaper Ilanga lase Natal is central to understanding who Fuze was as a writer because it is here that he was given a platform to be both a popular historian and a prolific letter writer and commentator. This body of work also corresponds with Fuze’s twilight years and his explicit meditations on death and the afterlife. His relationship with the newspaper was however also personal since he was related to John Dube, the founder and editor of the newspaper. In the Prologue to The Black People and Whence They Came, Fuze describes his relationship to Dube by referencing the newspaper itself:

“For today we are fortunate in the mutual acquaintance we receive through the services of the newspaper [Ilanga lase Natal] produced by the son of a chief of the Ngcobo people, the Rev. J.L. Dube, son of James, also son of a chief, which makes observations for us throughout this country of ours in Africa.”

Contained in this introduction of Ilanga and Dube is the dual role of the editor as the creator of “mutual acquaintances” and the newspaper itself as playing the same role. When André Odendaal published his history of black protest politics, he underscored Dube’s poll position in early twentieth-century Natal African politics and how he had achieved this status partly through his editorship of Ilanga. As with its predecessor Ipepa lo Hlanga, which was founded in 1900, Ilanga was regarded as suspicious by the Natal authorities and his proof for this suspicious surveillance is that, “Regular translations of the newspaper’s Zulu columns in the Native Affairs Department files testify to this.”

Importantly, Dube’s Ilanga was also a founding example of the “black press” because of its geographical proximity and, for a brief period, shared printing press with Gandhi’s Indian Opinion. Both men were involved in imagining nations through the medium of the newspaper and although independent of each other, their proximity hints at the lost

---

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 12.
15 See Heather Hughes, First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC, 61.
16 Magema Fuze, The Black People and Whence They Came: A Zulu View, i.
17 André Odendaal, Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912, 62.
18 Ibid.
opportunity of dialogue between “India” and “Africa”. Moreover, in her recent biography of Dube, Heather Hughes warns against a quick reading of this proximity and shared infrastructure as a symbolic expression of common goals and ideologies. Rather, she paints a picture of two leaders who although aware of the existence of the other’s struggles were nonetheless separated by politics and prejudice. The fact of interdependence, especially in advertising, between Indian merchants and African newspapers, she argues, may have served to intensify the communal animosities rather than quell them.¹⁹ Thus, if as La Hausse asserts, Dube often wrote in Ilanga to express “his own sense of history as the discourse of identity”²⁰, he probably shared these sentiments with and encouraged Fuze’s experimentation with different modes of writing history. This is especially evident in the fact that although Fuze published articles in Ilanga in the nineteen teens, he was never explicitly introduced to the readers by an editorial written by Dube. It is as if both Dube and Fuze assumed that Fuze, perhaps through his previous writing and work with missionary presses, was familiar to the readers and therefore needed no introduction. Such tacit agreements with the reading public seemed to have relied on a shared “discourse of identity” which went beyond the obvious ethnic and cultural affinity but was also about Fuze’s identity as a writer. By extension, the invisible personal signature which identified Fuze as a writer also undersigned what would become his “self-archive” – that is, since his authorial voice was distinct and identifiable to the readers, it also meant that Fuze was potentially aware that the newspaper itself was the site of his archiving.

Thus, it is not surprising that when Fuze announced that he was writing a book, he did so on the pages of Ilanga and continued to use the pages of the newspaper to appeal for financial support. On February 25 of 1921 he published a letter titled “Ngebhuku laBantu” (On the Black People’s Book)²¹ in which he not only named some of his sponsors but castigated his readers for expecting the book to write itself. In several statements in this letter Fuze makes it apparent that the work of writing a book is handiwork and cannot be accomplished without the “hands” of the creative person who is the author. This extended disquisition on the role of the author as a creator is amongst Fuze’s most articulate testimonies about the vocation of writing. Although it is not possible to accurately date when Fuze actually began writing Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona²² since his translator Harry Lugg states that he met Fuze in 1902 and that,

“He had then written or partially written his book, and was a frequent visitor to our Native Affairs Department seeking financial aid for its publication.”²³

it is clear that by the time he published the book, Fuze was adept at negotiating the volatile politics and economics of publishing in a colonial society. His own struggles to find patrons to subvent his book symbolise the predicaments of being a black and vernacular-language writer in South Africa. His life as a writer therefore consists of the

---

¹⁹ Hughes, First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC, 111, Hofmeyr, Gandhi’s Printing Press: Experiments in Slow Reading, 10.
²⁰ la Hausse de Lalouvière, Restless Identities, 12.
²¹ Fuze, Ngebhuku laBantu, 2.
²² Fuze, Abantu Abamnyama.
simultaneous pressures of being given recognition by the publishing world while also creating or satisfying an audience that may or may not be receptive to your ideas. In this chapter, I will present Magema Fuze as an author who was acutely aware of the fact that his audience was not just his contemporaries but that writing was an implicit engagement with one’s posterity and also with the posterity of one’s words. This double-consciousness erupted on the pages of *Ilanga lase Natal* as Fuze and his readers debated the immortality of the soul while also speculating on the future of isiZulu (Zulu) words and literature.

