

**A Biography on Inkosi Albert John
Mvumbi Luthuli as an African
Intellectual**

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SAMKELO NTOBEKO VUKANI

MNGADI

Supervised by Prof. Alan Kirkaldy

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late mother,
Buyisiwe Zamangema Pearl Mngadi,
mama lala ngokuthula, umfana wakho uqhubekela la wagcina khona!
And Bayi Peterson Mngadi.

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Do All things for the Glory of God – 1 Corinthians 10:31

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List of Abbreviations

AAWMA	AFRICAN & AMERICAN WORKING MEN'S ASSOICATION
AIC	AFRICAN INITIATED CHURCHES
ANC	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
ANCWL	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WOMEN'S LEAGUE
ANCYL	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE
AZM	AMERICAN ZULU MISSION
COD	CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
ICU	INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' UNION
NIC	NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
NNC	NATAL NATIVE CONGRESS
NEA	NATIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NP	NATIONAL PARTY
NRC	NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
MK	UMKHONTO WESIZWE
PAC	PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS
SANC	SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE CONGRESS
SANNC	SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS
TIC	TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

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1. Chapter One: Introduction

South Africa's transition from a white supremacist apartheid state to its modern democratic state was ushered into existence by decades of involvement from organisations and individuals in the People's Liberation Movement. This movement comprised ordinary and prominent African leaders from various racial, cultural, and political backgrounds and was informed by different thought and ideological schools. Since 1994, political history discourse has contained autobiographies and biographies on these individuals and organisations involved in this movement.¹ The literature describes the various roles they played within the movement, re-counting the ideologies they followed and strategies they used to fight against the colonial state. Scholarly work, like Mcebisi Ndletyana's edited work *African Intellectuals in 19th and early 20th century South Africa*, has described some of these individuals as intellectuals of the movement and views them as architects of our modern democratic state.²

At the turn of the 20th century, arguably at the helm of this movement, emerged intellectuals like John Langalibalele Dube, John Tengo Jabavu, Pixley ka Seme, Sol Plaatje, Charlotte Maxenge, Govan Mbeki and *inkosi* Albert Luthuli.³ Evidence of their intellectuality can be found within national policies, newspapers

¹ Pallo Jordan, *Oliver Tambo Remembered* (Johannesburg, 2007); Colin Bundy, *Govan Mbeki: a Jacana biography* (Auckland Park, 2012); Winnie Mandela, *491 Days: Prisoner Number 1323/69/Winnie Madikizela-Mandela* (Johannesburg, 2017); Nelson Mandela, 1918-2013, *Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (London, 1995); Bongani Nyoka, *Archie Mafeje/Bongani Nyoka* (Cape Town, 2019); Renier Schoeman and Daryl Swanepoel, *Unity in diversity: 100 years of ANC leadership, (1912-2012)* (Johannesburg, 2012); Mark Gevisser, *A legacy of liberation: Thabo Mbeki and the future of the South African dream* (New York, 2009); Ebrahim Harvey, *Kgalema Motlanthe: a political biography* (Auckland Park, 2012); William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC* (Cape Town, 2005).

² M. Ndletyana, "Introduction", in M. Ndletyana (ed.), *African Intellectuals in 19th and early 20th century South Africa* (Cape Town, 2008).

³ Chief Luthuli preferred the spelling Lutuli. However, I will be using the common spelling used in literature and followed by his descendant - Luthuli. *Inkosi* is the Zulu & Xhosa loose translation for Chief. In respect of the cultural heritage I share with Luthuli and in the spirit of transformation promoted by the Rhodes University's History Department, I would like to pay my respect to Luthuli and refer to him throughout my thesis as *inkosi* Luthuli. I will use 'Nkosi' to refer to Kings of the Zulu kingdom. I will use (*inkosi* – with a lower case 'i') as a title referring to lower level chief and appointed chiefs whilst I will use (Nkosi – Upper case 'N') to refer to Kings of the Zulu kingdom.

articles, pamphlets, public speeches and other public documents. Through their writing and public lectures, these intellectuals would cover a wide range of topics from economics, social cohesion, cultural values to politics. Many of them did not use only one topic to solve each socio-political issue that affected the African population. Instead, they used their knowledge from a vast range of subjects to provide their society with a solution. For example, if an African intellectual was proficient in economics and understood their social context, they typically had an in-depth understanding of labour issues and would use their knowledge of social cohesion and politics to explain the labour matter and provide solutions to that issue.

The purpose of this study is to take a look at one of these African leaders, *inkosi* Albert Luthuli through a biographical lens to assess whether he should be recognised as an African intellectual. Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu states that *inkosi* Luthuli is recognised as the father of South Africa's non-racialism.⁴ He used his moral authority in a historic fashion to influence the liberation movement to adopt non-violent resistance. During his time as President-General, he became the beacon of non-violente resistance. As the president of the liberation organisation, he delivered speeches that steered the African National Congress (ANC) and the liberation movement when the State escalated its oppression against Africans. The State retaliated by deposing him as an elected Chief, imprisoned him, imposed multiple bans on him in attempts to silence him. His intellect proved to be a threat to the State. He spoke out boldly against the apartheid state and advocated for chiefs, African people, African women, sugar farmers, and all oppressed racial groups. *Inkosi* Luthuli used his speeches to deliver political concepts like non-racialism, multiracialism, African nationalism and democracy into the public space. He cemented ANC's cooperation policy that created the environment for the existence of the Congress Alliance that produced the

⁴ Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, "On Nkosi Albert Luthuli Nobel Peace Prize Speech", *Prsence Africaine*, 185/186, 2012, p.121.

Freedom Charter. He spoke out against the oppression of not just South Africans but Africa and all oppressed groups internationally. He illustrated that he possessed geopolitics that would gain the attention of the world. He illustrated his geopolitics through his internationalism philosophy gained the international community's attention. *Inkosi* Luthuli was revered and respected by his Groutville community, the African community, South Africans of all racial groups and the the international community. His impact can be seen through him being the first African-born Nobel Peace Prize recipient. He pushed for the international community to place economic sanctions and believed that international sanctions were the appropriate non-violent method the global community could get involved in fighting apartheid.⁵ The purpose of this study will be to explore how a Christian Zulu Chief's intellectual thinking was able to move South Africa towards a multiracial democracy using non-violent resistance as a strategy to gain Africa and the world's attention—looking at him from the vantage point of being an African intellectual.

In South Africa's political history literature it is common to find the title of activist or politician in the descriptions of some of these African leaders, like *inkosi* Luthuli. However, the term 'intellectual' or 'African intellectual' is rarely used to describe some of these leaders, and *inkosi* Luthuli is no exception. In the rare instances where the title 'intellectual' is used to describe African leaders, the historian, author or scholar seldom takes the opportunity to describe to the reader what qualifies the individual as an 'African intellectual'. The purpose of this study will be to assess whether *inkosi* Luthuli should be recognized as an African intellectual. Before getting into the assessment, it is essential for the reader to understand the spirit and nature of the term. The term 'intellectual' applied in this study is not restricted to individuals within the formal western education realm like universities or similar spaces. The definition of intellectual is to be read

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.128.

broadly to include other spheres of society: cultural, political, art, and civil. This broad application of the meaning of intellectual is critical to the South African context given its colonial history and that many of its intellectuals occupied these alternative spaces. The study defines intellectuals as being individuals who play a significant role in influencing ideologies, passions, and society's visions.⁶ Intellectuals reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and carve out the image of the future of their society.⁷ The study borrows this view of an 'intellectual' from black intellectualism discourse. Grant Farred's 'What's My Name?: Organic and Vernacular Intellectuals' takes a look into defining intellectuals, specifically those that fall outside of the academic and journalism arena.⁸ The definition of intellectual is broadened to include individuals who did not occupy the academic definition from the likes of Martin Luther King Jr, Muhammad Ali, and Bob Marley. These intellectuals within African American communities politicized spaces that were not political spaces and did not occupy public office. They emerged within their communities as figures that advocated for the marginalized and used their cultural and moral authority in a historical fashion.⁹ They took statutory racial inequality to public spaces, thus bolstering the Civil Rights movement to the extent government was forced to listen and change legislation. Ferrad positioned his cultural figures like those mentioned above as "intellectuals" because they spoke for the marginal groups and brought up critical commentary on how their society functioned.¹⁰ They did this outside formal intellectual spaces as individuals that did not come from the traditional intelligentsia. He argues for them to be seen as intellectuals because they carefully thought about their society, crafted a language for their communities through images, metaphors and phrases. They even critiqued political establishment in

⁶ Thandika Mkandawire (ed), *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development* (London, 2005), p.1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁸ Grant Aubrey Farred, *What's My Name?: Organic and Vernacular Intellectuals*, (Princeton University, 1997).

⁹ Farred, *What's My Name*, p.5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.8.

public spaces and were ready to defend their positions publically. Farred argues for them to be seen as intellectuals for their ability to speak to their communities and their interest in the broader issue of international black liberation and independence.¹¹ The study will draw from Farred and scholars that interpret intellectuals in this broad nature. Arguably *inkosi* Luthuli, although having received formal education, exercised his intellectual thinking outside the formal structures and practised it through his chieftaincy and predominantly as President-General. One can draw on the similarities between the individuals Farred recognized as intellectuals with *inkosi* Luthuli. Thus thesis seeks to identify Africa's first African-born Nobel Peace Prize Laureate recipient, *inkosi* Luthuli, as an African Intellectual. His thinking and vision for the future of South Africa gained the world's attention. His thinking nurtured the continued adoption of cooperation policy, democracy and multiracialism as part of the liberation movement's approach to fighting the apartheid regime. He believed South Africans could defeat the white supremacist State using non-violent resistance strategies.

Earlier, Ndletyana's work on South African intellectuals has been mentioned. He broadly classifies 'African Intellectuals' as persons who have used their intellectual traditions to shape and impact society's culture, without the erosion of language and tradition, while giving a voice to those who have been silenced.¹² It focuses on the Eastern Cape's narrative of the origins of South Africa's intellectual tradition. These intellectuals form part of South Africa's enlightenment period during its colonial phase. Raymond Suttner further elaborates that the intellectuals within the political sphere carried the responsibility of explaining the intricacies of apartheid.¹³ These intellectuals were

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.9.

¹² Ndletyana, *African Intellectuals*, p.viii.

¹³ Raymond Suttner, 'The Character and formation of intellectuals within the South African liberation movement', paper presented to CODESRIA's 30th Anniversary Conference, Dakar, 8-11 December 2003, p.5.

at the forefront of their class and were often recognised as leaders of their society. Kwame Anthony Appiah claims that African citizens from south of the Sahara generally preferred their leaders to be intellectuals or knowledgeable individuals in a cultural context.¹⁴ Since African intellectuals experienced colonialism and racism at varying degrees and in different forms, the group is not homogenous.¹⁵ That is why diverse intellectuals, who provided different responses to fighting the colonial regime, emerged throughout Africa's history. These African men and women have influenced the cultural, political and social life of South Africa today. They contributed not only through their active participation in the movement but also intellectually through their writings, newspaper articles, pamphlets and speeches which were delivered to the broader public. Though their views were consolidated and disseminated during the 19th and 20th century, their thinking still informs how our country functions and is governed today. Their thinking sharpened society's minds and they occupied an elevated position in their communities. This allowed them to represent the needs of the oppressed group. There is a need for more work like this to look at other parts of South Africa; hence this master's study seeks to include Natal as part of South Africa's intellectual discourse.

The study will use a biographical method to determine whether *inkosi* Albert Luthuli should be described as an African intellectual. It will use Antonio Francesco Gramsci's political theory on intellectualism to help frame the argument and apply his theory as the foundation to South Africa's intellectual context.¹⁶ Gramsci was born in Italy in 1891 and attended the University of Turin where Italian idealist philosopher Benedetto Croce would inspire him.¹⁷ Gramsci was a philosopher, journalist and linguist during his time, and he developed his theory during the early 20th century during Italy's revolution. He was a member

¹⁴ Anthony Appiah Kwame, *In My Father's House African in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York, 1992), p.5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.25.

¹⁶ A. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks Volume 2* (Vol. 2) (London, 2011).

¹⁷ Roger S. Gottlieb, *Anthology of Western Marxism* (London, 1989), p.112.

of the Italian Parliament in 1924 before the fascist regime imprisoned him. During his prison sentence, he wrote a collection of essays. His intellectual thinking led him to help co-found Italy's Communist Party in 1921.¹⁸

Scholars that have written on Gramsci's political theory trace it back to his *Prison Notebook*, and it is in these notes that he expresses his view on the role of intellectuals in society.¹⁹ Some view the *Prison Notebook* as complicated, and therefore, various scholars have applied different interpretations depending on the purpose of their respective study. His theory contained a new approach to political history. The approach introduced an element relevant to this study - the discussion of intellectuals and their role within a revolution. His theory discussed the existence of two types of intellectuals. These are organic intellectuals and traditional intellectuals. Gramsci's central thesis aims to prove that intellectuals are not autonomous but are a part of society's development during the historical process.²⁰ They are not exclusive but perform a technical role in society. This thesis will attempt to show its reader the role of *inkosi* Luthuli as an intellectual during South Africa's historical process. The application of Gramsci's theory to South African context, is applied with some caution. Some scholars would call into question the relevance of Gramsci's theory given South Africa's history. When he wrote *Prison Notebook*, his theory was speaking his European context, countries that have already experienced industrialism and were moving towards either capitalism or communism, countries that were experiencing revolutions. Gramsci's European context is compared to the African context and the notable difference with the African context is that this continent experienced slavery and colonialism. South Africa having experienced colonialism and apartheid does place a challenge in the application of Gramsci's theory since Gramsci's theory speaks to more of a European context. However applying his theory to South

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.134.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Africa is a bit easier compared to other African countries since the impact of colonialism left the state more structured and established compared other African states.²¹ His theory is applied with caution to this paper being cognisant of the different historical contexts to which the theory is applied. His political theory on intellectuals is set as the foundation upon which this paper will be built. It will also draw on elements from black intellectualism that were mentioned through Farred's discussion to help understand the type of intellectuals that emerged within South African context.

Gramsci defined the two types of intellectuals in contrast to each other. This can be seen in the attention he gave explaining organic intellectuals compared to traditional intellectuals. Although the organic intellectual is viewed as being of the class whereas the traditional intellectuals saw themselves as separate from the class, Gramsci's theory challenges this notion. Organic intellectuals emerge from their social group and look after their social group's interest by removing the dominant social class. Traditional intellectuals see themselves as separate because they come from the dominant class and maintain their status. This is discussed in further detail below.

Gramsci stated that social groups emerge when the world economy develops, and, within these social groups, one or more intellectuals' layers become apparent.²² He identified their role as creating uniformity within their social groups and creating consciousness among their members about their economic, social and political function. This biographical study of *inkosi* Luthuli seeks to explore whether this African leader can be seen as a type of intellectual. He belonged to a movement that was made up of conservatives, liberals, radicals, communists, democrats and nationalists. The liberation movement sought to bring all South Africans under one banner in the pursuit of democracy. This thesis will endeavour

²¹ D. Kendie, "How Useful is Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony and Domination to the Study of African States?", *African Social Science Review*, 3,3, 5, 2006, p.98.

²² *Ibid.*

to illustrate how *inkosi* Luthuli attempted to create a homogeneous class divided by race and culture.

It is essential to state that Gramsci and the scholars that explore his work acknowledge that all persons are intellectuals. This is evident in Gramsci's statement that "All men are intellectuals".²³ He dispelled the notion that a category of 'non-thinkers' exists within the social group. In contrast to this notion, a wide range of intellectuals occupy other positions within society that require specialised intellectual activity. Gramsci's recognition that everyone is a thinker is a caution against thinking that the rest of the population cannot think for themselves. Central to this study is whether *inkosi* Luthuli is an intellectual, but this is not to say that there were no other intellectuals during his time or the liberation movement. Gramsci's statement attempts to steer away from the conception that thinking is only for the elite. Such a conception creates the idea that intellectuals are not part of society. Other thinkers do exist in other fields of society. Intellectuals are not operating in a void where only they can operate. Gramsci's idea attempts to counter the narrative that traditional intellectuals are separate from society.

J Martin's analysis further elaborates that intellectuals perform a dual role in their social group. They are both specialists in the division of labour and performers of functionary roles in greater society.²⁴ Their functionary roles help create conditions within their society that allow their social group members to grow and develop. In South Africa's historical process, African intellectuals had one mission in mind: to liberate the oppressed racial groups from the apartheid regime. This study should illustrate whether *inkosi* Luthuli fell within this role.

Gramsci stated that organic intellectuals emerged out of the social group from the basic functioning of that particular social group and that they became specialised

²³ *Ibid.*, p.140; J Martin, *Gramsci's Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1998).

²⁴ Martin, *A Critical Introduction*, p.45.

in that function.²⁵ At this point, the questions will be: What were the primary functions of African intellectuals and *amaKholwa*? Do either qualify as organic intellectuals?²⁶ Was the *amaKholwa* class a specialised group of individuals from the emerging African petty bourgeoisie class? Hopefully, this biographical study will answer some of these questions for the reader. Filippini's interpretation of Gramsci's approach is that an organic intellectual is an individual who connects the social group to society and the intellectual then proceeds to connect the society with the state.²⁷ These individuals would go on to perform a political role within their social group. Martin's *Gramsci's Political Analysis* adds that organic intellectuals perform an economic role within their class and their position within society comes with a layered web of influence.²⁸

It will be argued that *amaKholwa* intellectuals do fit this description within the colony of Natal. Hlonipha Mokoena's 'The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: A Discursive Biography of Magera Magwaza Fuze' PhD thesis breaks down the elements of *Kholwa* intellectual.²⁹ The paper views *Kholwa* intellectuals as a subcategory-type of African intellectuals. These intellectuals were both Christian and literate that among them were business people and landowners who had access to the white economy to which the general African population had no access. *Inkosi* Luthuli grew up within this social class, having received a western-orientated Christian education. Some of these early *Kholwa* intellectuals started their political organisations and many became embroiled in politics. It was not uncommon for some *Kholwa* intellectuals to take on a community leadership role, which speaks to these organic intellectuals' influence. These African organic intellectuals were able to use their influence to draw in their social group's general mass population. This allowed them to mobilise their social groups

²⁵ Gottlieb, *Anthology of Western Marxism*, p.113.

²⁶ This is the Zulu plural noun that describes believers.

²⁷ Michele Filippini, *Using Gramsci: A new approach* (London, 2017), p.67.

²⁸ Martin, *A Critical Introduction*, pp.45-46.

²⁹ Hlonipha Mokoena's 'The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: A Discursive Biography of Magera Magwaza Fuze', PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2005, p.7.

through the activities of early *amaKholwa*. Martin states that organic intellectuals can provide their social group with a social identity.³⁰ This can be seen at two phases concerning *Kholwa* intellectuals. The early *amaKholwa* intellectuals emphasised their *Kholwa* identity. The second phase was when *amaKholwa* adopted politics, thus creating African nationalism and being adopted through African political policies.

Gramsci identified the second type of intellectual, the traditional intellectual, to include philosophers, artist, journalists and educators.³¹ He argued that these intellectuals receive formal education and are part of the industrial labour and intellectual level. Gramsci's perspective on intellectuals aims to include traditional intellectuals into the emergence of the new social order, arguing that they perform a technical function that keeps society's formal structures. Martin elaborates that, compared to the organic intellectuals who emerge from their new social group, the traditional intellectuals come from the pre-existing social category and represent historical continuity.³² He further explains that they are seen as coming from the previous dominant class's organic intellectual class. During the historical process, after a successful historical bloc, the organic intellectuals become the new dominant class and therefore create new traditional intellectuals who aim to keep the new dominant class in power. They keep the status quo either consciously or subconsciously and do this rather conservatively.

Reading Filippini and Martin's work reveals that they are mostly focused on Gramsci's theory as a whole and providing analysis of his entire theory. However, not taking away from the importance of their work, the study looks at assessing the qualities that qualify an individual as an intellectual. Margret Leah Kings' "The Social Role of Intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and the Italian Renaissance"

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Gottlieb, *Anthology of Western Marxism*, p.116.