Although he was a singular voice, it is important to note that Fuze was not entirely unique in his preoccupations. In real terms his lifestyle spans the period that marked the destruction of the Zulu kingdom, and therefore the end of Zulu self-determination, while the end of his life coincided with the emergence of explicitly nationalist and Africanist political organizations. These two historical polarities allow him to be compared to other “mission-educated” writers in the region while also allowing for his own emergent nationalist awakening. When compared to other mission converts, Fuze could be said to represent the “accelerated development” which Mgadla and Volz note in the Batswana converts who read and contributed to the newspaper *Mahoko a Becwana* (published from 1883 until 1896). In the same way that these Setswana writers were juggling competing identities of being “Tswana”, “Christian” and “South African”, Fuze was likewise contending with equivalent identities and also the inevitable pressure to conform to and confirm the “assumed existence of a cultural unity among the newspaper’s readers” even while newspapers were becoming the repositories of “standard, official written language.” By contrast, the end of his life in 1922 also terminated his potential as an explicitly nationalist writer. In his study of the weekly *Abantu-Batho* (The People) which was published from 1912 until 1931, Peter Limb notes how the establishment of the African National Congress (ANC) and this allied newspaper, was the beginning of the era of the “subaltern press” which was more radical and independent in comparison to the mission-based newspapers which preceded it. Thus, from a geographical and national purview Fuze was a hybridized writer who embodied both the dilemmas of Christian and mission-based writing as well as the later nationalist discourses which would dominate the “protest press” of the early twentieth century.

**Epistolary Assemblies**

Although he seems to have written for *Ilanga lase Natal* from its inception in 1903, Fuze’s writing career began elsewhere. As might be expected of an *ikholwa*, Fuze’s writing began on the mission station of Bishopstowe / Ekukhanyeni with John William Colenso his mentor. However, contrary to the biographies of other *kholwa* writers, Fuze did not begin by writing religious text or working for the mission press. Instead, Fuze’s literary career began with travel writing. When Colenso visited the aging Zulu king, Mpande, in 1859, he gave his young charges notebooks and he instructed them to keep diaries. He then published these accounts as *Three Native Accounts of the Visit of the*

---

25 Ibid., xix.
The genre of travel writing would appear again in 1877 when Fuze made his own journey to Zululand and published this account as “A Visit to King Ketshwayo.”

The first exercise in printing by Fuze, as a young and trained printer, is an idiosyncratic versified transcription of everyday conversations, which Colenso titled “Amazwi Abantu” (The People’s Words [Voices]) and then sent to Wilhelm Bleek in Cape Town. The two texts, *Three Native Accounts* and “Amazwi Abantu” represent the “mission” period in Fuze’s development as a writer since they were the product of his tutelage by Colenso. However, this is not to suggest that they are devoid of an imaginative and singular authorial voice. On the contrary, even as a young man, Fuze was able to appreciate the unique social milieu of the mission station since many of the residents often received news and rumours coming southward from the “Zulu country”, that is, the independent Zulu kingdom. Also included were the names and sometimes descriptions of human and veterinary diseases and cures. Such a medley is therefore not easy to categorise but it could be described as a *vox populi* and a barometer of the social norms, values and vocal styles of the inhabitants of Ekukhanyeni and its surrounds. When considered as part of Fuze’s body of work, these mission life narratives presage Fuze’s later engagement with the more substantive question of Colenso’s role and impact as a missionary. Thus, by the time he published his biographical series “Ukutunywa kukaSobantu” (Sobantu’s Mission) in *Ilanga* in 1920, Fuze had had some experience in writing within the liminal space between biography and autobiography since he was writing about his own experiences as a Christian convert and resident of Ekukhanyeni and also taking stock of the legacy of his guardian, John William Colenso. Thus, competing genres and modes of self-expression were part of Fuze’s training and aspirations as a writer; he continued to mix and match these genres and was never writing from within only one type. In thinking about what connects his newspaper writing, his epistolary dialogues and his seminal book, it is therefore paramount not to assume that these were markers of a teleological maturation in his writing. Rather, it is more useful to think of Fuze as the consummate *bricoleur*, that is, he deployed whatever genre and style of writing was useful to his purpose. Importantly, even his final statement, the book *Abantu Abamnyama*, has the character of a stitched text since portions of it correspond almost exactly to a series he published in *Ilanga lase Natal* in 1921 under the title “UDinuzulu: Uku zalwa Nokuba-ko Kwake” (Dinizulu: His Birth and Existence). Thus, although it is true that as with other African literates and devotees of the written word, Fuze was part of the institutionalization of the printing press that “made it possible to realign a diverse heterocosm of cultural identities into the makings of a more singular

---

26 John William Colenso, *Three Native Accounts of the Visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus* and the text became an early “classic” of Zulu literature. 
27 Alain Ricard, *The Languages and Literatures of Africa: The Sands of Babel*, 111-112.
29 Magema Fuze (Magwaza), ‘A Visit to King Ketshwayo’.
30 Magema Fuze, *Amazwi Abantu*.

---
cultural order,” it is also equally true that his writing practice and self-conception as a writer were always heterodox.

In practical terms, the relationship between newspaper writing and other types of texts can be explained as a consequence of Fuze’s participation in various epistolary networks. These networks, writes Khumalo, consisted of a variety of writers who having “mastered the technology of letter-writing, they sought to conquer space through ink and were able to establish connections that did not rely on physical face-to-face proximity.”

Although Khumalo is mainly writing about letters that were exchanged via the colonial postal service, this concept is not limited to these instruments of interpersonal and direct communication since as he notes, “the network shaped what I call here a sphere; that is, an imaginary environment where these letter-writers felt free to converse among themselves about issues that affected their lives. Such an environment was akin to what the writers called an ibandla.” It is this constituent assembly of letter-writers and readers that was transferred to the emerging newspaper culture of the late nineteenth century. As I observed in an “Assembly of Readers”, the term ibandla derives its power and significance from the fact that it has both mundane and profound meanings:

“This broad sphere of readers and writers was dubbed an ‘ibandla’, a term with both traditional and modern connotations, including a gathering or assembly, a denomination or congregation, and a meeting rhetorically addressed. This ambiguity enabled the term in both its traditional and religious senses to ‘summon’ an audience. My reference to an ‘assembly of readers’ recognises that the term ‘ibanlala’ encompassed both ‘traditionalists’ and ‘the converted’. The Ekukhanyeni ‘Class of 1856’,35 in popularising Zulu-language publications, were instrumental in creating this assembly of readers and in thereby founding a Zulu literary culture that borrowed its idiom of readership from the traditional vocabulary of public assembly.”36

When readers were assembled around a letter or a newspaper, it became an object for public discussion. As Khumalo writes, it was assumed that letters were written to be read in public and privacy had to be explicitly specified: “…most letters were read in public. If a writer wanted a letter to be private, he or she needed to insist that a particular letter was directed specifically to one person. For if that was not specified, everybody could gain access to people’s ‘private matters.’”37 This lack of a boundary between the private and

---

33 Ibid.
34 Hlonipha Mokoena, ‘An Assembly of Readers: Magema Fuze and his Ilanga lase Natal Readers’.
35 Khumalo, ‘The Class of 1856 and the Politics of Cultural Production(s) in the Emergence of Ekukhanyeni, 1855-1910’.
the public was also essential to the published letters that readers sent to newspapers. In the late 1890s when Fuze wrote for two newspapers *Inkanyiso Yase Natal* (The Enlightener of Natal, established in 1889) and *Ipepa Lo Hlanga* (The National Newspaper, established in 1894), he transferred to these new media not only the culture of the Ekukhanyeni epistolary network, but also to some extent the conventions of public address that had governed his letter-writing activities. The novelty of *Inkanyiso*, for example, is that although it began as an Anglican mission newspaper, printed at St. Alban’s College in Pietermaritzburg, editorial control was quickly given to the Africans who wrote and contributed to it. As the “first native journal in Natal,” 38 *Inkanyiso* exhibited the “protest” language that would be present in Dube’s *Ilanga*. Although the full extent of Fuze’s contribution to *Inkanyiso* and *Ipepa Lo Hlanga* cannot be spelled out here, it is sufficient to point out that the readership of both newspapers was impressive: by 1891 *Inkanyiso* claimed to have 2,500 subscribers 39 while *Ipepa* was not only the earliest known African-owned newspaper in Natal, it was also independent of missionary influence and many of its contributors were members of the Natal Native Congress. 40 To provide a sense of the coalescing and overlapping conventions of letter-writing and protest, it may be useful to read a letter that Fuze wrote and published in *Inkanyiso* in 1892 concerning the issue of Natal’s agitation for responsible government. It was one of several letters he wrote about the condition of being a colonial subject, but it also stands out because it articulates a controversial subject, which many readers were often afraid to write about lest they be accused of radicalism. A year earlier, Fuze had published a letter warning the readers to be vigilant and read government notices. The letter 41 that Fuze published in *Inkanyiso* on January 28, 1892 pointed to two aspects of colonial politics which he wanted the readers to write and think about: first, was the political implications of the colony of Natal being granted responsible government, 42 second was the absence of a person to represent the black people’s point of view. Although the letter is putatively addressed to the “Editor”, it is clear from his language that he is also simultaneously addressing the readership of the newspaper:

> MNGANE, –Epepeni lako lika Jan. 21, 1892, ngifumana amazwi ako okululeka uhlanga lwakiti, ngokuti uba “abamnyama babe nendoda yokubamela, ibe amehlo, ibe umlomo wabo, nxa kukulunywa umteto we Responsible Government.”

> Lawamazwi okusiluleka kwako ngiyawabonga, Mhleli, kodwa ngicela abafundi bepepa lako uba nabo bake bapendule ukuba batini ngalaw’amazwi, njengoba seloku waqala ukulumu ngalol’udaba kako noyedwa obuzisisayo kwabakiti uba yini yona leyo, sekuze kungekelo le’ndaba siyayazi, kubelapo

---

39 Ibid.
40 Ibid., 45.
41 The quality of the microfilm was very poor, so only the first two paragraphs of this letter are legible.
42 The colony was granted responsible government in 1893. For a thorough account on the history of Natal’s bid for representative government, and some descriptions of how it affected the lives and civil rights of Africans see Guest, ‘Towards responsible government, 1879-1893’.
FRIEND, – In your paper of Jan. 21, 1892, I found your words of advice to our kinfolk, saying what if “the black people had a man to represent them, to be their eyes, their mouth, when the law of Responsible Government is discussed.” I thank those words of advice, Editor, but I am asking the readers of your paper to at least reply and say something about these words, ever since you began talking about this matter there hasn’t been one who has asked from our kin about what it is, it is as if we know about this matter, when in fact we know nothing; since we are busy with quarrelsome matters that amount to nought and will not at all help us and our children who come after us.