³² Martin, *A Critical Introduction*, p.46.

is the most practical work applicable to this study.³³ Her explanation of Gramsci's perspective on intellectual work is more comprehensive and supports this study's core objective.

Her discussion on traditional intellectuals allows the reader to understand their role and function within society. King explains that traditional intellectuals share a common language that comes from experiencing a thorough education.³⁴ Their exposure to a similar type of education allows them to create a rather refined language that the subaltern class does not commonly use. Gramsci's definition of the subaltern class must be read with the context of his political theory in mind. The subaltern class is a subordinate social group or class that falls subject to the dominant class's authority.³⁵ By exploring the historical background of *amaKholwa*, this paper should demonstrate whether or not the social group experiences the same type of education and if *inkosi* Luthuli received the same education. King's exploration of Gramsci's organic intellectuals elaborates further that these intellectuals rationalise and justify their social group's interests as well as their claim to dominance.³⁶ It will be shown in this thesis how *inkosi* Luthuli with other African leaders rationalised and justified their social groups' interests.

What sets King apart from the other two scholars is the fact that she explains the fusion process between these two intellectuals. Martin states that traditional intellectuals come from the pre-existing society, but King states that these traditional intellectuals were once the organic intellectuals before their social group became dominant.³⁷ The emergence of the new social group triggers the transformation of the organic into traditional intellectual. During the historical

³³ Margret Leah King, "The social role of intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and the Italian renaissance", *Soundings*, 61, 1, 1978, 23-46.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.25.

³⁵ Marcus Green, "Gramsci Cannot Speak: Presentation and Interpretations of Gramsci's Concept of the Subaltern", *Rethinking Marxism*, 14, 3, 2002, 1-14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.25.

³⁷ Martin, *A Critical Introduction*, p.46; King, "The social role of intellectuals", p.25.

process, the organic intellectuals' fuse with the traditional intellectuals through the sharing of similar thinking, allowing them to create their philosophy and a shared world view. When these two combine, they tend to organise and defend their social group's interests as intellectuals. It is Gramsci's view that intellectuals' role is to create an identity for their social group. This thesis will argue that the merging of Traditionalist and *amaKholwa*, that formed the Natal Native Congress (NNC) in 1900, illustrates this process.³⁸ This same process happened with South African Native National Congress's (SANNC) formulation and incorporation of other racial groups into the liberation movement. All will be explored in further detail later.

Gramsci's perspective on intellectuals does speak to the existence of elite intellectuals, and King's work elaborates on how they come to have this elite status. She describes that at the intellectual base, sits organic intellectuals as a social group and, from among them, there will rise either a single intellectual or a class of intellectuals.³⁹ In the instance of a single intellectual emerging, s/he is considered a great thinker. Though her paper speaks of one great thinker, this study will include more than one great thinker. History has shown that society tends to produce more than one intellectual during the historical process. South Africa is no exception to this occurrence. The 'great thinkers' thus express the worldview of their social group coherently. These thinkers become the traditional intellectuals and perform a mediating role between organic intellectuals and other intellectuals.⁴⁰ Through the investigation of *inkosi* Luthuli's life, this thesis anticipates that it will be shown that he did illustrate this role. What initially comes to mind is his role as President-General mediating between the ANC Youth League (Youth League) and the ANC's old guard.

³⁸ 'Traditionalists' are individuals that maintain the African cultural and religious background.

³⁹ King, "The social role of intellectuals", p.27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

King describes the organisational intellectual culture that resides within the dominant social group and states that society is made up of the civil and political arena over which the dominant social group has authority.⁴¹ Their dominance over the two arenas is enforced in two ways, - through persuasion or coercion. Intellectuals use their persuasive authority through literature and philosophy to inspire the subaltern class, which is subordinate to the dominant class.

Persuasive authority is the most common type of authority used by intellectuals. Both *amaKholwa* and early African leaders who advocated democracy and African nationalism used this type of authority to gain dominance over the dominant class. Early African leaders did differ on philosophies as the liberation movement progressed. They wrote extensively on their philosophies through letters, newspapers articles, and, in *inkosi* Luthuli's case, the speeches he delivered. Unfortunately for South African intellectuals, they could not enforce the second type, coercive authority, as it requires power within the state. African intellectuals were denied this authority; this is why historians considered them to be politically powerless. The liberation struggle also involved African intellectuals and politicians fighting the state for coercive authority.

Earlier, Gramsci's view discussed that all men are intellectuals and possess mental activity although there exists an elite group of intellectuals. King takes this statement further to explain that Gramsci's statement speaks to the existence of common sense.⁴² The mental activity performed by nonintellectuals creates what is known today as common sense. These are coherent ideas and thoughts which are shared by nonintellectuals. Common sense comes from biases they carry, financial interests or passed down values from either external persons or the dominant social group. She explains that though these thoughts and ideas are coherent, they are often disorganised and some may even contradict each other.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.29.

These contradicting thoughts result from a wide range of sources that feed into creating common sense, and there is no individual or a body that checks the validity or the merit of some of these thoughts. Those parts of the working class involved in physical labour will typically use common sense more than specialised knowledge and hardly ever critique or interpret it.

King argues that this role is taken on by organic intellectuals who critically analyse common sense ideas and formulate them into a philosophy that is relevant to their social group.⁴³ The intellectuals develop the philosophy to be shared with their fellow members. They streamline their philosophy to be comprehensible using common sense thinking and create harmony between common sense and philosophy. The harmony created and the philosophy being widely shared creates an ideology for the social group and becomes embedded in its actions and behaviours.⁴⁴ Creating philosophy and sharing it is the intellectuals' responsibility and they must continuously do so. They also need to provide guidance to the ideology that has been created. For example, in South Africa's context, intellectuals that believed in the philosophy of democracy carried the responsibility to disseminate the ideas around democracy. They did this by sharing material on democracy through public pamphlets, newspaper articles and speeches delivered at large public gatherings. Throughout the liberation movement, they would continuously share ideas of democracy, practice the principles within their organisation and encourage society to adopt the concept of living in a democratic society. This study will attempt to use Gramsci and King's ideas to help the study interpret the life lived by *inkosi* Luthuli.

This explains how intellectuals can use their philosophies to inspire their social group. The intellectual uses common sense to provide their social group with a worldview. The study will endeavour to illustrate that African nationalism and

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.30.

democracy as advocated by African leaders and *inkosi* Luthuli, had its roots within the African mass population. Therefore, it was easier for them to receive these philosophies. What is important to note from King's work from the above discussion is that the intellectuals are responsible for creating the philosophy and must use their critical awareness to develop it. Secondly, they carry the burden of inspiring members of their class. This forms part of their political function within civil society.

Filippini and King, through their respective work, introduce discussions on how intellectuals are involved in the political arena. Organic intellectuals become involved in the political arena when they use their philosophy to inspire their social groups. Filippini states that once these leaders gain experience and become professional within the political arena, the political work diversifies and becomes more complex.⁴⁵ During the fusion process discussed earlier, the organic intellectuals who have become political leaders will incorporate the traditional intellectuals, and they assume the role of advocating the philosophy. These intellectuals must move their philosophy beyond organising ideas and spreading them widely to take on life and become actions. They organise not only each other as intellectuals but also, others from their social group. Intellectuals, who then become politicians, recruit members of their community to follow their philosophy. *Inkosi* Luthuli, once he became a statesman and member of ANC, encouraged Africans to join the liberation movement in its pursuit to create a democratic South Africa.

Intellectuals would use their African nationalist ideology as a tool to persuade the subaltern class to adopt its values and practices. The South African context illustrates this idea. African intellectuals came from the same socio-economic background as the subaltern class and used that shared experience to explain the apartheid system and democracy. *Inkosi* Luthuli came from the rural part of Natal

⁴⁵ Filippini, *Using Gramsci*, p.52.

and used his chieftaincy knowledge to explain principles of democracy and the importance of having a democratic state. Their African nationalism ideology was expressed using ordinary language, which became a mechanism used to persuade the subaltern class.

King summarises that the above discussion illustrates society's historical process and involves the historical bloc's success or failure.⁴⁶ A successful historical bloc is a process by which a social group obtains dominance in civil society and political society. Intellectuals use their intellectual activity to obtain dominance. Failure to dominate society is the historical bloc's failure. The study will be venturing to narrate South Africa's historical process through the biographical lens of *inkosi* Luthuli. It will endeavour to illustrate how early African intellectuals sought to dominate both civil society and political society. South Africa's narrative will involve telling African intellectuals' history as they formed their social group that sought dominance over the colonial social group.

Earlier it was mentioned that this thesis would use the biographical method to conduct the study whilst being supplemented by autobiography as a secondary tool. The thesis will be dependent on *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography *Let My People Go*, which was published due to him receiving his Nobel Peace Prize.⁴⁷ The majority of the book was written before the Sharpeville massacre and focuses on his early years, his time as chief and his time as statesman. The book became a critical primary source for his early life and his chieftaincy. The study will also use the statesman's public speeches compiled by E.S. Reddy in *Lutuli: Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli*.⁴⁸ The book contains the public speeches that he delivered either in person or in his absence while under State bans. It contains his interviews, statements and public documents that cover his life. This book was

⁴⁶ King, "The social role of intellectuals", p.29.

⁴⁷ Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go* (London, 1962), 968.06 LUT, Cory Library Rhodes University, Makhanda (Grahamstown), South Africa.

⁴⁸ E.S. Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli: Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli* (Bellville, 1991).

accessed through The Official Luthuli Museum found in Groutville. Due to COVID and government regulations, many archival research sites and university libraries were closed. Research for this study was restricted to online resources and online archives that were granted access through Wits Online Historical Papers Research Archive and UKZN's Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre. COVID regulations restricted physical access to *inkosi* Luthuli's personal letters, personal statements and journal articles that he wrote which are housed in various research sites. His autobiography indicates that he and Martin Luthuli wrote journal articles and were writers for KwaZulu Natal newspapers. Unfortunately, access to these articles was not granted due to government regulations and were not accessible online. This thesis will examine a selected number of his speeches accessible through online archives to build this study's argument. A study of all his speeches would require a doctoral dissertation and access to the restricted primary sources housed in various archival research centres spread across the country.

This thesis also makes use of secondary sources, specifically biographies on *inkosi* Luthuli. It uses different biographies: Robert Trent Vinson's *Albert Luthuli*, Scott Couper's *Bound by Faith* and Mary Benson's *Chief Albert Lutuli of South Africa*.⁴⁹ Benson's work is the oldest biography and the closest biography written after *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography. On the other hand, the most recent biography was Vinson's work. Couper's work was chosen as an alternative contribution to Luthuli discourse. The study also uses journal articles and scholarly work, including doctoral dissertations and other unpublished works.

South African's political resistance history, particularly after 1994, is mostly populated by autobiographies and biographies. These focus on those that were

⁴⁹ Robert Trent Vinson, *Albert Luthuli* (Ohio, 2018), Scott Couper, *Bound by Faith* (KwaZulu Natal, 2010), Mary Benson, *Chief Albert Lutuli of South Africa* (London, 1963).

part of the liberation movement, thus motivating this thesis to adopt a similar approach. Hence it applies a biographical method to the study of *inkosi* Luthuli. The most recent body of work that critiques this method is Ciraj Rassool's doctoral paper. Rassool's dissertation 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History of South Africa' states that existing scholarship places these methodological tools within *Production of History*.⁵⁰ Scholars have engaged Rassool's work, and thus, conversations have developed around his body of work. Rassool's work aims to relook at autobiography and biography. The conversation has helped inform the understanding of biography as a research method. Jeremy D Hopkins' work defines autobiography "as an individual's history of his or her own life" and biography as being the tool used to study the life of an individual and their social process.⁵¹ Rassool adds a third conceptual difference between the two methodological tools, stating that the biographer writes themselves into the autobiographical text.⁵² An implicit or explicit relationship is created between the biographer and subject through the physical tracing of the subject's actions or the combing through of their writings. The writer explains the emotions and feelings of the subject from their personal experiences.

A standard critique of autobiography is that the truth about the events stated by the subject can be questioned. A biographer's role is to read the autobiographical text with other texts and documents from the same period to prove the subject's events' authenticity. Secondly, it is to question the motivation behind the self-writing and lastly to determine if the author shows self-awareness. This thesis endeavours to answer these criticisms through a biographical study.

Keeping within the discipline of biography, Rassool claims that historians who write political biographies tend to reproduce a "biographical illusion" when

⁵⁰Ciraj Shahid Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History of South Africa', PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2004, p.48.

⁵¹ Jeremy D Popkins, *History, Historians and Autobiography* (Chicago, 2005), Rassool, "Auto/biography", p.16.

⁵² Rassool, "Auto/biography", p.45; Allen Hibbard, "Biographer and Subject: A Tale of Two Narratives", *South Central Review*, 23, 3, 2006, 19-36.

telling South Africa's political history, depicting individual lives as linear, lacking in individual agency and following chronology.⁵³ Jonathan Hyslop's critique of Rassool's paper raises a standard error found in political biographies, which tend to position the subjects as heroes or saints.⁵⁴ This thesis will include *inkosi* Luthuli's flaws and critiques of his philosophy. It will incorporate his cultural values which stemmed from his mother's discipline and his Zulu upbringing. It looks at the social structures that influenced his intellectuality. Engaging with these facets of his life will foster a breaking away from Rassool's 'biographical illusion' to which Hyslop, as mentioned prior, critically responds.⁵⁵

Chapter two focuses on the emergence of both the petty bourgeoisie class and the *amaKholwa* class. As Gramsci argued, social and economic conditions create favourable conditions for the beginning of economic change. The discussion of these two social groups is linked to the emergence of South Africa's economy, specifically in Natal. The rise of *amaKholwa* is significant for it gave way to the Luthuli family who became landowners. Natal's racial dynamics impacted the cooperation policy introduced by the ANC during its later years. The establishment of mission education and the spread of political consciousness require discussion and grant a glimpse into the education received by *amaKholwa*.

Chapter three discusses the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual activity from his birth and uses his autobiography as a primary guiding source. It explores his active Christianity philosophy, African Nationalism philosophy, and his internationalism philosophy. The chapter explores his social influences on his intellectual thinking, tracing the sources of his belief in democracy, non-racialism

⁵³ Ciraj Rassool, "Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography", *South African Review of Sociology*, 41, 1, 2010, 28-55.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Hyslop, "On Biography: A Response to Ciraj Rassool", *South African Review of Sociology*, 41, 2, 2010, 104-115.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.108.

and gender equality. It will assess the type of intellectual he started out as during the development of his intellectual thinking.

The fourth chapter discusses *inkosi* Luthuli's election as Chief of Grootvlei, which was the root of his belief in democracy. His marriage to Nokukhanya Bhengu (MaBhengu) can be looked at to help the reader understand the source of *inkosi* Luthuli's view on women's role in society and his understanding of gender roles within the paradigm of a cultural society. The development of the Zulu chieftaincy through the implementation of the 'indirect rule' would later lead to the government getting involved in traditional African governance and deposing *inkosi* Luthuli. His international trip to India and the United States of America could have played a role in his internationalism philosophy.

The fifth chapter looks more into his political career when his intellectual thought had been formulated and exercised. His stepping into the political realm exposed him to similar thinking that he possessed with other African intellectuals within the movement. The Youth League's introduction brought an intellectual shift that cleared the pathway for *inkosi* Luthuli's rise from Natal's presidency to becoming ANC's president general. The chapter uses another set of primary sources belonging to *inkosi* Luthuli, specifically a select few of his speeches. These speeches are to be found in Wits University's Historical Papers Research Archive titled *Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982* and E.S. Reddy's *Lutuli: Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli*.⁵⁶ This thesis selects a few speeches from these two sources, for example, "The Road to Freedom is via the Cross", "We Go to Action" and "Let Us March Together to Freedom". It also includes looking at "Freedom in our Life Time!", "Our Vision is a Democratic Society", "Africa and Freedom" and "The Liberation Struggle is on in Earnest". The Chapter continues to shine light on the female voice within the liberation movement and looks at his

⁵⁶ Collection number: A3337, Collection name: Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; E.S. Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli: Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli* (Bellville, 1991).

“Message to the National Conference of the African National Congress Women’s League, August 1959” to explore his view on gender equality. His “An Honour to Africa” acceptance speech on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize was accessed through Cory Library for Historical Research.⁵⁷ The chapter traces his intellectual activity from him being deposed as a chief until he received his Nobel Peace Prize. It assesses whether these speeches illustrate his intellectual thinking and their impact on his social group and society.

The study draws on Gramsci’s theory of intellectual work as a framework. It infuses King’s interpretation on Gramsci’s work. The investigation uses Gramsci’s definition as a guiding rod and will be supplemented by other scholars like King and Farred to help assist the study. The intention is to explore whether or not *inkosi* Luthuli fits within the qualities that make-up an intellectual. It explores further if he fits into the definition of an organic intellectual or a traditional intellectual. Alternatively, does he create a hybrid intellectual - one that transitions between organic and traditional depending on his society’s leadership role? By the end of this study, one will endeavour to answer this question and show the reader the life of one African intellectual that represents the broader trend within South Africa’s intellectual discourse.

⁵⁷ A. J. Luthuli, “Africa and Freedom”: text of the Nobel Lecture delivered by Chief Albert Luthuli in the Oslo University on December 11, 1961 / Albert Luthuli, MS 18 448, Cory Library Rhodes University, Makhanda (Grahamstown), South Africa.

2. Chapter Two: Historical Context

The thesis's core focus is on *inkosi* Luthuli's life from 1898 till his death in 1967. However, this chapter begins with exploring some historical background that helps give the reader the necessary insight and understanding of the context of his family's heritage and childhood. The reasoning behind this approach is that this historical background influenced some of his thinking and teaching. This approach explores the historical context of South Africa and colonial Natal. There is an understanding by the author that South Africa's history is a complex, multi-layered and multi-faceted one. The author aims not to oversimplify its complexities nor detail every moving part that contributed to the modern democratic state but to discuss some aspects that predominantly featured in *inkosi* Luthuli's adult life. His life featured economics, Christianity, democracy, social cohesion, racial conflict and political thought, which are all common themes throughout his life. A brief look at the origins of these themes will help the reader place *inkosi* Luthuli in his historical context and provide insight into how he emerged as an intellectual.

The history of African intellectuals in South Africa needs to be discussed in the context of the emergence of the African petty bourgeois. Following Roger Southall's paper "The African Middle Class, 1910-1994", the term "petty bourgeois" was used to describe individuals who found themselves between the white capital and the African working class.¹ Their professional occupation characterised the class, often being teachers, lawyers, journalists, editors and some held ministerial positions like being lay ministers of their communities. They had prominent roles in their communities and were united as a class because some of them either received similar mission education, literacy or experienced

¹ Roger Southall, "The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910-1994", *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 29, 2, p.290.

a similar political influence.² Some shared political-ideological thinking, like African nationalism, which brought them together as a social class. They sought to improve their position in society not only as individuals but as an overall group. They appeared during the early years of the 1900s when the country was developing its industrial economy. The formulation of the modern South African democratic state can be traced back to the rise of the African petty bourgeoisie class during the early 20th century. It is vital to discuss *inkosi* Luthuli's background because it can help inform the reader about the intellectuals who became modern South African architects.

2.1 The Establishment of the South African Economy late 19th Century (1870 -1900): Discovery of Minerals.

Gramsci's theory on intellectuals states "Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals".³ The emergence of the African petty bourgeoisie can be traced back to the mineral discoveries of the mid to late 19th century in Kimberly and the Witwatersrand.⁴ The discovery sparked the beginning of South Africa's industrialisation process but the development was focused around the sites of discovery. This resulted in other parts of the country remaining agricultural.⁵ The colony of Natal, the region from which *inkosi* Luthuli had emerged from, belonged to the agricultural sector during this industrial process.

² *Ibid.*

³ Gramsci, *Prison Notebook*, p.134.