In his previous letters about the nature of colonial governance, Fuze had resorted to metaphorical language and euphemism, but in this statement he is explicit about what it meant to live as a subject without political representation. As a committed newspaper writer, he however did not just end at being critical of the lack of representation. Instead, he offered the newspaper as a substitute for the absent representative. As with his other letters on the issue, the general tone and import of the argument is that he is requesting the readers to participate in the political debates on the pages of Inkanyiso. As is clear in this letter, the readers weren’t enthusiastic about criticising the colonial government. His own summation was that they were distracted by petty quarrels, and couldn’t see that their neglect of politics affected not just their future but that of their children. Fuze was therefore writing to accuse his readers of being inert and passive and by implication, highlighting his own activism and political vigilance. The fact of their observed silence may be yet more proof that they didn’t want to be identified with the “rebellious” ideas that Fuze was asking them to contemplate and write about. This sense of the newspaper as a sentinel also informed Dube’s editorship of Ilanga:

“Ilanga pledged to open the eyes of the people to their own best interests, and it took a strong position on what these were. Throughout its pages, but especially in editorials, was an exhortation to an ‘improving Christianity’: to gain education, start a business (and advertise it in Ilanga...), buy land, play an active role in social welfare, petition for the rights of citizenship – all in a measured and responsible, yet purposeful, manner...In calling for the defence of the uhlanqa, the African nation, by opposing injustice and the regrettable defects of colonial rule, it spoke for the literature and illiterate alike.”

Fuze would not have faulted the above summary of not only the career of John Dube as the founder and editor of Ilanga but of his own transition from the political activism that defined the mission station of Ekukhanyeni to the activism of the printed and political epistle. It is this transition that also created the possibilities and limits of a self-created archive: by being both a letter writer and a political commentator Fuze ensured that even

43 Fuze (Magwaza), Ku Mhleli we Nkanyiso.
44 Hughes, First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC, 104-105.
if he was not remembered by those who read his personal letters, he would be remembered by the readers of *Inkanyiso*, *Ipepa* and *Ilanga*.

**Performing Writing**

If Fuze’s earliest writing was characterized by heterodoxy and bricolage that was partly a consequence of the mission context from which he wrote, then we could date his emergence as an independent writer to the death of Colenso in 1883. By the time he died, Colenso was no longer just a missionary bishop and Zulu linguist,\(^{45}\) he was also an uSuthu advocate, that is, he was Cetshwayo’s supporter and defender. The death of Colenso also coincided rather tragically with the beginning of the civil war in Zululand that eventually led to the deposition of Cetshwayo, the partition of his kingdom and his eventual death in self-imposed exile in 1884. Fuze was Colenso’s amanuensis in cataloguing the atrocities committed by the British, often working in alliance with Cetshwayo’s enemies. The letter-writing activities noted above were in part in the service of this growing traffic in news and reports that traversed the ill-defined geography of “kingdom” versus “colony”. Africans such as Fuze who were living on mission stations were the embodiment of this binary: although on paper they were “British subjects”, in reality they were often called upon to speak to or on behalf of the denizens of the Zulu kingdom to whom they were often tied by threads of kinship, imagined and real. The death of Colenso, and other unanticipated events such as the fire that gutted Bishopstowe and his printing press in 1884, pushed Fuze towards a more precarious existence as a typesetter. He was however never too far away from the legacy of Colenso which was carried forward after his death by his daughter, Harriette Colenso. In an unexpected turn to the publication of *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual*,\(^ {34}\) an antiquarian bookseller\(^ {46}\) contacted me about a curious document he had found between the pages of a book in his stock. The document is headed with the hand-written inscription “With Miss Colenso’s compliments” and the typewritten heading reads “Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa Bavela Ngakona: Table of Contents.” There is no date on the document but unexpectedly it is written in English rather than Zulu which is unusual for Fuze. The fact that the hand-written inscription refers to “Miss Colenso”, presumably Harriette Colenso,\(^ {47}\) suggests that if it was written by Fuze, it was meant to function as a prospectus for interested publishers and patrons. The directness and halting quality of the prose gives away Fuze’s discomfort at using the English language to promote a text that was in Zulu. It is therefore surprising to read one of the opening articles of the prospectus:

IX. – Been striving long time for this performance, till at last N.J.N. Masuku seconds me, and I believe that soon very many will want their children taught in schools from it, whence we come.\(^ {19}\)

---

\(^{45}\) For a concise summary of Colenso’s contribution to Zulu linguistics and lexicography, see Doke, ‘Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century’, 234-235.