⁴ Charles van Onselen, "Race and Class in the South African Countryside: cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South Western Transvaal, 1900-1950", *The American Historical Review*, 95, 1, 1990. G. Pirie states that scholars who have written on this expansion, like van Onselen, point to the formulation of different roles, like prostitutes, washmen, domestic servants, which caused formal and informal resistance. See also G.H Pirie, "South African Urban History", *Urban History Yearbook*, 12, 1985, p.21.

⁵ The construction of railway lines and roads to the mining sites connected different parts of the country and simultaneously created accessibility to resources. Thus, by 1874, a pathway for the arrival of an estimated 10 000 African workers had been built. See, Thabo Tsehloane, "Globalisation and Modern South Africa Black Political Thought: John Langalibalele Dube and Anton Muziwakhe Lembede", *Alternation*, 15, 2, 2008, p.95.

South Africa's formal economy developed along racial lines with the white minority controlling everything and the African population being dominated over. The mining industry used employment legislation to subjugate the African population and introduced the color bar as means to ensure white workers in the mines had privileged jobs and African workers only had jobs that earned them less.⁶ This had major negative impact on African households resulting in African women taking on the role of head of the household while African men lived near mining sites.⁷ South Africa's economic transition towards a formal economy is important to discuss in this study for it provides the reader with insight into the nature of the industrial process and place the reader within the historical period. The discussion below will move the reader to a localised focus of South Africa's industrial process specifically looking at colonial Natal.

2.2. The Establishment of Colonial Natal's Economy from the mid-19th Century: arrival of white-settlers (1820s) and the Indian community (1860s) and the impact of colonialism on the Zulu-speaking community.

Given that the colony of Natal remained an agricultural sector during the industrialization period, the creation of 'reserves' during this period is important to understand to give the reader context of how the class of *amaKholwa* had emerged. The colonial government of Natal during the industrialisation period set up a settler colonialism type of government that resulted in land being the prime element of its colonial economy.⁸ The white settler community initially were pastoral farmers but as some parts the country became more industrial, the knock on effect on Natal was that these white pastoral farmers had to transform and

⁶ Colin Bundy, "The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry", *African Affairs*, 71, 285, 1972, p.371. See also Ivan Turok, "South Africa's tortured urbanisation and the complications of reconstruction", *Urban growth in emerging economic: Lessons from the BRICS*, 149, 2014, p.6; Francis Wilson, "Minerals and Migrants: How the Mining Industry Has Shaped South Africa", *Daedalus*, 130, 1, 2001, p.103.

⁷ Francis Wilson, "Historical Roots of Inequality in South Africa", *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 26, 1, 2011, p.7.

⁸ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism a Theoretical Overview* (England, 2010), p.8.

become agricultural farmers.⁹ Natal's colonial government introduced legislation that was meant to accommodate the white agricultural farmers, granting them control of large pieces of fertile land. The colonial government created "42 reserves - or locations - covering 2 million acres, and 21 mission reserves covering 175,000 acres, out of the total 12.5 million acres of land under British rule assigned mainly to white occupancy".¹⁰ Shula Marks states that this created victims of Africans' mass evictions resulting in chiefdoms being overcrowded.¹¹ Here we see a considerable impact colonialism had on the African community within colonial Natal. The colonial government introduced land policies that empowered local magistrates to ensure that only white farmers occupied good land and pushed the African population onto reserves creating an African peasantry.¹² It is important for the reader to also note this colonial impact because this plays an influential role in the emergence of the *amaKholwa* class. It was this impact that resulted in the establishment of Groutville, a mission reserve. The details will be discussed later in this chapter.

The existence of the Natal Indian community can be traced back to the introduction of indentured labourers in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³ Heather Hughes explains indentured labour as the labour performed by Indians for a single employer over a five-year contract period with a salary increase of one shilling each year for the duration of the contract.¹⁴ When these contract ended some Indian labourers decided to stay and thus contributed to the growth of colonial

⁹ A. J. Christopher, "Colonial Land Policy in Natal", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61, 3, 1971, p.560.

¹⁰ Matsha, "Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape", p.241.

¹¹ Shula Marks, "Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 4, 2, 1978, p.184.

¹² Christopher, "Colonial Land", p.572.

¹³ Brij Maharaj, "Ethnicity, Class, State and Conflict: The 'Indian Question' in Natal, South Africa", *Indian Diaspora: Historical and Contemporary Context Essays in Honour of Professor Chandrashekar*, (New Delhi: Rawat, 2009), p.87.

¹⁴ Heather Hughes, "The Coolies Will Elbow Us Out of the Country': Africans Reactions to Indian Immigration in the Colony of Natal, South Africa", *Labour History Review*, 72, 2, 2007, p.157.

Natal's economy.¹⁵ The Indian community grew and went on to take alternative jobs to sugar can cultivation. These jobs were aligned to commercial sector of the economy like market gardeners, tradesmen, hawkers and wage-labourers.¹⁶

The colonial government granted the Indian community access to land that was denied to Africans, and this created tension between the two groups. Thus emerged an Indian petty bourgeois class but the colonial government introduced legislation that inflicted discriminatory treatment making them an oppressed racial group. *Inkosi* Luthuli understood this history and sought to align the African oppression with the Indian community. The white-settler community deliberately put the African community in competition with the Indian community and pegged them as African's rivals. This tension was the foundation of the decades of racial tension *inkosi* Luthuli had to work against to unite them under the umbrella of cooperation policy. Later in this paper it will argue that *inkosi* Luthuli grew the liberation movement through his adoption and encouragement of cooperation policy with the Indian community. His intellectual ability to foresee the importance of cooperation policy allowed him to push for a vision of multiracialism. I would argue that his ability to unite two oppressed racial groups after decades of racial tension is deserving of study. Thus, it is important for the reader to know about the arrival of the Indian community and the racial tensions with the African community.

Inkosi Luthuli came from the African Zulu-speaking community and was an elected chief of a mission reserve. To discuss his upbringing till he was deposed without giving context to his community would leave a gap in this study. The Zulu-speaking community had established itself on a homestead model which was sustained by patrilineal lineage for centuries before and during the period

¹⁵ Ralph Callebert, "Cities and the Origin of capitalism in Natal: the role of cities and towns in the incorporation of Natal in the capitalist world-system, 1837 – 1899", PhD diss., University of KwaZulu Natal, 2006, p.78; see also Goolam Vahed, "African Gandhi: The South African war and the limits of imperial identity", *Historia*, 45, 1, 2000, p.203.

¹⁶ Callebert, "Cities and the Origin of capitalism in Natal", p.83.

when Natal was colonised.¹⁷ The African population within the homestead economy fell under the chief's rule and controlled the distribution of land.¹⁸ The arrival of the colonial government brought with it the rise of colonial settler community and they brought with them the concept of individual ownership.¹⁹ This stood in direct opposition to the Zulu-speaking community's principle of communal ownership.²⁰ The concept of individual ownership plays a critical feature in the emergences of the *amaKholwa* class. The introduction of the individual ownership paved the way to the introduction of individual homesteads. Chiefs' rule over the community began to deteriorate as kinship within the community withered away. Jo Beall, Sibongiseni Mkhize and Shahid Vawda argue that this showed that a chief's authority was more symbolic than coercive.²¹ It is important for the reader to be aware of the nature of chief's authority within the Zulu community to understand how the apartheid state deposed *inkosi* Luthuli.

The contextual discussion above sets the scene for the emergence of Natal's economy through the arrival of white settler community which brought about the establishment of colonialism in Natal. The introduction of colonial Natal's economy led to implementation of legislation which was used to formalise a segregation system. This system introduced Mission Reserves which gave rise to Groutville where *inkosi* Luthuli would be chief. The economy was developed further through the arrival of the Indian community and this later led to the permanent setup of the Indian community in Natal. The white community stirred up racial tensions between the African community and the Indian community. It

¹⁷ John Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land in Natal late 19th, early 20th Centuries", *African Historical Review*, 31, 1, 1999, p.36.

¹⁸ John Lambert, "The undermining of the homestead economy in colonial Natal", *South African Historical Journal*, 23, 1, 1990, p.57.

¹⁹ Robert Graham Morrell, "White farmers, social institutions and settler masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880-1920", PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 1996, p.29.

²⁰ Lambert, "Homestead Economy", p.60.

²¹ Jo Beall, Sibongiseni Mkhize and Shahid Vawda, "Emergent Democracy and 'Resurgent' Tradition: Institutions, Chieftaincy in KwaZulu-Natal", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31, 4, 2005, p.760.

was important for the reader to know the history of this tension because *inkosi* Luthuli spoke about the importance of multiracialism and cooperation between races within the liberation movement. The last element of the contextual discussion shows the reader the impact of colonialism on Zulu culture and traditional authority. This paints a picture for the reader on how the apartheid state was able to depose the chief when he took part in the Defiance Campaign which will be discussed in detail later.

2.3 The Rise of African Political Thought Among Early African Christian Converts

The African subcontinent's socio-political climate gave rise to South Africa's African intellectuals, a diverse and multi-faceted group. The conditions that sparked their emergence reflected their dynamic nature. The class consisted of lawyers, teachers, lay ministers, missionaries, clerks, editors, journalists, progressive farmers and interpreters. They were not homogenous, but their intellect drew them together. Some scholars view them as 'elites' of their community. These intellectuals helped communities bridge the gaps that existed within their society, exchanging ideologies, connecting cultural groups and introducing labour policies.²² However, it must be acknowledged that this 'elite' status had no political power backing it and was 'powerless' in the political spheres.

Gramsci's work states that a new forms of intellectualism tend to emerge during economic transitions.²³ In the context of South Africa, the study focuses on the emergence of 'new' intellectuals from the mineral discovery, which escalated the growth of the economy. The new group of intellectuals came from the African peasantry created by that economic condition. There is a need to prove to the

²² Peter Limb, *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa before 1940* (Pretoria, 2010), p.75.

²³ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.134.

reader that this ‘new’ group of intellectuals possessed political thoughts. In Peter Limb’s book *The ANC’s Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa before 1940*, he looks at the rise of early ANC founded by some of these early intellectuals. He argues that their emergence was linked to the country’s increase in urbanisation, the rise of the proletarian class, and human organisation.²⁴ The economic element is the most prominent and recognisable element that brought about the African middle class with African intellectuals at the helm. Some scholars discuss the less subtle element – their shared political thought - as a standard feature within this class. The origins of their political thought came from different sources that made up the social strata across the African population. Therefore, one needs to identify the origins that produced political thought and show evidence that political thought existed within the African people.

This thesis illustrates to its reader that African intellectuals became influential individuals within their local communities. Furthermore, it shows how they used their intellect to improve their community’s lives as the emerging social group. Scholarly work that traces some of these early intellectuals shows that the early African intellectuals’ involvement in Cape politics was a significant source of their intellectual thought. Their participation in Cape politics exposed them to the ideas that would lead to the passionate pursuit of black enfranchisement through the Cape’s non-racial constitution.

The Cape’s constitution contained Ordinance 50 that created a temporary escape from the social hardships that impacted the Cape colony’s non-Bantu indigenous population and had a lasting impact on the people.²⁵ Malherbe states that the Ordinance contained progressive economic thought by allowing new settlements

²⁴ Limb, *The ANC’s Early Years*, p.76.

²⁵ Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, The African National Congress 1912-1952* (Los Angeles, 1971), p.1.

and private land ownership by local people.²⁶ The Ordinance attempted to return the land to the local people and made the African people equal to the white settlers, sparking the idea of equality for all. This eventually contributed to the exit of a significant number the Afrikaner community from the Cape.

Later, the Ordinance involved some other Africans of the regions that fell within the Cape's growing territory. The legislation transformed the colony's social structure in which the indigenous population gained access to economic opportunity that had not been available to them previously. This access exposed the African peasantry to the ideas that equality among various races was possible, and the law could be inclusive of the African population. The Ordinance was closely followed by the establishment of Representative Government in 1853, and in 1872 the colonial government introduced non-racial franchise into its political system.²⁷ These institutions formalised the spirit in which the Ordinance was drafted. The constitution was crafted with a Victorian liberal ideology with free trade imperialist ideals, and this allowed for free wage labour policies and political representation to be introduced.²⁸ These pieces of legislation influenced Cape politics and left an impression on the African intellectuals so that it became what they strove to obtain once again.

Christianity in Africa plays a role as one of the mechanisms for colonialism. In South Africa, it was the fire that forged some of the early African intellectuals. The Christianising of southern Africa brought about the beginning of education for the African population. Following the previous chapter's argument on intellectuals receiving similar education, one needs to explore how mission

²⁶ V.C. Malherbe, "Testing the 'Burgher Right' to the Land: Khoesan, Colonist and Government in the Eastern Cape after Ordinance 50 of 1828", *South African Historical Journal*, 40, 1, p.20; see also Jack Boas and Michael Weiskopf, "The Activities of the London Society in South Africa, 1806-1836: An Assessment", *African Studies Review*, 16, 3, 1973, p.430.

²⁷ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*, p.2; Andre Odendaal, "South Africa's black Victorians, sport, race and class in South Africa before the union", *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, 38, 1990, 13-28.

²⁸ Odendaal, "South Africa's black Victorian", p.14.

education helped bring about early African intellectuals like *inkosi* Luthuli. Missionaries pushed for early converts to receive an education. The early African intellectuals received mission education, and they became the drivers of conscientizing the African mind after receiving their education. The spread of Christianity within southern Africa brought a ‘new’ religion that impacted the African people who already had their African belief system and cultural practices. Christianity had a secondary impact - with its education, it brought lifestyle change and western values.²⁹ It transformed the African population’s cultural and social condition and caused the rise of the African Christian middle class called *amaKholwa*. Christian mission education played an essential role in the emergence of the *amaKholwa* class. Missionaries gave African converts access to individual titles of land or helped them purchase it in the spirit of securing Christian life.³⁰ Missionaries required African converts to give up their cultural attire for western clothing. They encouraged the building of square houses instead of the spherical structure distinctive within African hut architecture. The African convert class became more involved with the economy and in the political system. The ‘new’ religion granted the African converts a temporary reprieve from the African population’s common hardship. Some of the white settlers that came to settle in the colony came under the umbrella of missionary work. The missionaries believed that Africans had to learn to read the bible and read it to understand it for themselves. Toyin Falola identifies the 1940s as the beginning of southern Africa’s mission education and traces it back to the establishment of a teachers’ training college, Lovedale Institution.³¹ Missionary stations were set up across the Cape and Colonial Natal to start mission schools to create a literate, ‘civilised’ nation. Thus, their core business became to ‘civilise the *natives*’. The African culture was based on only oral tradition before the spread of Christian

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

³⁰ Southall, “The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910-1994”, p.289.

³¹ Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York, 2001), p.9.

mission education. The 19th century became the transition period for African education from oral tradition to literacy.

The spread of mission schools increased the literacy of the African population and carried with it other opportunities. It restructured the social set up of their communities. It carved the pathway for the emergence of mission schools like Lovedale College in 1841, Healdtown Institute in 1857, St Matthews near Grahamstown in 1855, and the Amanzimtoti Institute.³² Healdton produced African intellectuals like Govan Mbeki, Seth Mokitimi, Robert Sobukwe and Nelson Mandela.³³ In colonial Natal, institutes like Adams College, St. Peters, and Tiger Kloof emerged all providing education to the African population.³⁴ Lovedale created a generation of African converts that went into different industries like ministry, teaching, printing, and recruiting more African intellectuals across the sub-continent. Mission education grew over the century, and the enrolment numbers of Lovedale grew to 70 000 Africans by the turn of the century.³⁵ Baruch Hirson argues in his paper “Language in Control and Resistance in South Africa” that many of these schools’ sole aim was to educate Africans in English.³⁶ However, the education system’s completion and the move to secondary schooling was not very high. Given the patriarchal nature of missionary education, these early schools were predominantly for the African boy-child or African male adult. Neither the African girl-child nor the adult woman were part of the initial wave of education for the African people. The promotion of African women’s education only began later in the century when more mission schools for African women were started. Lovedale School for Girls was established along with Inanda Seminary, the first secondary school for African girls, and a few women were allowed to train as nurses at Victorian

³² Southall, “The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910-1994”, p.301; see also Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, p.9.

³³ Wilson, “Historical Roots of Inequality in South Africa”, p.9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.8.

³⁵ B. Hirson, “Language in Control and Resistance in South Africa”, *African Affairs*, 80, 319, 1981, p.220.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Hospital in 1902.³⁷ The first to graduate from the nursing program was Cecilia Makiwane in 1908.

Some of these early African intellectuals went on to start their own African educational institutes like Ohlange Institute that John Langalibalele Dube began.³⁸ It was one of the educational institutions *inkosi* Luthuli attended in his early years of education. The continuous striving to educate the African population led to more mission schools being set up. It led to the development of one of South Africa's first higher educational institutions known as the South African Native College, founded in 1916, which is currently known as Fort Hare. The establishment of this College was motivated for by two well-known African intellectuals, John Tengo Jabavu and Rev. Walter Rubusana. These two men held liberal ideologies and were recognised for their membership in the 1911 Universal Races Congress.³⁹ They had hoped that their representation at this Congress would assist in sourcing funding for the College. The College produced a generation of African educators by training African secondary school teachers.⁴⁰ The institute also had African intellectuals that became entrepreneurs and commercial farmers. Like Fort Hare, early mission schools began on privately raised funds, and as the mission education system began to grow and develop, the state slowly began to assist with funding. The State hardly got involved in funding until the introduction of the Bantu education policy.⁴¹

A growing number of mission-educated Africans sought to further their studies beyond the primary education provided by these early mission schools. For example, Tiyo Soga, who attended Lovedale, furthered his education as an African intellectual at a university in Glasgow. He was the first African to attend

³⁷ Southall, "The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910-1994", p.291; *see also* Heather Hughes, "Doubly Elite: Exploring the Life of John Langalibalele Dube", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, 2001, p.450.

³⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.28.

³⁹ Paul Rich, "The Baptism of a New Era': the 1911 Universal Races Congress and the Liberal ideology of race", *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 7, 4, 1984, p.534.

⁴⁰ Southall, "The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910-1994", p.291.

⁴¹ Wilson, "Historical Roots of Inequality in South Africa", p.8.

university outside South Africa.⁴² He would return to push ideas of African individuality. His son, Alan Kirkland Soga, a journalist for *Izwi Labantu* (Voice of the People'), followed his father's example and attended a university in Scotland. He was later one of the founders of SANNK. African Intellectual Nathaniel Cyril Mhala, the editor of *Izwi Labantu*, went on to attend St Augustine's Missionary Training College in Canterbury.⁴³ Mhala became the South African Native Congress's vice president and used *Izwi* paper to voice the African population's intellectual thought. Another newspaper that became influential in the 19th century was the *Imvo Zabantsundu*, the editor of which was a prominent African intellectual, Alexander Macaulay Jabavu.⁴⁴

The African population's education brought with it the emergence of African intellectuals involved in the black press. It led to the appearance of eastern Cape African intellectuals with Tengo Jabavu at the forefront.⁴⁵ He had attended Lovedale College, and is seen as one of the prominent intellectuals among early African intellectuals in the Cape region. He believed in non-racial citizenship and that Africans needed to be granted the right to vote.⁴⁶ He launched his paper called *Imvo Zabantu* which became the platform he used to influence the African population. Later, other African intellectuals, like Rev. Walter Rubusana and Meshach Pelem, got involved in the press and set up their rival paper to Jabavu called *Izwi Labantu*.⁴⁷ Rubusana, a London Missionary Society member, used the *Izwi Labantu* to voice African interests. He became one of the founders of the

⁴² Vivian Bickford-Smith, "African nationalist or British loyalist? The complicated case of Tiyo Soga. *History Workshop Journal*, 71, 1, 2011, p.78; see also David Killingray, "Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African Organizations and the Emergence of South Africa's First Black Lawyers", *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 3, p.395.

⁴³ Killingray, "Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912", p.397.

⁴⁴ Les Switzer, "The Ambiguities of Protest in South Africa: Rural Politics and the Press during the 1920s", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23, 1, 1990, p.91.

⁴⁵ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, p.3.