\(^{46}\) Thank you to Ian Snelling from SA Book Connection in Hillcrest, KwaZulu-Natal for contacting me about this document and sending me scanned copies.

\(^{47}\) See Jeff Guy’s *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle Against Imperialism*, *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle Against Imperialism*..
All the paragraphs in the prospectus are numbered with Roman numerals, which suggests that Fuze was excerpting the main points of his argument and attempting to put this in a précis of some kind. But, the real revelation of article IX is that Fuze used the word “performance” to define his task of writing and soliciting funds for the publication of his book. This use of the notion of performance has a literal quality to it because he was translating from his isiZulu text and providing the English reader with a concise summation of his struggles as a writer. Yet, when this is compared to the final published text, then a different meaning of “performing” becomes apparent.

In a letter published in the bilingual Zulu-English newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal*, Fuze wrote a lengthy update addressed to his readers about the funding he had received but also asking for more support. The letter articulates what Fuze understood to be the vocation of a printer and importantly, he also used the letter to share his work ethic and aspirations as a writer. Some of his main sponsors included Nicholas Masuku, N. J. N. Masuku, R. M. Siboto and his own son Solomon. Fuze then chastised his other readers by telling them that:

Inningi leli litule liqintile, libheke ukuba innewadi lena izadorindzele yona ngokwayo, ukuze liti libona ibe sei yisideku esipeleleyo, esizenxileyo.

Kanti, bakiti, awuko nowodwa umsebenzi ozenzayo. Konke kwensiwa ng’abantu ngezandhla nangekanda. Seloku kwakunjalo nasendulo njengoba kuse njalo nanamuhi, abantu bayasebenza ngezandhla nangamatupana abo, basebenza imisebenzi eyakucina ngokubekwa ng’abanye; bati bonke labo abayibukayo balinganise osongati azenziwangwa ngezandhla. The majority of you are silent and idly standing by, expecting that the book will print itself, so that you will suddenly find that it is a substantial and complete thing that has made itself.

On the contrary, folks, there is no work that completes itself. Everything is done by people with hands and mind. It’s been like that since time immemorial and it’s still like that today, people work with their hands and fingers, they do work that others will marvel at; and those who see the work will pass judgement [compare] as if it wasn’t done by hands.

Fuze was essentially telling his readers that they did not understand the labour and sacrifice involved in being a printer and writer. There is a clear tone of irritation in his castigating statements but there is also a lesson in the work ethic, which he thinks has existed since time immemorial.

In the translated book, *The Black People and Whence They Came*, Fuze’s voice of an irritated and frustrated writer turns to resignation as he commends his patron Masuku while also reminding the readers that he has been requesting their support for some time. He wryly states:

For a very long time I have been urging our people to come together and produce a book about the black people and whence they came, but my entreaties have been to no avail. Had they complied, the book would have been produced many years ago.50

It is at this point that he mentions the patronage of “Mr. N.J.N. Masuku” without whom the book would not have been published. The above English translation however lacks the nuance of the original isiZulu text in which Fuze distinguished between the published book (“le’ncwadi”) and his envisioned book (“l’ibhuku). In the original Zulu text the last sentence reads: “Sekweqe iminyaka nezikati engakube le’ncwadi seyaba l’ibhuku ukuba bavumile ukukwenza loko.”51 Superficially, it could be said that Fuze is merely using incwadi (book / letter) and ibhuku (the transliteration of the word “book) as synonyms; this is the opinion and choice of the translator. However, another interpretation is also possible. If we follow the logic of Fuze’s use of the word “performance” then the alternating use of “letter” and “book” refers to the fact that he sees his own effort as minor compared to his intended “performance”, namely, the production of a cultural encyclopaedia and historical text. In other words, Fuze probably thought of Aabantu Abamnyama as a monologic treatise that fell short of the dialogic compendium which he had envisioned. For him therefore, “performance” would have consisted of collective labour whose outcome would have been a book with many authors rather than a “letter” authored by a single voice. This is not to suggest that Fuze was reverting to some pre-colonial “communal” value. Rather, it is to suggest that his conception of a book on the history of “the black people” implied multiple authors since it was such an enormous task. The fact that his contemporaries did not respond to his entreaties is the reason why he has become the sole author of the text. In this too, the notion of a “self-archive” becomes important since the failure of the collective to support Fuze necessarily ends with him being a sole author and therefore also the author of his own archive.

In comparing the publication of Fuze’s Aabantu Abamnyama to that of his near contemporary and popular historian Petros Lamula’s UZulukaMalandela52 (published in 1924), La Hausse offers several explanations for why Fuze’s book was not the success he hoped it would be. Firstly, he points to the fact that the book received very little publicity in the black press and secondly, that Fuze died in 1922 the same year the book was published. Importantly, the lack of capital and the low buying power of literate Africans meant that, “for a black writer to publish a book in Zulu during the 1920s was an historic act of courage bordering on the reckless.”53 Thus, what La Hausse calls the “vagaries of the 1920s book market” must have impacted on the availability and sale of Fuze’s book. This makes it near impossible to estimate the costs of publication since Fuze never revealed the amount of money he had received from his main sponsor N.J.N. Masuku. However, there is yet another possible explanation. The presence of the prospectus written in English also underscores a second aspect of Magema Fuze’s life as a writer and