⁴⁶ Khwezi Mkhize, "To See Us As We See Ourselves': John Tengo Jabavu and the Politics of the Black Periodical", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 44, 3, 2018, p.421.

⁴⁷ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, p.6; see also Greg Cuthbertson, "Missionary Imperialism and Colonial Warfare: London Missionary Society Attitudes to the South African War, 1899-1902", *South African Historical Journal*, 19, 1, 1987, pp.93-114.

South African Native Congress (SANC). Another African intellectual involved in the black press was Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje who one of the early founders of the SANNC.⁴⁸ Plaatje wrote extensively as a journalist for different newspapers and periodicals. He became a revered intellectual by both Africans and whites and became a prominent political figure. As a journalist, he was the editor of *Koranta ea Becoana* which was founded in 1908. He also edited the *Tsala ea Becoana* in 1910 and changed to *Tsala ea Batho* in 1912.⁴⁹ He was a pioneer of African press history. He edited *Imvo* for Tengo Jabavu while he was in England.

The works of scholars that trace South Africa's political consciousness commonly point to the gradual upsurge of political formations during the mid to late 19th and early 20th century as evidence of the rise of political thought. The late 20th century also experienced a wave of black Independent Churches like the African Methodist Episcopal Church. These gave rise to African intellectuals like James Tansti, Charlotte Maxeke, Henry Reed Ngcayiya, Selby Msimang and James Ngojo, to mention a few.⁵⁰ Charlotte Maxeke established the Bantu Women's League for the creation of Women's independence. The rise of independent Churches linked to political thought was a result of Christianity becoming a political tool for African intellectuals. Rodney Davenport states that Christianity had a political influence that had been threaded into the social life of *amaKholwa*.⁵¹

The Independent churches' wave was caused by unjust payment of wages for African clergymen, and the white clergymen's prohibition against the promotion

⁴⁸ Tim Couzens and Brian Willan, "Solomon T. Plaatje, 1876-1932: An Introduction", *English in Africa*, 3, 2, 1976, p.1.

⁴⁹ Couzens and Willan, "Solomon T. Plaatje", p.4.

⁵⁰ Limb, *The ANC's Early Years*, p.76.

⁵¹ Rodney H. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (Los Angeles, 1997), p.1.

of African clergy.⁵² The organisations' growth and the break away from white-led churches signified a response by the African population to the black populace's continuous exclusion from participating in parliamentary politics and the economy. Their exclusion was brought about through the discriminatory treatment, implementation of cheap labour policies, which have been discussed earlier in this chapter, and the establishment of separate administrations over African affairs. All this culminated in Africans feeling isolated and marginalised. This caused many African intellectuals to seek protection under politics.

The professional association that brought these intellectuals together allowed African intellectuals to create an identity and use it as a political platform to protest the injustices created by the white oppressive system. Organisations that emerged from the late 19th century, like the Native Education Association (NEA) and the African & American Working Men's Association (AAWMA), were established as tools for African intellectuals.⁵³ In their early years, these organisations carried out the African 'elite' mandate and had a limited connection to workers' struggles, but this commonly featured throughout the beginning phase of many early organisations. Most African workers were exposed to cruel and dangerous working conditions with their employers exploiting them through low wages, labour policies, and taxes.⁵⁴

2.4. The Principles that Informed Early African Convert Political Thought

The socio-political context influenced early African-led political organisations and the African intellectuals that formed part of these political structures. Given that many of the early African intellectuals were a product of European Christian missions, many adopted European principles and values as their own. These

⁵² Jennifer Nelson, "Lately, we have disagreed: Independent Churches in Natal and on the Rand, 1910-1930", PhD Thesis, George Mason University, 2008, pp.35-36.

⁵³ Limb, "The ANC's Early Years", p.76.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.77.

mission schools emerged during the Victorian period, resulting in them adopting the ideologies of the time. Many early African intellectuals adopted liberal ideology and infused this into their politics. According to Tsehloane, the modern South African state's socio-political climate emerged during the early 20th century.⁵⁵ The states' formation was informed by politicians who believed in the ideology of British liberalism, which promoted assimilation into the colonial system.⁵⁶ He classifies these intellectuals as being petty-bourgeois. Roger Southall states that these mission-educated elites came from African societies and carried European ideals that valued Christianity, education and economic assimilation.⁵⁷

These intellectuals, who often carried these British values, illustrated these principles through their political engagements, particularly their resistance strategies.⁵⁸ The assimilation strategy that some of the early African intellectuals adopted was informed by the liberal ideology. Following this ideology granted Africans the opportunity to prove their intellectual capacity to the colonial system. They believed that if they could prove that they could adopt a western lifestyle, then the colonial system would treat them better. Therefore, the grievances and petitions raised were ones that were carefully thought out and designed to appeal to a sense of 'fair play' at an intellectual level. Some historians have critiqued this strategy as weak, but a counterargument is that this strategy was the most potent tool available to them during their time.

Among the African intellectuals that can be identified as holding a liberal ideology were Walter Rubusana, John Tengo Jabavu and John L. Dube, who

⁵⁵ Tsehloane, "Globalisation and Modern South Africa Black Political Thought", p.92.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.92.

⁵⁷ Roger Southall, "Political Change and the Black Middle Class in Democratic South Africa", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 38, 3, 2013, p.523.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

scholars often label as conservative.⁵⁹ Hughes claims that individuals like Dube, who adopted Booker T. Washington's thinking, were politically moderate.⁶⁰ Scholars describe him as a conservative Black Nationalist that encouraged segregation.⁶¹ Dube advocated for racial equality and encouraged African people's education, resulting in his establishment of his African educational institute called Ohlange Institute. *Inkosi* Luthuli briefly attended Ohlange, and the link between Dr Dube and *inkosi* Luthuli will be explored later. Dube belonged to a cohort of *Kholwa* intellectuals that directed the African peasantry towards resisting the colonialist state and liberating the African population from the oppression of the segregatory state.

Inspired by their interpretation of the strength of British liberalism and constitutional action, these African intellectuals formed organisations as part of their resistance to the state. There was a build-up of African resistance towards the Union's formation, which resulted in black intellectuals coming together to form political organisations like the South African Native National Congress on 8th January 1912. At this first national conference, John L. Dube would be elected in absentia as president of the organisation. Born in 1871 in Inanda Mission Reserve, he had a Zulu royal background as the Qadi chief's grandson from King Shaka's rule.⁶² Dube's heritage involved two worlds – he belonged both to Zulu royalty and the 'new' world of Christianity. James Dube, John Dube's father, was the first African pastor from the American Board of Missions in 1870 and was well-regarded within the Zulu-speaking community.⁶³ Dube received a mission school education and, like *inkosi* Luthuli, attended Adams College eventually going on to the United States to continue his education in 1887. Matsha states

⁵⁹ Heather Hughes, "Dialectical Dances: Exploring John Dube's Public Life", *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 3, 2012, p.432. see also Switzer, "The Ambiguities of Protest in South Africa: Rural Politics and the Press during the 1920s", p.90.

⁶⁰ Hughes, "Dialectical Dances: Exploring John Dube's Public Life", p.418.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.426.

⁶² Matsha, "Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape", p.243.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.244.

that Dube's philosophy was African nationalism with Christian infused principles; he labels it 'transnational black modernity'.⁶⁴

According to scholars, it is evident that Booker T Washington heavily inspired Dube. He was very clear about it, stating, "Booker T. Washington is to be my guiding star [...] because like him, I, too, have my heart centred mainly in the education of my race. Therein, methinks, lies the shortest and best way to their mental, moral, material, social and political betterment".⁶⁵ It was essential to both figures that education be viewed as a key that would unlock the doorway to social development and liberation. Dube's view translated into him establishing Ohlange Institute in 1901, which was autonomous to missionary and government influences. This institute later opened to girls in 1917.⁶⁶

The launch of the SANNC signified a change in African politics. Before the organisation was launched, African leaders had focused their attention on solving problems faced by the African petty-bourgeoisie. The issues faced by the general African worker were not given much attention by political organisations that preceded the SANNC. As the years progressed, so did the organisations, and they began including worker issues as matters that African people faced. It culminated with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the first black Trade Union, launching in 1920.⁶⁷ Political thought within the black people increased which saw more black organisations like ICU emerging. Seidman's paper argues that the migrant labour system was established explicitly to enforce separate development and created a new South African identity influenced by white supremacist ideals.⁶⁸ However, within the African peasantry grew a narrative against Africans' national identity which adopted African nationalism principles.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Matsha, "Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape", p.252.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.245.

⁶⁷ Robert Trent Vinson, "'Sea Kaffirs': 'American Negroes' and the Gospel of Garveyism in Early Twentieth-Century Cape Town", *The Journal of African History*, 47, 2, 2006, p.282.

⁶⁸ G. Seidman, "Is South Africa Different? Sociological Comparisons and Theoretical Contributions for the Land of Apartheid", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 1999, p.425.

This is further evidence that political thought was possessed by African Intellectuals.

2.5 Christian Missionary education

To understand what informed *inkosi* Luthuli's thinking, we need to explore both the historical Christian background of South Africa and colonial Natal. We will be looking at the transition of the homogenous homestead class into a diverse, complex class consisting of Traditionalists and *amaKholwa* during the colonial period before the rise of the Union of South Africa. The state granting landownership powers to members of the *Induna* and *Kholwa* class contributed to the emergence of the Luthuli family. One must acknowledge and understand that the scholarly work on Christianity in South Africa is a voluminous topic and can be explored in a separate dissertation. This study will focus on the Christian mission and the rise of the *amaKholwa* class, which became pivotal in *inkosi* Luthuli's life. Christianity and missionaries played an influential role in South African life and the rise of African intellectuals, including *inkosi* Luthuli. This will be explored below. Mission stations played a role that contributed to the change of the region's social dynamics, the creation of a social class and the transformation of the chieftaincy system.

Over the 19th century, Christianity spread across southern Africa through the works of missionaries. Missionaries and colonialists had different views on how to interact with the African population. In general, the Voortrekkers saw the African people as an inferior race and distanced themselves from the missionaries' Christian mission.⁶⁹ The British administration was more receptive to missionaries' vision. They encouraged the missionaries' vision of Christianising the African population and did very little to hinder the

⁶⁹ Bertram Hutchinson, "Some Social Consequences of Nineteenth Century Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu", *Journal of the International African Institute*, 27, 2, 1957, p.161.

missionaries' work. This gave rise to the beginning of a generation of Christian educated African intellectuals. The first missionary society to establish missions outside the Cape Colony was the London Missionary Society in 1799, near Algoa Bay. This sparked the blow-out of other stations across the region.⁷⁰ The spread of mission stations from the Cape was accelerated by missionaries carrying different philosophies on converting the African mind to the Christian faith.

Keto's paper argues that it was due to this difference in approach that missions emerged to serve different purposes.⁷¹ The strategy they adopted informed how they socialised and interacted with the local community. Keto states that the missionaries in colonial Natal took longer to convert Africans than missionaries in the Cape.⁷² The strategy they adopted was to train Africans first for clerical work, and then, once the community had been 'civilized', they would move on to conversion. They did not see the correlation between culture and religion, and so Natal missionaries only baptized converts later. The Cape missionaries adopted direct and immediate conversion. The denomination and the nationalities of the ministers influenced the strategy adopted, giving rise to a scattered educational mission.

For this reason, some mission stations focused on education especially in the eastern region of the Cape where educational institutions like Lovedale College were set up. The missions that were set up in colonial Natal reserves focused on established African land ownership, and education became a secondary by-product. They believed that the African population needed to be granted access to land to work it because this will move them towards wanting to be 'civilized'.

⁷⁰ R. L. Cope, "Christian Missions and Independent African Chiefdoms in South Africa in the 19th Century", *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 52, 1979, p.4; C Tsehloane Keto, "Race Relations, Land and the Changing Missionary Role in South Africa: A case Study of the American Zulu Mission, 1850-1910", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 10, 4, 1977, 600-627.

⁷¹ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.603.

⁷² *Ibid.*

The theory was that once they had been baptized and converted, they would pursue education.

The African population was also receptive to the spread of missionaries as they saw them as an opportunity to improve their socio-economic condition. Others sought refuge within the stations because of the challenging circumstances they faced within their chiefdoms or homesteads. Therefore, there was an attractive element to the arrival of the missions. Mission stations provided access to material and tools. One Paramount Chief in Bechuanaland, now Botswana, enforced a rule that no other chief could have missionaries, thus elevating himself as elite.⁷³ Other chiefs permitted the presence of missions with the anticipation that it would advance their status above other chiefs within the colonial state. Chiefs like Ngqika in 1818 used the missionary as diplomats with the colonial government.⁷⁴ Missionaries helped with negotiations for land with the colonial administration and assisted with political relations between the white settler community and the African population. Missionaries were educated individuals that could read and write, and some would use these skillsets as an exchange for their use by chiefs. Throughout the 19th century, some missionaries became secretaries to some chiefs upon their arrival within the region.

Some of the early mission stations managed to draw in many women who were trying to escape circumstances that involved harsh traditional practices. For example, some women ran away from their Traditionalist communities because they were escaping marital arrangements because they were not happy with either the potential partner or the circumstances of their marital arraignment.⁷⁵ The missionaries influence transcended the bounds of education and conversion and

⁷³ Hutchinson, "Some Social Consequences of Nineteenth Century", p.162.

⁷⁴ Cope, "Christian Missions", p.5; see also Hutchinson, "Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu", p.161.

⁷⁵ Amanda Porterfield, "The impact of early New England missionaries on women's roles in Zulu culture", *Church history*, 66,1, 1997, p.73.

filtered into political, social and economic arenas.⁷⁶ Christianity thus played a key role in moulding the emergence of *amaKholwa*. Christianity gave African converts access to education and as result it gave *amaKholwa* an advantage over Traditionalists. It gave them access to the colonial capitalist economy through their production of cash crops and small-scale agricultural land.⁷⁷

As mentioned earlier, parts of the country fell under the independent authority of chiefs within chiefdoms. The missionaries would have to get permission from the chiefs in the area to set up their mission stations. The permission granted was not for free and was often given in exchange for European manufactured items, like the hoe and plough, or skillsets, like reading and writing. Some missionaries brought with them new practices and innovations which altered the African lifestyle. For example, they introduced the hoe, which allowed effective agricultural practices, and the use of oxen to plough the land.⁷⁸ These contributed to the change of labour roles within the homestead unit.

Missionaries had teachings that challenged important cultural beliefs that had maintained customs and cultural practices like polygyny, lobola and African traditional religion.⁷⁹ Arguably, the ‘new religion’ shook some of the fundamentals of the ‘old religion’. The erosion of African custom continued to weaken chiefs’ authority. As the ‘old religion’ was eroded, a void grew which Christianity came to fill. New converts began discarding their African culture and adopted European life and its customs.⁸⁰ Some chiefs rejected missionaries and viewed Africans that converted to the ‘new religion’ as traitors to the chiefdom, to the chief and to their cultural heritage. Some chiefs boldly rejected missionaries

⁷⁶ Matsha, “Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape”, p.241.

⁷⁷ Southall, “The African Middle Class in South Africa 1910 – 1994”, p.291.

⁷⁸ Cope, “Christian Missions”, p.18; see also Hutchinson, “Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu”, p.163.

⁷⁹ Cope, “Christian Missions”, p.9.

⁸⁰ Hutchinson, “Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu”, p.162.

and their teachings and cast out any of their people that sought to convert and followed missionaries' teachings.

It was standard for some African converts to become religious ministers or religious leaders of their communities. Some African communities converted to Christianity due to the African converts that joined missionary work and spread mission stations. Some African intellectuals were accepted by the communities they had left behind, thus inspiring the community's overall conversion. Missionaries enlisted the early converts' assistance to translate Christianity into a faith with less foreign concepts, but the African translators started to infuse their own African perceptive.⁸¹ This allowed Christianity to undergo a naturalisation process so that the once foreign faith turned into an African Religion. These African translators helped the African community to imagine themselves in the message. Magera Fuze became one of the early Kholwa public intellectuals to fulfil this role. These African converts stand apart from the African Christians that belong to African *Initiated Churches* (AIC). Africans belonging to AICs were founded by Africans and had no direct links to missionaries.⁸² The AIC churches had no connection to internationally developed institutions like those associated with missionaries who came from international churches or branches. Their spiritual beliefs were significantly linked to cosmology.

Some African converts completely tossed aside their African customs when they converted to Christianity, and others blended both faiths into one, not altogether abandoning either identity. Those Africans that completely turned their backs on their cultural background were isolated to the mission stations within the independent chiefdoms, cutting them off from their fellow African counterparts. Some missionaries openly pushed and advocated for British rule and, in the

⁸¹ Robert J. Houle, *Making African Christianity: Africans Reimagining Their Faith in Colonial South African* (Plymouth, 2011), p.xxv.

⁸² P. Öhlmann, M.L. Frost, and W. Gräb, "African Initiated Churches' potential as development actors", *HTS Theological Studies*, 72, 4, 2016, p.2.

instance of Colonial Natal, sparked a Zulu war. The support from missionaries for British rule created a symbiotic relationship between missionaries and the colonial state. The colonial government applied two kinds of strategies to gain control of the chieftaincy system. For example, in the Eastern Cape, it aimed to deteriorate the system by introducing British bureaucracy. The second strategy it used was the practice of ‘indirect’ rule.⁸³ Indirect rule was exercised by Theophilus Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, who introduced the ‘Shepstone System’. His policies permitted chiefs to govern as administrators in Colonial Natal and appointed chiefs for the late 19th-century system.

2.6. *AmaKholwa*– Rise of the Natal’s *Kholwa* intellectuals

The emergence of the *amaKholwa* within colonial Natal had a heavy Christian influence. The economic effects that came with the discovery of minerals sparked off the mineral revolution which was met with the region’s spread of mission stations. *Inkosi* Luthuli emerged from a strand of African intellectuals called *Kholwa* intellectuals. It is important for the reader to understand that *amaKholwa* is a class and from the class would emerge *Kholwa* intellectuals. The class consisted educated converts and often at the helm of the class were *Kholwa* intellectuals. The blow-out of missions in the eastern Cape resulted in the disperse of missionary educated intellectuals whereas the increase of mission stations in Colonial Natal resulted in landowner intellectuals.

The emergence of mission stations in Natal’s colony came from American influences, and missionaries were sent to convert the Zulu kingdom’s independent state. John Lambert’s work on land purchases done by Africans within the region points to the American Zulu Mission (AZM) being key to the emergence of African landowners.⁸⁴ The AZM was the branch of the American

⁸³ Beall, Mkhize, and Shahid, “Institutions, Chieftaincy in KwaZulu-Natal”, p.760.

⁸⁴ Lambert, “African Reasons for Purchasing Land”, p.39.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (American Board) at a local level and had its headquarters based in Boston, United States of America (US).⁸⁵ The mission stations appeared rapidly in the region and historians see colonial Natal as having the highest density of mission work in Africa during the 19th century.⁸⁶ The US' constitutional thought believed in the separation of church and state, resulting in the US not getting involved in the American mission work.⁸⁷ They introduced a type of Christianity that promoted African converts' strategy of becoming peasant farmers. It gave rise to small-scale agricultural settlements and tied the converts to the land.⁸⁸ It posed a challenge to the existing homestead economy that was the Zulu-speaking community's fabric, which has been discussed above. One of the binding principles of this economy was the communal sharing of land.

Some early colonial administrators supported the homestead economy's existence, which is why indirect rule existed under Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary for Native Affairs between 1845 and 1875. It was under this style of governance that missionaries were permitted to purchase large portions of land. 'Indirect rule' illustrates a State and Church alliance that was only possible due to the US constitutional thought gap that saw the two institutions as separate.⁸⁹ The British colonial government was more than happy to fill the void and partnered with the missionary work. Thus, we see that Shepstone's administration introduced interventions that supported the American mission work. He also introduced policies that recognised customary law and acknowledged chiefs as administrators of homestead land while exempting African converts from following these laws.⁹⁰ He introduced the *togt* labour system to reduce African

⁸⁵ Hughes, "African Reaction to Indian Immigration", p.161; Keto, "The American Zulu Mission, 1850-1910", p.602.

⁸⁶ Matsha, "Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape", p.241.

⁸⁷ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.603.

⁸⁸ Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land", p.45.

⁸⁹ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.603.

⁹⁰ Marks, "the Ideology of Segregation", p.174.

urbanisation. The system required 'togt' workers, independent day labour workers, to register, pay fees and wear a badge.⁹¹ The system placed a fixed wage amount to regulate the influx of control and labour. These policies contributed to the establishment, according to Shula Marks, of a pre-capitalist mode of production with the objective of surplus extraction and possession for personal use.⁹² The mode came in the form of rent, tribute or taxes.

Shepstone's administration created fertile conditions for the spread of missionary work. Mission stations began setting up in the colony and received land from the state to set up small-scale agricultural settlements. Lambert attributes this to the Christian Victorian period's views that Christianity was tied closely to civilisation.⁹³ Pioneer missionaries, who held these same views, were Daniel Lindley and Newton Adams. Daniel and his wife set up the Inanda Seminary in 1846.⁹⁴ The American Board had sent Adams and Rev. Aldin Grout to set up mission stations and Grout set up Umvoti Mission Reserve in the region now known as Groutville.⁹⁵ Grout and Adams were part of the missionaries group that was part of the "Zoolah" missions that established the Zulu mission.⁹⁶ The first of Grout's converts were *inkosi* Luthuli's grandfather, Ntaba Luthuli, and his grandmother, Titisi.⁹⁷ The early Luthuli converts got remarried under Christianity and moved into a square hut. Ntaba received an education and became a teacher. As one can see, the Luthuli heritage conforms to the characterisation of *amaKholwa*, and *inkosi* Luthuli comes from a long legacy of educated African converts.

⁹¹ M.W. Swanson, "The Durban system: roots of urban apartheid in colonial Natal", *African Studies*, 35, 3-4, 1976, p.165.

⁹² Marks, "The Ideology of Segregation", p.175.

⁹³ Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land", p.45.

⁹⁴ Cheryl Walker, (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town, 1990), p.201.

⁹⁵ Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p.19.

⁹⁶ Houle, *Making African Christianity*, p.11.

⁹⁷ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.21; see also Houle, *Making African Christianity*, p.43.

The early missionaries believed that Africans should be allowed to continue to maintain their producer lifestyle, should not be disconnected from the land and must be allowed to contribute to the cash crop economy. Inclusive of these values were the beliefs that society needed a nuclear family that owned private land and could work for others.⁹⁸ The early colonial government supported this thinking and permitted mission stations to purchase land grants. The grants were made possible through the introduction by the colonial administration of Ordinance Number 5 in 1856, which allowed American missionaries to hold land.⁹⁹ These land grants permitted African converts access to individual landownerships that were not possible under the homestead economy.¹⁰⁰ Inanda mission bought large acres along the colony's coastal region and gave these lands to their 'newly' converted Africans who moved onto their mission reserves. These lands were chosen deliberately because of their fertility. Early in the chapter, it was discussed how colonial Natal's land policy had favoured the white-settler farmers and left the African population restricted to less arable land. The mission stations often deliberately chose fertile land to avoid the same misfortune befalling the African converts that decided to move on to their reserves. By the turn of the century, the policies under Shepstone's administration had paved the way to 127 212 acres of land falling under mission reserve ownership. Large portions were divided into reserves for schools and the proletariat mission.¹⁰¹

During the 1860s, the mission stations brought about the growth of settlement portions within the colony. Thus, Inanda Seminary and the American Board Mission in Groutville, which were some of the early successful mission stations, emerged. Initially, communities started up with Africans that had become refugees due to tensions between chiefdoms or internal social conflicts in their chiefdoms. Colonial Natal became a region of displaced communities of large

⁹⁸ Lambert, "Reasons for Land Purchase", p.38.

⁹⁹ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.604.

¹⁰⁰ Lambert, "Reasons for Land Purchase", pp.36-37.

¹⁰¹ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.605.

groups fleeing the Mfecane conflict or being displaced by it.¹⁰² Others were fleeing the hardship of their Traditionalist lifestyle experience due to economic factors or cultural factors.

Mission stations only accepted Africans who did not conflict with the European beliefs system; for example, if an African person was accused of witchcraft, they could not stay within the mission reserve.¹⁰³ Norman Etherington's paper "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism" points to the existence of some African women converts who had arrived because they were fleeing their bridal or marital matters.¹⁰⁴ He acknowledges that some mission documents were exaggerated in discussing some of the women's issues and need to be read with a critical eye. However, there were stories like that of James Dube's mother Mayembe (baptised name Dalida), John Dube's grandmother, who sought refuge at a mission to avoid the cultural practice of marrying her deceased husband's brother.¹⁰⁵ She was married to the Qadi chiefdom's former chief and is viewed as one of the Inanda mission reserve's first converts. This example speaks to some of the marital matters that led women to seek refuge in mission reserves. Other African converts believed that they had a religious experience requiring them to leave their Traditionalist lives behind and convert to Christianity.

Missionaries completely changed the lives of African converts socially, politically and economically. The Congregationalist missionaries influenced the social lives of African converts by prohibiting their consumption of alcohol. Ministers disapproved of the marital practices of lobola and polygyny and discouraged traditional attire.¹⁰⁶ The missionaries brought European ideals that

¹⁰² Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (California, 1979), p.36.

¹⁰³ Norman Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 9, 4, 1974, p.596.

¹⁰⁴ Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.597.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.597.

¹⁰⁶ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.603.

impacted the production practices, and technologies that changed the local's agricultural practices. Some of the initial communities were positioned close to urban markets, giving them easier access to the capitalist economy, and some were also able to receive employment.¹⁰⁷

Like Edendale, well-known mission reserves started in 1851 by James Allison provided for Pietermaritzburg's market among others.¹⁰⁸ Etherington supports Lambert's view that Edendale had successfully proven the experiment of African agricultural capitalism.¹⁰⁹ Allison had purchased a farm in Edendale near Pietermaritzburg. He required the Africans to put in a £5 investment. They received individual portions of land and were given a clear title once the mortgage had been paid off.¹¹⁰ The African converts successfully worked the land which resulted in the community's growth and prosperity. This was not before expelling Allison for poor management. More missions started to appear and grow in size and number following the Edendale agricultural capitalist scheme. In line with the small-scale agricultural idea, some of the mission reserves produced cash crops like sugar cane. Thus, emerged, during the same period between the 1860s and 1870s, another successful reserve on the coastal region, ABM station in Groutville.¹¹¹ Edendale and Groutville missions' successes allowed for missions to approach the state to permit individual ownership of land by Africans.

Some African converts arrived at the stations as individuals, and others brought with them their families. Some of these early stations became areas of merging cultures, with refugees and the local inhabitants coming from various clans and chiefdoms. They abandoned their cultural identity, i.e. being Zulu or Sotho, which did not matter anymore, and their cultural heritage, like belonging to the Dube clan or Qwabe clan. They all became *amaKholwa* inside the reserve, and

¹⁰⁷ Lambert, "African Purchase", p.45.

¹⁰⁸ Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.601.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.601.

¹¹⁰ Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.602.

¹¹¹ Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land in Natal", p.45.

this was their new identity. It allowed for mixing different backgrounds through marriages and sharing of common ideals and views. This cultivated the right conditions for the rise of a conscious *Kholwa* class. The Edendale station produced African intellectuals like Saul Msane and Selby Msimang, whilst the American Station in Groutville produced Martin Luthuli and his nephew, *inkosi* Luthuli. The Congregationalist mission had James Dube and Ira Nembula, who were black pastors. James's son, John Dube, went on to help establish the SANNC while Ira's son, John Nembula, founded the African Christian Union.¹¹² Here we can see that early converts were followed by another generation of African intellectuals that branched into African politics or started organisations to help African people. James Dube was part of the founding of the first secondary school for African girls called Inanda Seminary in 1869 and was well respected by Traditionalists and *Kholwa* alike.¹¹³ Many of these *Kholwa* intellectuals had received mission education, thus granting them access to further education, land and progress as a class. However, this is not to say that without these, they would not have become the prominent individuals they became. Many of them already possessed the intellectual thinking and consciousness that set them apart from their African counterparts.

Some historians consider these Africans as the 'elite' among their African counterparts. Early *amaKholwa* were heads of royal families, like Dalida and *inkosi* Luthuli's grandparents, when they converted to Christianity, which gave them their 'elite' status. Their children then emerged as *amaKholwa* coming from a legacy of royalty. Others were 'elite' based on the accessibility to land, and their professional background gave them privileges to which other Africans had no access. This created an elitist nature to their *amaKholwa* identity. The *amaKholwa* class became a class of businessmen, farmers, teachers and traders

¹¹² Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.602.

¹¹³ Hughes, "Doubly Elite", p.450.

that adopted European education and customs.¹¹⁴ Early *amaKholwa* experienced the dilemma of being trapped between two identities.¹¹⁵ The European identity they adopted possessed European ideals, particularly Victorian liberalism, and they implemented their customs. The new Christian identity served more than a functional purpose as it drew them together as African converts. They clung to this identity because it gave them access to the broader world, and they would actively participate in worldwide prayer days, making them transnational Christians.¹¹⁶ This was relevant in *inkosi* Luthuli's life as it granted him access to travel to the US and India, which opened his eyes to international social injustices. *AmaKholwa* were conscious that they were not Europeans but still were Africans and clung to that African identity. They were aware that, as Africans, they had abandoned some of the beliefs and values that Traditionalists identified as being their defining qualities.

As a class, they used their connection to the European identity to improve their living and social condition as *amaKholwa*. In 1881, *amaKholwa* approached the colonial government requesting to have seats within the Legislative Council of Natal's decision-making because they felt powerless against the white settler farmers.¹¹⁷ Their petitions to Natal's colonial government requested their recognition as equals to the white settlers and assistance with education matters and buying land.¹¹⁸ The identity dilemma allowed the colonial state to consult with them on issues that concerned the African population. The missionaries encouraged *amaKholwa* to find unity among their own to bring more Africans to the faith. Thus, passages in the bible were used by African preachers to

¹¹⁴ Cope, "Mission Stations", p.19.

¹¹⁵ Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.603; Hlonipha Mokoena, "The making of a Kholwa intellectual: a discursive biography of Magma Mawaza Fuze" PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2005, p.7.

¹¹⁶ Houle, *Making African Christian*, p.xxxii.

¹¹⁷ Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.616.

¹¹⁸ Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p.603.

conscientized their congregants to their African identity. These teachings were used to spark the foundations for African nationalism within the class.

The identity of *amaKholwa* moved beyond being a religious identity. Their self-consciousness reframed their identity to move beyond the spiritual frame and became a political tool for social and economic emancipation. They were treated differently to the Africans who kept their African customs but were not treated as equals to the European Christians. The *amaKholwa* refined and sharpened their thinking as a class causing it to grow in size from the late 19th century and into the 20th century. The Africans were being excluded from spaces and conditions that could allow them to compete with European settlers.¹¹⁹ This sparked the rise of Ethiopian Churches and the AIC. Other *amaKholwa* went on to form political associations giving rise to African nationalism. Natal produced African intellectuals like South Africa's first black attorneys, Alfred Mangena and Pixley Seme. John Langalibalele Dube, the first President General of SANNCA, came from a royal background and grew up under the guise of AZM. This class was granted restricted access to the colonial capitalist system, to which their fellow Africans, who had chosen not to convert, had no access.

The expansion of mineral interests within this region would climax with the South African War of 1899-1902.¹²⁰ It resulted in a prosperous condition for a social and political environment for black South Africans that had not necessarily occurred before.¹²¹ Hughes states that this condition made way for exchanging ideas between African intellectuals who were part of the state-building project.¹²² This class emerged simultaneously with the South African state's formation under white supremacy rule. During the mineral revolution, the individual ownership of land had grown substantially to the extent that even chiefs of

¹¹⁹ Cope, "Mission, Stations", p.20.

¹²⁰ Rich, "The Baptism of a new Era", p.539.

¹²¹ Tsehloane, "Globalisation and Modern South Africa", p.92.

¹²² Hughes, "Dialectical Dances", p.418.

Traditionalist communities could purchase land. There was also a progression of more *Kholwa* individuals purchasing land independent of the white missionaries' oversight. This was based on the spread of ideas of self-support and self-propagation among the class.¹²³ Lambert states that this happened because, over the century, the African population had gained self-consciousness on the matter of individual land ownership.¹²⁴ The class moved from being insecure individuals that did not grasp the potential power of their ownership, to communities that grew to have elite visionaries for the collective. The attitude towards landownership had changed. There began two types of purchases, individual purchases and communal purchases.¹²⁵ The Individual purchase was often exercised by *amaKholwa*, and the communal purchase was exercised by chiefs who purchased land to accommodate their growing followers. Colonial Natal experienced a sudden population growth with the development of its economy and the Anglo-Zulu War. African tenets were either being evicted by the white settler farmers because they had failed to pay their exorbitant rates or were leaving in protest of the high rates. The white farmers were purchasing more land through the land policy, resulting in restricted land being available for traditionalists that still belonged to the homestead economy. Some mission reserves still had *amaKholwa*, who had become prosperous individual landowners.¹²⁶ The reserve in Groutville had landowners that began leasing out small plots to the Indian gardener community, which Hughes discusses in her works, and thus emerged the Luthuli family.

The Colonial government recognised that it was becoming more challenging to govern these reserves. It introduced legislation under the Native Administration Act of 1875 that appointed individuals as *izinduna* (headmen), granting them the

¹²³ Keto," The American Zulu Mission", p.612.

¹²⁴ Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land", p.40.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.49.

authority over stations' converts.¹²⁷ This regulation helped the colonial state govern some reserves that had many Traditionalists that operated under customary law with no chief. These reserves also had prosperous *amaKholwa* landowners that had large parts of land under their ownership. In 1891 the colonial state introduced the Native Code of 1891, which awarded these successful landowners chief ranking status as the community's *induna*.¹²⁸ This legislation validated the position of *induna*. The Code gave rise to Klass Goba, Stephen Mini, Johanness Khumalo and Martin Luthuli, who was *inkosi* Luthuli's uncle. This piece of legislation allowed for Martin and others like him to exercise authority over the reserve. It permitted people's movement in their territory as long as their allegiance was transferred to them.¹²⁹ Martin Luthuli had become a successful sugar planter within the area and used wage labour to assist him in production. This legislation allowed these *amaKholwa* to assimilate into the chief system; some were more successful in their governance than others.

Natal over the 19th century had moved from a loosely governed white-settler farmer area into the well-established representative political system by 1880.¹³⁰ Their style of governance over the land was through indirect rule. The official administration of Natal had solidified with the establishment of the Legislative Assembly in 1893. The Assembly was only possible due to instability within the region caused by the Anglo-Zulu War, which culminated in the British defeating the Zulu kingdom in 1879.¹³¹ Members of the Natal Parliament were elected white males who were predominantly maize and stock farmers. They utterly ignored representation of the African voice, with no member of the African population being present.

¹²⁷ Hughes, "Duality Elite", p.454.

¹²⁸ Lambert, "Reasons", p.52.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.52.

¹³⁰ Morrell, "White-farmers", p.31.

¹³¹ Matsha, "Mapping", p.242.

As colonial Natal progressed towards forming the Union, tensions were growing in the white settler community because of the rapid occurrence of African land ownership through the 19th century. White farm settlers were not pleased that the African-owned land was reducing labour on their farms.¹³² They were also unsettled by the number of *amaKholwa* landowners that could survive the economic crisis of the 1870s. However, many had lost their lands, while some were able to retain their ownership through the situation. Some lost their land during the South African War as well. In 1893 a new colonial government came into power. They wanted to dismantle the existing practices and introduced legislation with that purpose.¹³³ The colonial government came under the increasing influence of the minority white settler farming community. Their ability to influence policies and legislation came from the economic benefit of the developing market of both the internal and Natal's economic boom. These legislations started with prohibiting Africans from buying land that was conquered and open to public sale and forbade bids on crown lands by Africans. The government legislation and administrations that followed introduced the most segregationist policies yet. These were formulated by the Union of South African State.

2.7. Conclusion

Gramsci's work argues that the emergence of organic intellectuals occurs when there is an economic change in society resulting in a new social group's rise. In South Africa's context, the petty bourgeois class emerged with the gold and diamond discovery. This connects South Africa to Gramsci's line of argument about the conditions that contribute to the emergence of a new social group. In South Africa, this set the scene for the arrival of the Luthuli family, its status in society and *inkosi* Luthuli's historical context. The country's economy started to

¹³² Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.606.

¹³³ Lambert, "Reasons", p.47; see also Keto, "The American Zulu Mission", p.616.

take a formalised structure and gave way to cheap African labour and the African peasantry. The formalisation of South Africa's economy was under a white supremacist state. The oppressive labour system enforced by white supremacist legislation caused the African petty bourgeois class to align with similar educational backgrounds, Christian faith, and economic access. In Natal's context, *inkosi* Luthuli's social group, *amaKholwa*, emerged. The historical discussion of South Africa's economy's formalisation attempts to prove to the reader that Gramsci's work applies to both South Africa and colonial Natal. The focus on colonial Natal's racial dynamics is essential given that the racial tensions existed from the inception of colonial Natal and continued till *inkosi* Luthuli assumed the President-General's role. The white settler community negatively impacted the African community by taking their arable land and cattle. The African community's homestead economy crumbled, and white capitalism emerged, decimating the Zulu culture.

The arrival of missionaries brought Christianity to Africans, which gave way to the rise of *amaKholwa*. The chapter discussed how this 'new social' class had intellectuals that were prosperous landowners and gave rise to black entrepreneurs and other African professionals. The class consciousness spread among the *amaKholwa* and sparked AICs, African political organisations and the African Trade Union. Many of these institutions overlapped with each other and helped each other to move South Africa towards democracy. At the helm of these institutes were African intellectuals and some of them being *Kholwa* intellectuals. The establishment of Mission Reserves brought with it African landownership, and the Luthuli family became prosperous landowners. The reader needed to see how the Luthuli family obtained their 'elite' social status which *inkosi* Luthuli used to his benefit to improve the lives of Africans in Groutville. The Indian community's arrival and the indentured labour system fuelled racial tensions between Africans and Indians until the Defiance Campaign launch. *Inkosi* Luthuli

became the bridge between these two racial groups that had this decades-long tension. The purpose of this chapter was to place the social class of *amaKholwa*, *inkosi* Luthuli and the emergence of modern African intellectuals in their historical context.

3. Chapter Three: Intellectual Development

The previous chapter explored the historical background of South Africa and colonial Natal, where various elements contributed to the rise of *amaKholwa*. This was to illustrate the point made in the introduction around defining intellectuals, that they emerged from within their community.¹ *Inkosi* Luthuli's community was made up *amaKholwa* class and Traditionalists. The reader had to learn about the subtle external influences that existed before *inkosi* Luthuli's birth before we could discuss his life. The *amaKholwa* class was made up of both types of intellectuals, traditional and organic intellectuals. This faith-based social group's emergence created a path for the Luthuli family, including *inkosi* Luthuli, to emerge as intellectuals. In this chapter, the discussion focuses on his early years through his autobiography *Let My People Go*. The intention is to reveal the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thought and trace the social influences, figures and educational institutions that contributed to his intelligentsia. The chapter sets out illustrate to the reader that intellectuals' intellegensia does not exist out of a vacuum but has a source. *Inkosi* Luthuli's intellect is no exception for it too has sources.

Inkosi Luthuli was a devout and disciplined Christian and a family-orientated man. His upbringing and childhood influenced his intellect. Key childhood figures, like Nozililo Mtonya (MaGumede)² and Martin Luthuli, as well as his social experience at Adams College will be explored. The thesis argues that both Ntaba Luthuli and Adams College were *inkosi* Luthuli's traditional intellectual influence, whilst Nozililo and Martin are identified as *inkosi* Luthuli's organic intellectual influence. Intellectuals are seen as formal links with the peasantry whilst providing society with theory and ideology.³ Before we explore what

¹ Farred, *What's My Name*, p.5.