50 Fuze, The Black People, v.
51 Fuze, Aabantu Abamnyama, ix.
52 Petros Lamula, UZulukaMalandela. A Most Practical and Concise Compendium of African History Combined with Genealogy, Chronology, Geography and Biography.
53 la Hausse de Lalouviére, Restless Identities, 103.
that is that regardless of his commitment to the publication of books written in isiZulu, the English-speaking world of newspapers and book publishing was hovering in the background influencing the “standards” expected of a publication but also competing for the limited numbers of patrons of “Zulu books”. Thus, when Fuze published his book in 1922 in the original isiZulu he was taking sides in a cultural tussle that had no clear rules of engagement. While missionaries and colonial administrators such as Henry Callaway, author of The Religious System of the Amazulu; A.T. Bryant who wrote Olden Times in Zululand and Natal; and Harry Lugg (Fuze’s translator and former magistrate) and others were compiling books and dictionaries on Zulu culture and language, Fuze and his contemporaries contested some of these publications on the pages of newspapers. A bilingual dialogue was therefore an inevitable consequence of the large presence of English-speaking readers who were interested in Zulu culture and who were also publishing in newspapers and in book form their own versions of this culture.

Secondarily, the publication of The Black People and Whence They Came in English in 1979, converted Abantu Abamnyama from being a collector’s item and into an accessible text that could be annotated and used in the many debates on Zulu history that were raging in the 1970s and 1980s. As a writer Fuze is therefore available as both a vernacular and a translated author. He is thus a “translated man”. When considered as a translated man, Fuze’s authorship of Abantu Abamnyama fits into the general predicament of defining the task of translation. As Walter Benjamin expressed it:

“…a translation issues from the original – not so much from its life as from its afterlife. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life.”

The notion of an “afterlife” of a written text implies that there will always be a disjuncture and incommensurability between reading a translated text and comparing it with the original thought and ideas that inspired the untranslated text.

The accidental resurfacing of Fuze’s Abantu Abamnyama prospectus also adds new meaning to the notion of an “afterlife” while also revealing the type of audience and readership he was anticipating while writing the book. The fact that the prospectus was written in English for a book that was to be published in the Zulu language means that the act of compiling the prospectus was already an act of translation or even an anticipation of translation. By giving the English-speaking reader a pointed summary of his Zulu book, Fuze was both approximating and distancing himself from the missionary and amateur scholarship that had defined the literature on Zulu culture. He was expressing his awareness that his work could only be published if it had the support and maybe even imprimatur of the extant experts on Zulu culture. These readers were also linked to

54 One such debate is the “Mfecane” debate – namely, the question of whether the emergence and rulership of Shaka Zulu precipitated the dispersal of populations living in close proximity to the Zulu kingdom. Although there were many instalments in the development of the “Mfecane” debate, the best anthology on the historiography is Hamilton, The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History.


56 Walter Benjamin, Illuminations, 71.
networks of patronage so it was equally important to address them as potential funders. The confluence between readership and power asserts itself most forcefully in Fuze’s colonial setting since Fuze had to also be aware that he was addressing readers who played dual roles in the colony.

Thus, “performing” writing was for Fuze about linking his newspaper readers to a future and envisioned book-reading public. It was about extending the temporalities of reading by expecting readers to contribute to the debates in the weeklies while also projecting into the future and producing amabhuku (“books”). In Fuze’s idealization of the practice of writing, the individuality of the author did not preclude the collective action of compiling an anthology of texts for the benefit of future generations. This explicit engagement with the future is in itself a performance because it implies that as an author Fuze had to assume that his particular obsession with the origins of “the black people” would have longevity and be able to vivify future debates about history and Zulu culture. This assumption is especially important considering that Fuze was a colonial subject and he was aware of how much the power of the colonial state and its administrators influenced the kinds of texts available to African-language readers. His book was meant to address this specific paucity but it was also meant to contest the terrain that was being charted by the bureaucrat-authors who were civil servants within the British empire and also dilettanti of Zulu culture and history. His being a colonised subject thus meant that the domain of reading and writing was for Fuze also circumscribed by the contingencies of colonial over-rule. Whether it was on the pages of newspapers or in his book Abantu Abamnyama Fuze was aware that publishing was about timeliness and his own lifetime’s worth of colonial experiences meant that he wanted to produce a record of his own politicization but also express a grander theory about what “the black people” were before the arrival of European colonialism. The performing of writing is thus a contemporary response to colonial subjecthood that he hoped would resonate with future generations who may or may not be caught in the same predicament.

Lost Lives / Lost Generations

One of the ways in which Fuze uses writing to ensure his posterity is by writing about the death (and lives) of others. As a former student of Ekukhanyeni and Colenso’s printer, he writes about the personalities who inhabited his life on the mission station with vivacity touched by a nostalgia for the bygone era of the “noble” missionary. His coming-of-age story as a young man and student at Colenso’s school is part of the obituary he wrote for another former student and friend, Bubi [Mubi] Nondenisa.57 However, the fullest expression of Fuze’s awareness that his life was enmeshed with the legacy of his missionary mentor, John William Colenso, is the series of articles he published in Ilanga in 1920 with the title Ukutunywa kukaSobantu (Sobantu’s Mission).58 The latter was not just an obituary of Colenso, who had been dead since 1883, but a retrospective on the meaning of conversion, mission life, education, conquest and Christian ethics. The fact that it took Fuze 37 years to write his mentor’s memoirs is not a reflection of neglect or

---


58 Fuze’s biography of his mentor, Colenso receives extensive close reading in Mokoena ‘The Queen’s Bishop: A Convert’s Memoir of John W. Colenso’.
forgetfulness. Rather, the publication of the series of articles on *Sobantu* (“Father of the People”, Colenso’s Zulu name) was only a recent example of Fuze’s version of Colenso’s biography. In 1901, he and Bubi had written another series of articles on Colenso and his mission station and school, and published it in the newspaper *Ipepa lo Hlanga*. Thus, it is possible to state that Fuze’s role as a biographer was an evolving one rather than a once-off instance of memorialization. This implies that, despite or because of the ravages of time, Fuze was constantly revising and retelling the story of his own conversion and maturation. He perceived even his autobiography to be a narrative that could be retold and re-edited as the years went by. These meditations on loss and death culminated, and may even have been the product of Fuze’s most radical reinterpretation of his biblical and religious education, namely, that in the last years of his life he published a series of articles in *Ilanga* titled *Umuntu Kafi Apele* (“When a Person Dies That is not the End of Him”). Although it would be simplistic to equate Fuze’s grief at being the sole survivor and inheritor of the Colenso legacy with his articulation of eschatological ideas that differed from his Christian faith, there is nonetheless a parallelism that exists between his meditations on death, as the end of life or not, and his exhortations for his work to be carried forth by future generations. It could be argued that while contemplating his own mortality, Fuze also thought about the destiny of the “race” or nation.

In his preoccupation with end-of-life narratives and obituaries, Fuze was typical of a newspaper writer and reader of his generation. As part of the staple of local and international news, death was routinely written about in the bilingual black press. The obituaries of both ordinary and notable personalities were regularly published. The *kholwa* community was especially concerned to commemorate the lives of those Africans who had served as missionaries or clerics. Peculiarly however, the vocabulary for writing about death could vary markedly. An advert printed in *Ipepa Lo Hlanga* in 1901 represents the instability and irregularity in the writing of advertising copy since the owner, presumably “J. Coney”, describes himself as a “maker of sleeping boxes” (“Umenzi Wama Bhokisi Okulala”). It is not until one reads the entire advert that one realizes that “J. Coney” is a coffin maker rather than a cot or bedstead maker. By contrast, the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 was written about in both isiZulu and English and the language in both was very precise. In the Zulu version published in *Ilanga lase Natal* on November 19, 1915, the author of the notice writes that Booker T. Washington was the formidable principal of Tuskegee (“iPrincipal etusekayo yeTuskegee”). However what is notable is that even in this very brief notice, the emphasis is on Washington’s character. The writer notes that, “Kufe indoda yamadoda eyabe ihlonitshwa na amakosi abelungu” (“A man amongst men has died; he was respected even by white leaders”). The last sentence of the death notice leaves the reader in anticipation since it states that the full account of his life and work will be written about in the forthcoming edition. This full account is however not published until January 14, 1916 and it is in English and clearly copied verbatim from an American newspaper. The switch between the two languages clearly assumes bilingualism on the part of the readers.

Only the reader who had read the first notice on his death published four days after the event would have waited to read the obituary published nearly two months after Washington’s death. The obituary moreover is notable because it preserves the “timeliness” of the original obituary. Even though Ilanga published the obituary on January 14, the text still reads, “died early to-day Nov. 14”. Although this exemplifies the cut-and-paste modus operandi of these bilingual newspapers, it also reinforces their dependency on a network of other publications since African newspapers were not part of the Associated Press and other wire services to which the English-speaking newspapers had access to. Yet, despite these limitations, these newspapers still treated their readers as if the news of Booker T. Washington’s death was “hot off the wires”. This deliberate anachronism is at once disturbing since it attempts to create the false impression of urgency and yet, even despite this, it cannot be argued that Washington’s obituary had somehow lost its urgency two months after his passing. Regardless of the reasons for the failure to edit the obituary, its inclusion represents a much broader question of the relationship between kholwa ideals of the self and the content of the newspaper. Each edition of Ilanga could contain news about sporting events, weddings, divorces and of course obituaries and there wasn’t a distinction between “news” and “lifestyle” columns and items. The layout of the newspaper suggests a continuity between kholwa self-awareness and notions of progress espoused in editorials and articles. To understand this self-awareness, Tim Couzens cites the seminal importance of the publication in 1930 of T.D. Mweli Skota’s The African Yearly Register: Being an Illustrated National Biography Dictionary (Who’s Who) of Black Folks in Africa. What was distinctive about Skota’s register was not only that it included the biographies of the living as well as the dead, but that there were recurring phrases and patterns. One example that Couzens writes about is the recurrent presence of the word “progressive” and he notes:

“The word ‘progressive’ appears fourteen times in eighty-five portraits; this must have some significance. In fact, the word is clearly the ideological touchstone or keyword of the whole book.”