² In the Zulu culture, it is custom to refer to the wife who married into the family by her maiden name. Nozililo Mtonya came from the Gumede family and will be referred to as MaGumede in this thesis.

³ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.132.

theory and ideology was shared by *inkosi* Luthuli, the reader needs to understand the origins of what influenced his thinking.

The study explores how African intellectuals developed through their social context. The argument here is that the early social experience that young Albert went through informed his belief in multiracialism, internationalism, active Congregationalism and democracy. The chapter traces the origins of *inkosi* Luthuli's hybrid philosophy to understand the intellectual activity that informed his public speeches. His early social experience and early formal western education contribute to the intellectual development of young Albert. The chapter also explores his formal education at Adams College which provided his intellectual activity with structure and framework. The chapter explores one of his hybrid philosophy's foundational pillar which was his Christian faith that informed his belief in democracy and human equality. It explores how his faith informed his belief in multiracialism and African nationalism. He believed that women had an equal role in society, and this thinking can be found in his childhood experience. His hybrid philosophy gave him the foresight to envision a different South Africa and contributed to the modern democratic state's blueprint.

3.1 The Home of My Fathers: A Vision for a multicultural and multiracial society

It is important for the reader to take note that this study follows closely the chronological theme that is found within *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography. His autobiography's first chapter, *The home of my fathers*, is focused on the history of Zulu kingdom, history of Groutville and his family's lineage before he discusses his birth and childhood. Therefore we beginning our intellectual assessment in the same nature. The chapter provides us with an illustration of how much he valued his heritage and culture. This became part of *inkosi* Luthuli's

intellectual thought on his vision of South Africa as a multicultural and multiracial society. He states this in his “Our Vision is a Democratic Society” speech: “I believe that our vision of democracy in South Africa will be realised, because there is a growing number of people who are coming to accept the fact that in South Africa we are a multi-racial community”.⁴ This element of his intellectual thought stems from his value for cultural heritage. This value was an expression of the type of African nationalism he believed needed to exist in South Africa. His African nationalism ideology believed that all races could co-exist under a democratic society. This position is further reinforced in the same speech, where he states that: “I believe personally that, notwithstanding the fact that our cultures are diverse, we come to live together and in the process of our coming together”.⁵ This biographical study traces his belief in multiculturalism and multiracialism through his autobiographical work, granting the reader insight into *inkosi* Luthuli’s thoughts on how society should function under democracy. His multicultural and multiracialism position helped him stand out among his fellow African intellectuals. His belief allowed him to balance and marry two different cultural identities and bring other cultural groups into the liberation movement. His belief that various cultures and racial groups could co-exist allowed him to support the ANC’s co-operation policy that came into existence later in his political career.

His philosophy on multiculturalism and multiracialism further appears as a theme in his autobiography. Early on in this text, he gives his reader historical context about the Zulu kingdom’s rise. It can be argued that the inclusion of the history of Zulu Kingdom is done deliberately to form part of educating his reader audience. *Inkosi* Luthuli illustrates an element of what it means to be an intellectual, which is the ability to educate society about the past, present and the

⁴ Albert Luthuli, “Our Vision is a Democratic Society: Speech at Public Meeting for Europeans organized by the Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg, 1958”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.130.

vision of the future. He achieves this educational element through his discussion of the Zulu Kingdom. I would also argue that *inkosi* Luthuli was an intellectual on the basis of his ability to critique his culture and African leaders while at the same time being critical of white South African historians that were writing about *Nkosi* Shaka at the time. For *inkosi* Luthuli, discussing Zulu culture's heritage is crucial because it brings to the fore its history and how the Zulu nation developed. Intellectuals are identified through their ability to help society see the world differently or take something well-known and apply their interpretation. Through his autobiography, *inkosi* Luthuli takes the Zulu nation's cultural heritage and provides a critical voice. Since this activity is not practised by non-intellectuals or by the subaltern class, it shows that *inkosi* Luthuli exercised a higher intellectual activity. He provided a brief critical analysis of *Nkosi* Shaka who general society members would have accepted without any critique. He states "Shaka did violate some of the customs of his people, and this was his undoing" and further states "that he could be despotic was probably no great matter, but his people expected their king to temper this with benevolence. Shaka's rule grew harsher".⁶ His assessment of *Nkosi* Shaka does acknowledge the king's ruthlessness. However, *inkosi* Luthuli argued that his violence was not as calculated, nor did it lack humanity, as was the case with the violence of the dictators of *inkosi* Luthuli's time. He argues in the autobiography that *Nkosi* Shaka was "occasional ruthlessness was minor by comparison with that of modern dictators, and it was seldom, if ever, as calculated and sub-human as theirs".⁷ *Inkosi* Luthuli's leadership analysis of *Nkosi* Shaka, which he contrasts with dictators of his time, shows that he understood violence; he understood that violence was well-thought-out and not very merciful. The assessment of the motive behind the Zulu king's violence illustrates *inkosi* Luthuli's ability to understand violence, its nature and what motivates one to its use.

⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.17.

⁷ *Ibid.*

He critiqued South African historians of his own time that slandered *Nkosi* Shaka and argued for him to be viewed in his context. He states in his autobiography “Shaka has been much maligned by white South African historians. His outlook was that of his day, and when that is taken into account, and when all that can be said to his discredit has been said, this king of legendary physique emerges as a brilliant general, and a ruler of great courage, intelligence, and ability”.⁸ This allows one to see the Zulu king as an intelligent general. Here, *inkosi* Luthuli illustrated an intellectual ability that went beyond the retelling of a historical figure by calling for a change of view which broke away from traditional intellectuals’, who were from the dominant group, view of the figure. His criticism did not protect *Nkosi* Shaka and acknowledged that his rule lacked benevolence. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s opening commentary on his African heritage speaks to self-awareness required by Gramsci’s perspective in intellectuals. His cultural background awareness speaks to his proud Zulu view that he possessed and was shared among Zulu-speaking *amaKholwa* within colonial Natal. Throughout this study, examples like these will illustrate his intellectual thought on African nationalism and multiculturalism.

3.2 *AmaKholwa* Congregationalist

Previously the study had mentioned that *inkosi* Luthuli came from the *amaKholwa* class. His family belonged to Congregationalist faith and the discussion below will illustrate to the reader key principles and values that belonged to congregationalism that helped inform his intellect. I would argue that his Christian faith was another source of intellect especially since his speeches feature a heavy Christian theme which illustrates how much he valued his faith. His Christian faith was essential not only for young Albert, but it later became the fundamental pillar that grounded his political philosophy and motivated him

⁸ *Ibid.*

in his life. Couper's opening chapter states that "any historical inquiry that ignores the role of Luthuli's Christian faith, and more specifically, his faith tradition, fails to analyse him adequately".⁹ One is inclined to agree with this warning, and a further exploration of his Christian background and its development is required.

Thus we trace the discussion back to *Nkosi* Shaka's death that resulted in *Nkosi uDingane kaSenzangakhona*, the half-brother, ascending the throne. White settlers, traders, hunters, adventurers and missionaries arrived during his reign. The previous chapter detailed the arrival of white settlers and missionaries and their impact on the Zulu-speaking community. *Inkosi* Luthuli alluded to the arrival of some white settlers during *Nkosi* Shaka's time. In 1835, Captain Allen Francis Gardiner arrived as one of the earliest missionaries of precolonial Natal.¹⁰ He was received by *Nkosi* uDingane and was permitted to live in the Zululand region, on the kingdom's outskirts. Gardner was involved in the Commissioning of the Cape's Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, to permit Durban's establishment. The establishment of a formal white-settler settlement led to the arrival of the American Board who were Congregationalist missionaries and the expansion of missionaries in colonial Natal.

Couper's biography on *inkosi* Luthuli traces the origins of Congregationalism as far back as King Henry VIII 1534 secession from the Roman Church, which gave rise to a Puritan group that held similar ideological thinking to that of Congregationalists.¹¹ Congregationalism set its roots during the American Revolution in the New England region, then developed in Illinois, and by the time of the launch of missionary work it had become a fully-fledged church.¹² Earlier in its history, Congregationalism shared theological roots with Presbyterianism.

⁹ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.2.

¹⁰ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.18; A. E. Cubbin, "Origins of Durban", 1988 (access by www.repository.nmw.ac.za).

¹¹ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.9.

¹² Samuel C. Pearson Jr, "From Church to Denomination: American Congregationalism in the Nineteenth Century", *Church History*, 38, 1, 1969, 67 – 87.

The church showed interests in developing its members' education and set up scholarships and programs to further their education. Education was a deep foundational value of the church and was carried right through to its members and missionaries and passed onto their converts. Arguably, their emphasis on education's importance is why Dr John L. Dube, a congregationalist, pushed so hard to establish his African educational institution called Ohlange Institute. Ohlange was the same institution that *inkosi* Luthuli briefly attended before he was transferred to Edendale.

The Luthuli family's Congregationalist faith infused the value of education into the fabric of their family. The importance of education can be seen in *inkosi* Luthuli's family. While at the mission precincts MaGumede had "learned to read, and to her life's end she was a fluent, devoted, and assiduous reader of the Bible in the vernacular. Curiously she never learned to write nor decipher longhand script".¹³ *Inkosi* Luthuli's mother devout Christian values allowed her to see the importance of her son receiving an education. MaGumede worked on her land to fund young Albert's education, showing that she also carried the same congregationalist value for education.¹⁴ He states in his autobiography that "Over the years, although my uncle helped now and again, the sweat of her brow provided nine-tenths of my education".¹⁵ I would argue that for *inkosi* Luthuli to grow up in household that valued education to this extent it later impact his view on education and the importance of an educated African populace. We will discuss MaGumede in detail more later.

Inkosi Luthuli's Christian faith can be traced back to the American Board's missionary work by establishing Grout's mission station with Ntaba Luthuli's assistance. The American Board emerged in 1810 at Andover Seminary, in Massachusetts, when the States moved away from the model in which the Church,

¹³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.24.

¹⁴ Benson, *Lutuli of South Africa*, p.4.

¹⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.27.

state and society fell under one umbrella.¹⁶ The shift occurred around the French Revolution period, giving rise to alternative denominational branches of Church. The occurrence of this Church speaks to a significant shift within the western Church during this time. Along with its intention of spreading a universal gospel, it carried a spirit of equality among its members.

Samuel C Pearson's historical background on the congregationalist church within the US indicates that the church emphasised that the Church should be a social contributor to the society wherever it found itself.¹⁷ This resulted in the Church speaking out strongly for the abolition of slavery and encouraging its members to disobey State laws which upheld the practice of slavery. This principle stayed alive within the church to *inkosi* Luthuli's time and set the right conditions for *inkosi* Luthuli to be an activist within his society. He adopted this active Christian approach after his time at Adams College. The inner workings of the Congregationalist Church governance had similar principles to that of democracy practised by the government in civil society. The existence of democratic principles within the congregationalist principle helps one understand why the Christian Groutville community chose to infuse democratic practices into their chief's election process.

Nkosi Luthuli's autobiography traces both the emergence of the Zulu kingdom and the beginning of Congregationalism, which symbolised the dual relationship of African identity and Christian identity that co-existed within his life. He understood the social impact that the introduction of Christianity had on the Zulu-speaking nation and how this did not completely irradicate their African identity. He stated that "[t]hey were still Zulus to the backbone – that remained unchanged except for a few irrelevant externals. But they were Christian Zulus".¹⁸ I would

¹⁶ David W. Kling, "The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions", *Church History*, 72, 4, 2003, 791-819; see also Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.15.

¹⁷ Pearson, "From Church to Denomination", pp.71-73.

¹⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.20

argue that his acknowledgement of this identity illustrates that he understood the importance for his community to recognize both identities equally. It shows that he understood the importance of equality and balance between different entities.

The Luthuli household briefly experienced a new faith, Seventh-Day Adventism that was introduced by John Bunyan during his missionary work in Rhodesia, but later abandoned it when they returned to Natal.¹⁹ Alfred, John's oldest son, carried on in his father's footsteps as he returned as a Seventh Day Adventist missionary to colonial Natal as an interpreter. The autobiography is not straightforward on the denominational faith that MaGumede converted to when she left her Traditionalist background. An argument could be made that MaGumede was most likely also a congregationalist on the basis that her conversion took place in Groutville and that the Luthulis were founders of the Congregationalist Church. She married John Bunyan, a Congregationalist before he converted, and she would have raised their children as Congregationalist. For *inkosi* Luthuli, it seems relevant to inform the reader that he has no recollection of converting to Christianity but thought of himself as always having been one. His lack of recollection is possibly due to his family belonging to the *amaKholwa* class and him being a second-generation Christian. There is no record of them abandoning their Christian faith, thus, he was never required to convert like his grandparents.

Grout's work is of significant interest for this study because both *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography and other mission scholarly work recognise him as the founder of the mission station that became Groutville. *Inkosi* Luthuli's chapter on the origins of Groutville substantiates most historians' work on the early life of mission stations and the rise of the *amaKholwa* class within the Umvoti region. Among the early converts, there were both permanent converts and temporary converts. The permanent converts were those that converted and adopted the lifestyle

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

encouraged by the white missionaries. The temporary converts initially converted but later recanted because they wanted a customary marriage which was prohibited by the white missionaries. Groutville's Zulu Christian community grew because of the tolerant attitude that generally prevailed there. *Inkosi* Luthuli's theorised that the local chief of the Umvoti region was put in charge of overseeing secular matters in theory but in practice left the people to govern themselves.²⁰ He states that "In theory- Zulu theory, anyway – the local chief was in charge. In practice he tolerantly left the new community with its Christian ethos largely to its own devices".²¹ In Lambert's "African Reasons for Purchasing Land in Natal late 19th, early 20th Centuries", he describes how the emergence of prosperous African landowners led to the appointment of *induna*.²² *Inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography supports Lamberts work by mentioning that the local chief appointed a Groutville Christian to be chief over the area. Initially the first appointment was not a success but the appointment of a Christian convert as the head of the Christian community proved to be a good decision.²³ This was made possible through Shepstone's codification and the alteration of customary laws in Law 19 of 1981 and allowed for Ntaba Luthuli to be appointed as the first headman of Groutville.²⁴

Groutville was the foundation upon which *inkosi* Luthuli exercised his faith and later his authority as a chief. Groutville was a Christian community that played a significant role not only in *inkosi* Luthuli's early childhood and the rest of his adult life but also that of the entire Luthuli family. He needed to discuss the origins of this crucial feature that became intrinsically part of his life. "Groutville is my home, and the home my fathers" These words are embedded in the first

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.20-21.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p.20, see also Lambert, "African Reasons for Purchasing Land", p.52.

²³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.21.

²⁴ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.20-21; Dhupelia, "Frederick Robert Moor", p.39.

chapter of his autobiography and the very same chapter's title²⁵. It shows that this place carried undeniable importance for him and his family.

Inkosi Luthuli's grandparents, Ntaba ka Madunjini and Titisi Mthethwa (MaMthethwa)²⁶ were his Christian lineage and Ntaba became Groutville's community leader with diplomatic qualities.²⁷ They became the early members of the *amaKholwa* class that would emerge from the Umvoti Mission Reserve and to which both Martin Luthuli and *inkosi* Luthuli would belong too. MaMthethwa became a mother to four sons, John, Martin, Henry and Daniel.²⁸ In his chapter on 'Being Zulu and Christian' in his *Making African Christianity: Africans Reimagining their Faith in Colonial South African*, Robert Houle uses Ntaba to illustrate the transition of early *amaKholwa* when they converted to Christianity.²⁹ The Luthuli grandparents' conversion was far from unique from the general process that most early African converts followed. Their transition involved them discarding their 'old' religion with some of its customs and practices. Ntaba, compared to his father Madunjini who practised polygamy and had two wives, decided against taking up a second wife when Grout established the reserve and decided to remarry MaMthethwa under the Christian banner.³⁰

For Ntaba and the early *amaKholwa* individuals, it was essential to establish their own identity. As early converts, they occupied a new identity, being the first Africans to adopt Christianity as a faith and the beliefs that came with it. They were the first Africans to abandon the Traditionalists' way of life. All of this was important for the African Christians' identity - not only for them as early converts but also for their generations to follow. That is why early converts emphasised Christianity and the elements that were important to the faith like prayer days,

²⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.19.

²⁶ Following the Zulu custom mentioned earlier, Titisi's would have been called MaMthethwa as a sign of respect.

²⁷ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.20; Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.16.

²⁸ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.21.

²⁹ Houle, *Making African Christianity*, p.43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.43; Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.7.

worship and building the church. Ntaba also received an education which saw him become a teacher. This thesis argues that this set an example for the Luthuli lineage and set a path for *inkosi* Luthuli to follow and further develop with his involvement in politics. Houle stated that Ntaba used his education and became a teacher whilst using the income to purchase farming equipment.³¹ Ntaba Luthuli's teacher profession did two things. Firstly, it helped him fit the characterisation of the *amaKholwa* class, which set them apart from the Traditionalist Africans. Ntaba can be seen as the first traditional intellectual of the Luthuli family. Secondly, Ntaba also became a symbolic figure that *inkosi* Luthuli admired. In his autobiography, he speaks highly of his grandparents for their Christian faith and their role in the Groutville community.

Umvoti Mission Reserve was one of the success stories where land was transferred to African individuals like the Luthuli family. The ripple effect of this motivated more Africans to obtain land through transference by African conversion. The Luthuli family were set apart from other Traditionalists Africans. Grout introduced the hoe being pulled by oxen and Houle stated that Ntaba bought European spades, pails, and sickles. Thus, he abandoned his Traditionalist counterparts' agricultural practices.³² Grout also provided Ntaba with cotton seeds that he had brought with him from the US, allowing Ntaba to set up a 2-acre cotton farm.³³ This allowed the Luthuli family to create an extra source of income. The argument being made here is that Ntaba's agricultural success of his cotton farm helped propel the Luthuli family to become successful *amaKholwa*. Martin Luthuli's success also was connected to the family's success. Grout believed that the African convert's salvation lay with them remaining in touch with the land and he encouraged Ntaba's agricultural prosperity. This further

³¹ Houle, *Making African Christianity*, p.43.

³² *Ibid.*, p.43.

³³ Cyrius Vukile Khumalo, "We have always planted, but the difficulty has been in getting the cane crushed. Sugar cane production at Umvoti Mission Reserve from 1860 to 1882", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 18, 1, 1998, p.5.

inspired other African converts to follow the agricultural example set by the Luthuli family. As a consequence, the class of *amaKholwa* emerged in this region. Umvoti Mission Reserve's success contributed to establishing a church building and sending the children to schools.

Houle recounts the early conversion life of Ntaba and the growth of the *amaKholwa* community and speaks of marriages happening between Traditionalists and converts.³⁴ The Groutville community illustrated a peculiar relationship between the two types of African identities. This narrative is different to the work of historians who have written on early missionaries. Some historians argue that Traditionalists and converts did not get along. The scholarly work based on early mission stations and reserves paints a rather bleak picture of Christian converts being excluded or pushed out from their communities. However, the autobiography counters this narrative and depicts a more inclusive picture. The thesis does acknowledge that *inkosi* Luthuli's personal bias could have influenced his view about the relational dynamics of the Groutville community. *Inkosi* Luthuli's description of the Groutville community indicates a fascinating dynamic between the African Christian converts and the African Traditionalists showing their ability to live almost in a balanced, harmonious relationship.

According to the autobiography, Ntaba was the first to be appointed as headman of the Groutville Christian community followed by his cousin and then Martin Luthuli.³⁵ "Ntaba remained at the head of Groutville affairs until his death. First his cousin, and then later my uncle, Martin, succeeded to the office".³⁶ Ntaba was appointed during the Anglo-Zulu War, and *inkosi* Luthuli comments on the different election process that was followed for his uncle. "The interesting thing Martin's appointment is that it was contrary to older Zulu custom, the occasion

³⁴ Houle, *Making African Christianity*, p.44.

³⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.21-22.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.21.

of a definite popular choice by the community”.³⁷ He notes that his uncle’s election process included democratic practice and contrasts this with the Zulu custom used to appoint previous chiefs. Lamberts’ work comments on Martin’s appointment and highlights that he had been appointed under the Native Code.³⁸ The argument here is that this could be the difference that *inkosi* Luthuli alludes to in his autobiography. Democratic principles and practices became infused into the fabric of the Groutville community. He states that “the people of Groutville have found democratic methods effective and satisfactory. They have used these processes not only to elect chiefs, but on two occasions to replace them”.³⁹ These different practices led to the alteration of the Zulu customs on chieftaincy to the extent that these ideas became part of their chieftaincy electoral system. The argument here is that the societal exposure to this principle of democracy informed *inkosi* Luthuli’s philosophy and nonviolent strategy.

His discussion of the democratic process indicates equal participation of both converts and traditionalists. The practice would undoubtedly play an influential role in *inkosi* Luthuli’s philosophical view in terms of understanding democracy and its role within society. The Luthuli family also freely participated in the election process’s candidacy with *inkosi* Luthuli even stating that “I might add that, although four out of Groutville’s seven chiefs have been Luthulis, my family has never laid claim to any hereditary rights”.⁴⁰ The statement indicates that the Luthuli family respected the people’s will and were guided by the philosophies of democracy that encourage the will of the masses over an individual’s will. Furthermore, we see that the Luthuli family hereditary rights to chieftaincy but negated this traditional right in favour of the will of the Groutville community. They respected the democratic process and followed the decision made by the majority. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s intellectual grasp of some of the fundamental principles

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Lambert, “African Reasons for Purchasing Land”, p.52.

³⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

of democracy is inextricably tied to both the Groutville community's social dynamics and democratic practices and his own family's beliefs and practices of democracy.

3.3. The Luthuli Female Voice

This chapter now turns the readers' attention to the women in the Luthuli family. Very little is written about MaMthethwa, Luthuli's grandmother, in the sources that recount the lives of early Luthuli converts. Both Houle and Couper focus on Ntaba, Martin and John Bunyan but speak very little on the life of MaMthethwa. *Inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography also says very little about his grandmother. The autobiography admits that very little is known about his grandparents. The critique that can be raised against the autobiography is that the commentary on the early Luthuli family is focused on Ntaba and the community rather than including MaMthethwa. She is mentioned as the co-founder of the Luthuli family's Christian line, and Couper mentions her as the mother who gave birth to four sons. At this point, this paper raises a critique against some of the historical work done on the family and argues that most sources that discuss the early Luthuli family have paid very little attention to the female voice of the Luthuli family. Little to no attention is given to Titisi Luthuli and MaGumede, *inkosi* Luthuli's mother, and their role within the Luthuli family in the Groutville community; the autobiography does give them some attention, however. The critique on some of the scholarly works that discuss the early Luthuli family is that they designate MaMthethwa and MaGumede the stereotypical female role of the mother of a household whose main function is to give birth. The intention here is not to minimise the importance of the role they played within the household. However, the attention the males get in comparison is heavily imbalanced and renders the women near to invisible. MaMthethwa and MaGumede would have played a more active role within their respective

households and more broadly the wider community. There is a need for more research to be done around the role of women within *amaKholwa* society that could help shine a light on their activeness within history, possibly explored in a separate study.

3.3.1 Nozililo Mtonya Gumede Luthuli: Before young Albert's birth

Scholarly work covering *inkosi* Luthuli's life hardly ever assesses MaGumede's impact on his life. However, this study will argue that she indeed had an influence on young Albert. His autobiography does pay homage to his mother by acknowledging her royal heritage and her upbringing. The most significant contribution he attributed to her was the principle of discipline which she instilled in him. Though she would be considered a non-intellectual, her influence over his life played a significant role and needs to be acknowledged within this chapter.

His autobiography mentions his father, John Bunyan Luthuli, the second son of the four sons born to MaMthethwa, including Martin, Daniel and Henry.⁴¹ It is noted that his father is mentioned in such a way as to inform the reader that he had no memory of him in his upbringing. He states "My father, John Luthuli, was the second son of Ntaba, and thus the younger brother of Martin. Since he died when I was about six months old, I have no recollection of him at all".⁴² It provides the reader with insight into the household that young Albert grew up in, a matriarchal household. John married Nozililo Mtonya Gumede who had grown up in *Nkosi* Cetshwayo's Royal Kraal. Couper and Robert Trent Vinson's *Albert Luthuli* are the most recent published biographical work on *inkosi* Luthuli. Vinson's work provided the name Nozililo but most scholarly work refers to her as just 'Mtonya'.⁴³ *Nkosi* Cetshwayo's chiefdom resided in Zululand. Much of precolonial Natal had remained independent upon European settlers' arrival, but,

⁴¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.23.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.15.

after 1838, the British broke up *Nkosi* Shaka's kingdom into 13 independent chiefdoms.⁴⁴ Patrick Harries' work identifies key symbols of Zulu identity and picks *amabutho* and *isigodlo* as some of the symbols that signify the Zulu king. Within the Zulu Kingdom's regimental system existed an all-female *ibutho* which fell under the king's protection and those that were part of *isigodlo* were associated with the royal Kraal.⁴⁵ *Inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography traces his mother's upbringing, which illustrates that this cultural custom was still being practised even after the Zulu kingdom's break-up. It also suggests that he embraced his mother's royal background. MaGumede's mother had been given to *Nkosi* Cetshwayo's royal court by her own family and thus belonged to the royal house with the status that similar to a king's daughter.⁴⁶ *Nkosi* Cetshwayo had given MaGumede's mother away to Mnqiwu Gumede, and Nozililo Mtonya was a product of this union. Young Nozililo and her mother returned to the royal Kraal after she had passed childbearing age, and according to Zulu custom, one could only return if they were not able to bear an heir. Given that the homestead economy required a male heir to inherit, young Nozililo did not qualify; hence she accompanied her mother to the royal Kraal.

Young Nozililo returned with her mother so that she could care for her within the royal Kraal. One would assume that she returned as part of *isigodlo* even though the autobiography does not use the Zulu terminology. This assumption is made based on the works of Patrick Harries, van der Merwe and Innocent Pikirayi on Zulu identity. Given that *inkosi* Luthuli wrote his autobiography for the international community, which illustrates his internationalist philosophy, he does leave out Zulu terms for events and customs that he describes. This was done deliberately to accommodate the international community that sought to

⁴⁴ Patrick Harries, "Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition in a South African Bantu: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha, and Zulu History", *History and Theory*, 32, 4, 1993, p.108.

⁴⁵ H. van der Merwe and Innocent Pikirayi, "The organisation and layout of Zulu military homesteads (amakhandanda)", *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 54, 1, 2019, p.79.

⁴⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.24.

learn about this Nobel Peace Prize laureate's life. As a scholar of this study, one had to re-insert some of the Zulu terminologies to understand better the customs he describes in his autobiography. For example, he did not use the terms *isigodlo*, *inkosi*, *Nkosi*, and *ibutho*. His biography simply describes these terms rather than using the terms. This speaks to the international community, who were the intended audience of the autobiography. The above discussion tells us two things: one that his grandmother belonged to *isigodlo* and secondly that Nozililo had a royal Traditionalist upbringing, having grown up in the royal Kraal. Compared to some of his *amaKholwa* intellectual counterparts, who completely discarded their royal heritage, *inkosi* Luthuli embraced his royal heritage.

Notably, *inkosi* Luthuli recounts the history of his mother before he discusses her role as a parent. The attention to detail of her life's history does stand out in comparison to Ntaba's life. When missionaries were setting up in precolonial Natal, some of the early mission stations were made up of predominantly African women who were seeking refuge from their harsh cultural customs. Young Nozililo's mother's journey does fit the general assertion that African women fled their cultural and social circumstances and sought refuge within mission stations. They arrived in Umvoti Mission Reserve after abandoning *Nkosi* Cetshwayo's Kraal. According to Zulu custom, such an act would have resulted in any individual being executed if caught. Nozililo Mtonya was a first-generation convert who grew up in a Traditionalist household whereas John and Martin Luthuli, the first generation converts, grew up in a Christian household. This exposed *inkosi* Luthuli to an interesting Christian dynamic during his childhood upbringing. He was primarily raised by Nozililo Mtonya and Martin Luthuli each of whom came from a different type of early Christian background.

3.3.2 MaGumede ‘The Industrious woman’: after young Albert’s birth

Alan Paton’s notes on *inkosi* Luthuli’s life state that young Albert lacked the experience of a biological father because John Bunyan Luthuli died when Albert was only six months old.⁴⁷ Couper’s account of John Luthuli is a more comprehensive source than the brief descriptions of other writers. Most sources mention that he was a Seventh Day Adventist evangelist interpreter for the Solusi Mission in Bulawayo. During the late 1800s, Rhodesia experienced a wave of protestant missionaries that set up mission stations with the permission of King Mzilikazi and later his son Lobengula.⁴⁸ The American Board was also part of this wave in setting up stations in 1893 and 1895 at Mount Selinda and Chikore.⁴⁹ *Inkosi* Luthuli states that his father met a group of Europeans that came to the region located below the Tugela River called New Guelderland, which is estimated to be 16 kilometres from Groutville. Arguably it could be claimed that John, as a Congregationalist, would have had a connection with the group since they were members of the American Board. Couper’s account of John’s travel claims that he initially travelled with the British South African Army. However, later he met the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries who set up their mission station at Solusi in 1894.⁵⁰ *Inkosi* Luthuli is very deliberate in mentioning that his father’s arrival in Rhodesia was during the Matabele Rebellion. This serves to place not only John Luthuli but also the reader in the socio-political context of the time. He indirectly informs the reader of the region’s historical dynamics and points to a turbulent time when his father arrived.

Inkosi Luthuli was born in 1898 in Rhodesia after MaGumede had followed her husband to Rhodesia. At the time, South Africa experienced a mineral revolution with minerals in Kimberly and the Witwatersrand region. There was a migrant

⁴⁷ Digital Innovation South African, BC586 (B1ii) Manuscripts and Archives Department, University of Cape Town Libraries (accessed via <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/>).

⁴⁸ Norman H. Murdoch, *Christian Warfare in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe: The Salvation Army and African Liberation, 1891 - 1991* (Eugene, 2015).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.11 -12.

⁵⁰ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.22; Murdoch, *Christian Warfare in Rhodesia – Zimbabwe*, p.12.

labour system that had been formulated. The *amaKholwa* class was on its way to establishing its independence from the missionaries. The American Board missionaries and other denominational missionaries continued setting mission stations in southern parts of Africa. This was how John Luthuli was able to meet the Seventh Day Adventists.

Given the Christian values of the family, it is reasonable to suggest that MaGumede followed John to keep the family unit together. MaGumede's actions can be contrasted with the migration of African labour within South Africa. She migrated to keep her family together while the migrant labour system divided African families due to the legislation that enforced the pass system. The same restriction did not exist for the African converts that were moving under missionary purposes. MaGumede and John had three sons named Alfred, Mpangwa, who died at birth, and Albert.⁵¹ Young Albert was given two Christian names: Albert and John but his mother gave him the African name Mvumbi, which means continuous rain. The African name speaks to the traditional lineage that she once followed, which she cast aside when she converted. Mary Benson's biography on *inkosi* Luthuli states that he preferred Mvumbi over his English names and preferred the 'Lutuli' spelling.⁵² John is said to have died of Malaria within six months of young Albert's birth, leaving MaGumede to raise both Alfred and Albert as a single parent. Young Albert and his mother returned to Natal's colony and lived in a house purchased by Alfred. Here we see that *inkosi* Luthuli grew up in a matriarchal household and I would argue that this would play an influential role in *inkosi* Luthuli's thinking about gender equality. We see this impression through his description of her stating that he thought of her during his childhood as being an "extremely industrious woman".⁵³

⁵¹ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.15.

⁵² Benson, *Lutuli of South Africa*, p.3.

⁵³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.27.

MaGumede is not given enough credit for how much she moulded *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual philosophy. He is described as being military disciplined in his nonviolent strategy, which may be attributed to the foundation of his discipline from his mother. He states in his autobiography, "My mother's discipline did not waver any more than her devotion did – a thing for which I am deeply thankful, because without discipline I suppose I might easily have turned out a spoilt mother's boy".⁵⁴ Here we see that MaGumede had a significant impact on young Albert's upbringing as it was from her he would learn the importance of discipline. *Inkosi* Luthuli would carry this value throughout his life. In his Nobel speech "Africa and Freedom" he is seen celebrating this same principle of discipline and states "But nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this Award is given".⁵⁵ It can be seen that MaGumede's impact on his upbringing was significant. His autobiography further draws on two distinct disciplinary moments he shared with her. In the first incident, he experienced her disciplining hand, which had a significant impact on him.⁵⁶ The second incident involved young Albert not coming home in time for supper. He had chosen to stay at a friend's home.⁵⁷ It is clear from his autobiography that her discipline in this instance left a lasting impression on him and was inextricably tied to her memory. She raised him as an only child because his older brother, Alfred, was married during his upbringing. MaGumede represents a formidable female symbol in *inkosi* Luthuli's life and is a counter-narrative to the modern portrayal of motherhood, which depicts them as soft and meek. His mother is the complete opposite of this contemporary narrative. She struck a balance between her royal Traditionalist upbringing and her Christian life. A reasonable claim can

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Albert Luthuli, "Africa And Freedom: Nobel Lecture Delivered At The Oslo University, December 11, 1961", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.219.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.25.

be made here that MaGumede's role influenced Albert's respect for women's roles within the liberation movement and his motive to encourage women to be more involved within the ANC during his life.

Inkosi Luthuli also attributes his mother's strict discipline to her cultural lineage coming from the Qwabe lineage. He states that "My mother, I should explain came of Qwabe stock, a clan renowned for its strict discipline".⁵⁸ Much of Zulu tradition, and its histories, is unwritten since it was passed down by oral tradition only. The Qwabe clan is one of the oldest chiefdoms of the Zulu Kingdom and can be traced back to Malandela. Zulu and Qwabe were sons of Malandela. Qwabe was the next in line for the throne, but Zulu usurped him.⁵⁹ The two brothers agreed to go their separate ways with their followers to maintain peace. Zulu went on to have *Nkosi* Senzangakhona, who had *Nkosi* Shaka with Nandi. When *Nkosi* Shaka was consolidating the Zulu Kingdom, he conquered the Qwabe chiefdom and placed Nqetho as the successor to *inkosi* Phakathwayo after his death.⁶⁰ The Qwabe people became infused with the Zulu Kingdom after *Nkosi* Shaka's assassination. *Inkosi* Luthuli's reference to his mother's royal lineage shows the reader the royal relation his mother had with *Nkosi* Cetshwayo and the extent to which the Qwabe lineage had become part of the Zulu Kingdom. It also shows his respect for his own Zulu heritage despite the fact that he was part of the *amaKholwa* - he still acknowledged his African identity. She disciplined him for tardiness in his errands, which this illustrates her strictness. How she disciplined him for not returning home for dinner taught him to respect the principle of a home. The argument made here is that this type of parental discipline influenced him to become a present father despite his demanding political career.. His mother's upbringing in the royal Kraal and belonging to a clan known for its strict discipline was the source of her strict discipline that

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁵⁹ Michael R. Mahoney, "Racial formation and ethnogenesis from below: The Zulu case, 1879-1906" *The International Journal of African historical studies* 36, 3, 2003, p.568.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

influenced how she parented him. The impact of her strict discipline on young Albert will be explored a bit more below

The second significant impact MaGumede had on young Albert's childhood was his value for education. In his autobiography she is seen going to extreme lengths to ensure he receives an education. While they lived in Northern Natal, Vryheid district, she is quick to send young Albert away to live with his uncle. He states in his autobiography "I tended the mission mules – there were no schooling facilities. It was my mother who rescued me from my intimacy with mules. She decided that I needed education and sent me back home to Groutville to get it".⁶¹ She chose to send her youngest son away from her rather than watch him become a head boy of mules. This illustrates how deeply she had valued education and wanted her son to not miss out on the opportunity to get it. Here we see MaGumede showcasing her Congregationalist background – a value for education. Benson describes how young Albert's mother worked the land to help fund her son's early education.⁶² His autobiography supports Benson stating "She was diligent about her small fields – a very successful vegetable gardener".⁶³ Young Albert having seen his mother worked the land that hard left an impression leaving him stating "I saw her then as an extremely industrious women".⁶⁴ Her use of the land depicts the actualisation of the American Board's vision to keep Africans connected to the land while using the land to keep them bound to 'civilising' the African mind. Her actions illustrated she held the same thinking as *amaKholwa* who believed education was important. When the land was not enough to fund his education he describes how she walked "regularly five or six miles to Stanger, the nearest European settlement, in order to earn a few shillings washing clothes...[w]hen she had earned what she could, she returned to her

⁶¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.25.

⁶² Benson, *Lutuli of South Africa*, p.4.

⁶³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

garden”.⁶⁵ MaGumede remained committed to the *amaKholwa* value of using the land to progress her family even when it was not enough, she steps away to supplement it but returns immediately to it once she has enough. *Inkosi* Luthuli witnessed her “[o]ver the years, although my uncle helped now and again, the sweat of her brow provided nine-tenths of my education”.⁶⁶ There is no doubt in one’s mind based on the statements from his autobiography above that MaGumede had a significant impact on young Albert’s life. We see this impact play itself out in his adult life through him becoming teacher at Adams College. He was a teacher for long time before becoming a chief. I would argue that MaGumede’s commitment to ensure that her son received an education played a significant impact on setting the foundation upon which his intellectual thinking would grow from. Had it not been for her tentious and industrious spirit *inkosi* Luthuli would have not seen the value of education. He would not have advocated for the an educated African populace which was necessary for their liberation. This biographical study points to two Luthuli figures, MaGumede and Martin Luthuli, as being key to *inkosi* Luthuli’s social context that informed the foundations of his intellectual thought.

3.4. Martin Luthuli: Political Foundation

Earlier, the chapter mentioned that MaMthethwa gave birth to four sons of which one was young Albert’s father. Her other son who is significant for this study is Martin Luthuli. Martin carried significance in *inkosi* Luthuli’s life because he exposed young Albert to two significant institutions which become embedded in his life. He exposed his nephew to the political realm through his role as Chief of Groutville. When Martin became chief, young Albert had a role model to set the example of governing Groutville. This thesis covers an intellectual shift occurring within the *amaKholwa* class in Natal and a shift within the Luthuli family from

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Christian community leaders to political leaders. The late 19th century saw a wave sweep across the African population seeking independence from the white missionaries and the oppressive white supremacist legislation that enforced ‘native’ administration. Shula Marks states that there existed tensions between *amaKholwa* as a class and the state that resulted in suspicion and mistrust from the state despite the class upholding colonialist values and principles.⁶⁷ A spirit of independence took root within the *amaKholwa* class consciousness and caused a quick boom of independent African Churches, independent newspapers and African educational institutions. After the mineral revolution began, a surge of African organisations emerged and at the helm were *amaKholwa* intellectuals like Martin Luthuli.

Historians that have explored *inkosi* Luthuli’s life have mentioned Martin Luthuli but hardly explore him or his influence on young Albert’s life. He is acknowledged by some of these sources as one of Natal Native Congress (NNC) founders in 1900 and belonging to the *amaKholwa* class. It Benson’s biography provides a minimal discussion on Martin mentioning that he was involved in the founding of the SANNC.⁶⁸ The NNC members were involved in the founding of the SANNC and became the Natal’s branch of the SANNC. The autobiography also mentions very little about Martin’s role within the NNC but focuses predominantly on Martin’s role as chief.

Following the earlier chapter, the formation of the NNC forms part of the symbols that illustrated the rise of African intellectual thought and consciousness. Uma Dhupelia’s work on the early life of Colonial Natal, before South Africa became a Union, describes the formation of the NNC.⁶⁹ A meeting was held on 1st of June 1900 that brought together Africans from various parts of colonial Natal who

⁶⁷ Shula Marks, “The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1, 2, 1975, p.170.

⁶⁸ Benson, *Lutuli of South Africa*, p.4.