In her biography of John Dube, Heather Hughes identifies Dube’s publication in 1928 of a Zulu book titled Ukuziphatha Kahle (Good Manners) as an expression of the “insistent effort among the African intelligentsia through the 1920s to demonstrate progress, respectability and capacity for civilisation.” More importantly, she defines this genre as “conduct of life literature” and notes, “Ukuziphatha belongs to that genre that became known as conduct of life literature, after Ralph Waldo Emerson’s volume of the same name, with its central question, ‘How shall I live?’ Such works explored the relationship between fate and character, interior self and public persona...The conduct of life idea featured strongly in the works of thinkers as widely divergent as Booker Washington and Marcus Garvey. While it had been a them in Dube’s earlier work, this was his more sustained attempt to lay down a series of guidelines that might yield results in South African conditions, where alignment of old and new was an added concern.”

---

61 Hughes, First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC, 238.
62 Ibid., 239.
Such then was the literary culture and conventions on writing about loss and death that Magema Fuze was contributing to when he wrote his belated obituaries of his contemporaries and missionary mentor. The fact that Magema Fuze waited for over three decades to write and publish an appraisal of his mentor’s career as a missionary and bishop shows that he was following the conventions of the newspapers he routinely published in: death and loss could be written about days, months and years after they had actually taken place. This explains why when Fuze published *Ukutunywa kukaSobantu*, he still elicited passionate responses from readers. The latter still remembered the controversies surrounding Colenso but they were also perhaps now ready to deliberate on the metaphoric meaning of Fuze’s biography. That is, after three decades had passed, these *kholwa* literates could distance themselves from the history of nineteenth-century missionary work and think about the twentieth-century decline in the idealistic aspirations that Fuze’s generation had imbibed from mission schools and radical thinking mentors such as Colenso.

At least one of these idealistic aspirations was the notion of nationalist revival. In order to understand why Fuze writes so volubly about the political necessity of “unity” and cultural resurgence, one has to be willing to accept the congruence that he draws between the organic lifespan of a person and the organic lifespan of a nation. In a telling metaphor, Fuze calls for unity in the following terms:

“You will attain nothing by your present state of disorganization. Unite in friendliness like the enlightened nations. Do not merely look on heedlessly when others are being exploited. So long as you desire evil to one another, you will never be a people of any consequence; but you will become the manure for fertilizing the crops of the enlightened nations, disorderly, useless, and without responsibility.”

By equating the creation of a nation with the organic processes of agriculture and cultivation Fuze was explicitly making a nationalist argument that also appealed to his *kholwa* readers who aspired to emulate the progress of “enlightened nations”. By cautioning them to first solidify into a united body before pursuing their individual desires, Fuze was also making it clear that his book was a political tract and it should be read thus.

**Conclusion**

The uniqueness of Magema Fuze as a biographical subject rests on many pillars: he was the first Zulu speaker to publish a book in the Zulu language; he was trained as a printer for the infamous Bishop of Natal, Colenso; he was a witness to the many events and conspiracies that led to the destruction of the Zulu kingdom begun in 1879 and he was a compelling writer whose literary career only becomes visible once we go beyond the publication in 1922 of *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona*. Although important and certainly the source of Fuze’s literary longevity the 1922 book only makes sense when understood as the final stage in a continuum of writerly interventions and expositions that had engaged Fuze for much of his adult life. That he was consciously pursuing the posterity conferred by a published *oeuvre* is clearly evident in the numerous

---

letters he wrote to his readers explaining his encyclopaedic project of writing the history of the “black people and whence they came”. Whether one regards the publication of Abantu Abamnyama as a successful outcome of this objective is immaterial to the fact that Fuze succeeded in getting his name associated with a historical endeavour that was not realized in his lifetime but which now reveals to us the innumerable losses suffered by black intellectuals in nineteenth-century South Africa. Although his work could now simply be dismissed as “self-archiving” in an autobiographical sense, this chapter has attempted to show that even during his lifetime Fuze understood the “self-archive” to be a communal enterprise as much as an individualist confession. His continuous addressing of an audience, contemporary and future, shows that he was aware that even as he was expressing his own disappointment at the lack of financial support for his book, future generations would want to read about their history, culture and the immediate events surrounding his life about which he was such a vocal and gifted historian.
Bibliography:


Callaway, Rev. Canon [Henry]. *The Religious System of the Amazulu. Izinyanga Zokubula. Or, Divination as Existing among the Amazulu in Their Own Words with a Translation into English and Notes.* (Springvale; Pietermaritzburg; Durban: John A. Blair; Davis and Sons; Adams & Co, 1870).


Colenso, John W. *Three Native Accounts of the Visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus; With Explanatory Notes and a Literal Translation, and a Glossary of All the Zulu Words Employed in the Same: Designed for the Use of Students of the Zulu Language.* Third ed. (Pietermaritzburg: Vause, Slatter, & Co., 1901).


Fuze (Magwaza), Magema, “Ku Mhleli we Nkanyiso,” *Inkanyiso*, 28 January 1892.