⁶⁹ Uma Dhupelia, “Frederick Robert Moor and native affairs in the colony of Natal, 1893 to 1903”, PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 1980, p.67.

were calling for a political organisation to address political tensions among Africans. Both Limb and Dhupelia mention that before this meeting, *Funamalungelo* (Demand Civil Rights), a society that was dealing strictly with *amaKholwa* matters, existed.⁷⁰ *Funamalungelo* was part of the wave of African organisations that sought to dismantle the legislation that oppressed *amaKholwa*. The society aimed to exempt *amaKholwa* from the customary laws that the Code of Native Law enforced to keep the Shepstone administration system functioning. The meeting resulted in the agreement that the NNC would be founded and would comprise of *amaKholwa* class. However, it was not limited to this class and would be inclusive of African landowners, farmers and some chiefs that came from the successful missions' stations. The inclusion of chiefs showed a progressive step for *amaKholwa* to include traditionalist chiefs. The NNC set the fertile groundwork for a mass-based movement model that *inkosi* Luthuli later introduced into the ANC. At the meeting, *inkosi* Isaac Mkhize was elected as President, Bryant Cele as vice-president, H.C.C. Matiwane as secretary and *inkosi* J.M. Majozi as treasurer.⁷¹ The NNC played an advocacy role within Natal, advocating on behalf of African workers and their freedom of movement. Limb argues that the organisation exercised a complex approach to labour matters that drew on complicated spatial connections across society, which had a majority working-class, and used a broad range of social lobbying tactics.⁷²

The formulation of the NNC did not appear by chance. Its formulation came from the existence of intellectual consciousness among *amaKholwa* that was expressed through various black press publications like *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, *Ipepa lo Hlanga* and *Ilanga lase Natal*. *Inkanyiso Yase Natal* was established in 1889 and printed under white missionaries' supervision. It later moved to all African

⁷⁰ Limb, *The ANC's Early Years*, p.93; Dhupelia, "Frederick Robert Moor", p.50.

⁷¹ Dhupelia, "Frederick Robert Moor", p.67-68.

⁷² Limb, *The ANC's Early Years*, pp.95-99.

ownership from 1895.⁷³ *Ipepa lo Hlanga* had *inkosi* Isaac Mkhize and *inkosi* James Milward Majozi as its publishers, and they went on to occupy high positions within the NNC. John Langalibalele Dube, the first president of the SANNC, was the *Ilanga lase Natal's* founder. These newspapers became the tools that *amaKholwa* intellectuals used to raise criticism against matters that perpetuated Africans' oppression like the pass laws, Native laws, restricted employment opportunities, and working conditions of African labourers.⁷⁴ The sharing of ideas among *amaKholwa* through black press helped build African consciousness that challenged white supremacy structures that sought to create a politically powerless and economically inferior African class.

Limb's work on the NNC mentions Martin Luthuli and his role within the organisation. Martin Luthuli was elected as president in 1901 and chaired the organisation's meetings for the first three years. The meetings had an estimated 50 to 100 people in attendance who believed that the NNC was the voice for Africans living within the colony and meant to defend their welfare.⁷⁵ Martin Luthuli advocated for Africans' independence to exercise their freedom of choice to work in a place they chose. He promoted the belief that education needed to be industrially oriented to empower African people to obtain jobs that had higher paying wages, thus, allowing Africans to improve the economic condition and elevate their economic status. Among other African intellectuals that were part of the NNC and shared similar intellectual thinking were John Langalibalele Dube, Sikweleti Nyongwana, Cleopas Kunene, Mark Radebe, Josiah Tshangana Gumede and Saul Msane. One could consider Martin Luthuli's political involvement in this organisation, as giving insight into the early political experience that young Albert was exposed to when he grew up in Martin's household. Martin's intellectual influence can be seen in young Albert thinking

⁷³ Dhupelia, "Frederick Robert Moor", p.66.

⁷⁴ Limb, *The ANC's Early Years*, pp.93-94.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.94; Dhupelia, "Frederick Robert Moor", p.68.

later in life when he held similar ideas about African education and African labour.

Couper's engagement with Martin Luthuli's professional career indicates that he was the secretary to the Zulu King, *Nkosi uDinizulu kaCetshwayo*, and was the first of *amaKholwa* from Groutville to occupy this post.⁷⁶ This illustrates that Martin maintained the Luthuli family's connection to the royal family as MaGumede had. Being the first *Kholwa* to occupy this position shows the commitment that *amaKholwa* had to embracing their harmonious relationship with traditionalist Zulus within the NNC. Given that the Zulu Kingdom is one of the critical symbols of Zulu Culture, having a relationship with the Zulu King signified the inclusive approach *amaKholwa* adopted. Martin Luthuli also served as a chairman of the Pastors' Conference of Congregational Church.⁷⁷

Martin was the third Luthuli to take up the role of headsman in Groutville. The autobiography does indicate that Ntaba and Martin emerged to the role of headsman through different models. Ntaba and Ngazana Luthuli, cousin to Ntaba, were appointed whereas Martin was elected to the position. *Inkosi* Luthuli mentions in his autobiography that "The interesting thing about Martins' appointment is that it was, contrary to older Zulu custom, the occasion of a definite popular choice by the community".⁷⁸ I would argue that this would leave an impression on *inkosi* Luthuli's thinking regarding democracy. For him to witness his own uncle being appointed through community's popular choice that would have undoubtedly left an impression on him and his belief in the philosophy of democracy. *Inkosi* Luthuli advocated for democracy and his speeches illustrates this belief ever so strongly and this will be discussed further in the later chapter.

⁷⁶ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.23.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.21.

The Shepstone system made this possible by permitting *induna* to be elected to govern over the mission station. *Inkosi* Luthuli does credit his uncle's leadership as chief, stating that Grouville became more structured. He states "In the time of Martin Luthuli's chieftainship the Groutville community became more clearly established. Relationships between the Reserve and the Colonial Administration became more fully defined, land boundaries were marked, and independence from surrounding non-Christian communities was accepted".⁷⁹ Here one can identify that Martin's chieftaincy contributing to *inkosi* Luthuli's theme of dual balance between the world of *amaKholwa* and Traditionalists. The acceptance of the independence of those that have chosen not to convert to Christianity under the chieftaincy of Kholwa speaks to the source of *inkosi* Luthuli's understanding of multiculturalism.

It was while Martin was performing his duties as chief of Groutville that young Albert was sent by his mother to further his education under his uncles' supervision in Groutville in 1908.⁸⁰ The autobiography describes Martin's duties: to receive guests and oversee village deliberations and trials.⁸¹ Having witnessed Martin perform these duties, there is reasonable ground to assert that *inkosi* Luthuli was influenced by his uncle politically and that this helped inform the beginnings of his intellectual work. Martin's household had many children with whom young Albert grew up. He mentions this in his autobiography stating "as is frequent in African society, my uncle and aunt were the guardians and caretakers of various children and relatives, and I had company enough".⁸² He performed the household duties of an African boy growing up in a chief's household. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli's time within his chief uncle's household left an impression on him because his household duties were not

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁸⁰ Digital Innovation South African, BC586(B1ii) Manuscripts and Archives Department, University of Cape Town Libraries (accessed via <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/>)

⁸¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.25-26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 26.

assigned to him based on his gender. He states “I was allotted such tasks as fetching water – for in Groutville the traditional Zulu distinction between male and female work tended to disappear. Over the week-ends I did a certain amount of weeding in the lands, and herding”.⁸³ It is the argument of this study that the above statement supports the point that *inkosi* Luthuli believed in gender equality through experiencing duties that were not gender biased. Young Albert’s experience left an impression on him, for he states “All the time, unconsciously, I was busy absorbing the Christian ethos of home, and church congregation, and the social ethos of the community”.⁸⁴ Here we see that his time within his uncles home left an impression on his Christian faith.

One would attribute this impression on his Christian faith to his aunt, Martin Luthuli’s wife. Unfortunately his autobiography does not mention her name but does mention that she was in charge of the domestic affairs of the household. He states that under her influence “the home was conducted as a Christian home should be...family prayers in the evening were as invariable as supper”.⁸⁵ Here we see a household run by two parents each running different areas. We see Martin running the political affairs of the household and his aunt running the domestic affairs of the household. His description of their different roles does not leave the reader with the impression that the division of responsibilities was that one was inferior to the other but there was an equality. Given their *amaKholwa* background, Christian influence, it is understandable why his aunt had the responsibilities of looking after the children and the faith of the home. I would argue that his time within his uncle and aunt’s home left an impression on young Albert’s life. He would learn how a African Christian household was run and we see this through his own marriage which will be discussed later. His aunt maintained his connection to his Christian faith through the evening prayers.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.26.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Martin's household left an impression on young Albert's thinking and we see this through how *inkosi* Luthuli conducted his role as a chief and him maintaining the gender equality theme that he advocated within his speeches.

3.5. *Inkosi* Luthuli's Formal Education

In 1914, after Albert had attended a local school in Groutville, he went on to Dr John Dube's Ohlange Institute, established in 1901.⁸⁶ Dube is well recognised as an African intellectual by historians and scholars such as Shula Marks and Heather Hughes, both of whom have written on him and are well cited by other scholars. Ohlange is significant for the *amaKholwa* class. It was one of the early African owned educational institutions that were not started by AZM missionaries which were discussed in detail in the previous chapter. One could argue that Ohlange is a symbol and an expression of *amaKholwa* consciousness and independence from the white missionaries. Dr Dube established the school, drawing inspiration from American black intellectual Booker T. Washington's segregationist philosophy.⁸⁷ It was part of his goal to establish a school independent of the AZM, a school run by Africans for African students, and these ideas were encouraged by North American influences. He visited the US to source funding to help him establish Ohlange. During this period, the state was not involved in assisting the African educational system financially. It was only with the introduction of the Bantu Education system by the Apartheid State, that they started to fund African education. Private funding was the primary source of funding for African intellectuals to establish their schools. Arguably, this falls in line with Gramsci's framework of intellectuals taking on the responsibility of conscientizing their social group.⁸⁸ Dr Dube's encouragement of African enlightenment as a society demonstrates why historians easily recognise him as

⁸⁶ Marks, "The Ambiguities of Dependence", p.162.

⁸⁷ Heather Hughes, "Doubly Elite: Exploring the Life of John Langalibalele Dube", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, 2001, 445-458.

⁸⁸ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, pp.132-135.

an African intellectual. Here we see how black American intellectuals influenced the growth of the *amaKholwa* class and the type of ideological thinking that was infused into the African leaders' intellect.

Unfortunately for young Albert, he was only at the institution for two terms. He acknowledged that, for him, the school did not have any real significant impact despite its importance for African consciousness. Dr Dube, was his principal at Ohlange, but did not have the same impact on *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thought, as his mother and uncle did. One could argue, based on his reflections of his experience at the Methodist Edendale school in Pietermaritzburg, that this school had a more significant impact on the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's intellect. Firstly, he gained his self-consciousness and his presence in society. He commented that while at the school, he "woke up".⁸⁹ He states "It was at Edendale, I think, that I began to wake up and look about me. That is to say, I woke up and looked about after I had run the gauntlet of initiation."⁹⁰ At this point, he describes his awareness of European teachers, as well as Africans' shared view about police and the role of authority.⁹¹ His consciousness about race was significant for him because it informed his understanding of racial power dynamics. This fed into his multiracialism philosophy. He demonstrates this understanding of power by critiquing the impact of National Party's (NP) intervention in the schooling system during his time as President-General in his autobiography. This interference caused schools like Edendale and Adams College to produce "Black Europeans".⁹² While at Edendale, he also experienced, for the first time, Africans' view on authority in a political society through their engagement with the police and the enforcement of pass laws.

⁸⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.28.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.28-30.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.31.

His experience fed into his race consciousness which resulted in him thinking “I remain an African. I think as an African, I speak as an African, and as an African, I worship the God whose children we all are”.⁹³ These words speak to the consciousness and self-awareness shared by many members of the *amaKholwa* class. The previous chapter discussed how this emerging social group experienced a ‘dual-identity dilemma’ which *inkosi* Luthuli’s statement acknowledges. His statement first reinforces his African identity with his use of the word ‘remain’, which asserts that this was never lost. He also claims it for himself by using the word ‘I’. The statement resonates with one of the former South African President’s, Thabo Mbeki’s, famous speeches ‘I am an African’ which illustrates the philosophy of African nationalism that has been adopted by African intellectuals. The words *inkosi* Luthuli used not only claims the two identities but also reconcile the two identities within himself. One could argue that this makes him stand out compared to other African intellectuals. Some African intellectuals ultimately picked one identity over the other, but his ability to marry the two identities is indicative of his type of intellectual ability.

The second observation made from his time at Edendale is that he became part of the traditional intellectual group of *amaKholwa* intellectuals. Applying King’s claims on Gramsci’s work on intellectuals, traditional intellectuals were inclusive of educators, i.e. teachers.⁹⁴ While at Edendale, young Albert enrolled in a two-year teaching course and discovered his love for teaching. He obtained his teaching certificate in 1917 and was the only teacher and principal at a school in Blaauwbosch at the tender age of 19.⁹⁵ He taught standard 5 and 6 while at the school, but he never specifies which subject he taught. Coupled with teacher training, he was ordained in Blaauwbosch as a Methodist lay minister. Couper’s biography challenges those historians who make the mistake of calling *inkosi*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ King, “The social role of intellectuals”, p.25.

⁹⁵ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.20.

Luthuli a Methodist based on him being ordained, which is incorrect but this was only done for logistical purposes.⁹⁶ His role as a lay minister fits Gramsci's perspective of traditional intellectuals, for he recognises these roles within society as coming from the dominant social group. Adapting Gramsci's intellectual discussion on intellectuals to the South African context, one would identify the colonial-settler class that brought the western formal education and religion through the missionaries as the dominant class at the time. It is safe to say that young Albert joined the traditional intellectual strata of the *amaKholwa* social group.

3.6. Adams College

Adams College is another institution that significantly impacted the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thought. The previous chapter gave some historical context of how schools like Adams College (College), Inanda Seminary and Lovedale College emerged and their symbolic significance concerning African consciousness. This paper likens Adams College to the Eastern Cape's Lovedale College and its production of African intellectuals like Dr Dube and ZK Matthews. Susan Michelle Du Rand's unpublished doctoral thesis "From Mission School to Bantu Education: A history of Adam College" provides a coherent historical narrative of the College.⁹⁷ Her dissertation on the school traces its roots to the arrival of Adams, Grout and Lindley, the group of American Congregationalist missionaries that arrived in colonial Natal. Adams settled in Amanzimtoti region and set up his mission station there which had a large African population.⁹⁸ Thus, the initial name of the College was Amanzimtoti Theological

⁹⁶ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.30.

⁹⁷ Susan Michelle Du Rand, "From mission school to Bantu education: a history of Adams College", PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 1990.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.15.

School and was officially opened in 1853. The school had started with just African boy children, while African girl children were only admitted from 1909.

It is relevant to discuss the education *inkosi* Luthuli experienced to understand the type of formal western education he received. His education will represent the type of education African intellectuals received at institutions like Adams College. The curriculum offered by these institutions played a role in influencing the type of intellectual thinking. In its early years, the curriculum involved “arithmetic, biblical and secular history, geography, zoology, English grammar and reading in English and Zulu” supplemented by Greek, Latin and moral philosophy.⁹⁹ Initially, the curriculum can be seen to produce the standard traditional intellectual that Gramsci’s perspective identifies. In *inkosi* Luthuli’s autobiography, he states that the European and African cultures could strike a balance within the College. One can believe that this ‘balance’ is seen through the students’ reading in English and isiZulu.

The College incorporated teachers’ training in their education. This became the school’s early legacy, thus producing a considerable number of African teachers. When South Africa became a Union, the state became more involved in African people’s education. Before this, the provinces had independent authority over their education within their region. Dr CT Loram introduced a racially uplifting of African people approach with segregationist views to Natal’s curriculum compared to the common assimilation approach that other regions had adopted. Dr Loram and other liberal segregationist rejected the assimilation approach and wanted ‘racially uplifting’ of African population approach towards educating the African population.¹⁰⁰ Through Loram’s approach, Natal’s curriculum sought to provide Africans with a separate education to improve their lives. Du Rand states that Adams College and other schools like it infused values of a utopian world,

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.40-41.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.49.

universalism and non-racialism into their education. One could claim that *inkosi* Luthuli began developing a multiracialism philosophy due to his exposure to non-racialism values.

Before *inkosi* Luthuli arrived at the College, he encountered Dr C. T. Loram, chief inspector of Education.¹⁰¹ He was a liberal segregationist who believed in the African individuals' education - to assist them in managing the modern world - but limited their education so as not to challenge white authority. Scholars describe him as authoritarian and he used his role as a chief inspector to remodel Natal's education policy.¹⁰² Since each province was granted autonomy over their education policy, Loram sought to introduce a policy that aimed to produce self-sufficient Africans informed by segregationist philosophy. The self-sufficiency was rooted in agriculture, as he believed that Africans should remain within the agricultural domain and not compete with the white working man.¹⁰³ The education system introduced agriculture into the syllabus for boys while the girls had sewing and knitting. Natal discontinued Algebra and Geometry teaching and substituted it with Physiology, hygiene and nature study at teacher training level.¹⁰⁴ Through this curriculum change, it can be seen that the subjects that required higher intellectual thinking were removed in an attempt by the state to dismantle the growing elite of traditional intellectuals. In this way, they created the conditions for the rise of organic intellectuals that Gramsci's perspective speaks of and who sought to start their own schools.

According to the autobiography, Loram had recommended *inkosi* Luthuli for a teacher's training course at Adams College, an offer that came through the Education Department. The relevance of Adams College to *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thought is that it is a site where he began to exercise his thinking and

¹⁰¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.32; Du Rand, "A history of Adams College", p.52.

¹⁰² Sue Krige, "'Trustees and Agents of the State?': Missions and Post-Union Policy Formation towards African Education 1910-1920", unpublished work, 1993 (accessed wiredspace.wits.ac.za) pp.9-10.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

express his ideas on a larger platform. He expressed his intellectual thinking by commenting on Loram's reforms on the Natal's education policy in the *African Teachers Journal*.¹⁰⁵ Loram had established the journal in 1919 intending to share information and create a network of individuals interested in African education.¹⁰⁶ Chisholm's discussion of the journal's functioning states that it acted as a mouthpiece for Booker T. Washington's philosophy which required African schools to prepare its African students for the world in which they would eventually find themselves.¹⁰⁷ Loram introduced agriculture and industrial education into Natal's education policy, believing that this would lead to the upliftment of the African community separately from the white community. The teachers would take on the task of going beyond the classroom and being responsible for the African community's upliftment. The school would become a community centre that would be the mechanism that drove the village's upliftment. The journal promoted articles that encouraged all these ideas. Producers of these articles included Loram, D.D.T Jabavu, *inkosi* Luthuli, Charles J. Mpanza and Robbins Guma.

Inkosi Luthuli's involvement in the journal indicates his early philosophy and thoughts about African education. He published an article in which he defended Loram's revisions. He also supported schools using students' mother tongue as the primary medium of instruction. However, the Zulu community, through *Ilanga LaseNatal*, opposed him.¹⁰⁸ He disagreed with Loram's revision that introduced manual labour. What is significant about this experience is that *inkosi* Luthuli fulfils one element of Gramsci's framework of identifying an intellectual. He shared his thoughts on public platforms which shows an intention to educate the public. He was not disheartened by the criticism but drew lessons from the

¹⁰⁵ Luthuli, *My People*, p.36.

¹⁰⁶ Linda Chisholm, "Consolidating Segregation: Curriculum and Pedagogy.", *Teacher Preparation in South Africa (Emerald Studies in Teacher Preparation in National and Global Contexts)*, 2019, 91 -103.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.94.

¹⁰⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.36.

encounter with *Ilanga laseNatal*. His lessons were significant because they shed light on his view on traditional intellectuals' role within society. He shares similar thinking to Gramsci's, stating that academic commentary on social issues must be done within political and social context and not through theory alone. He acknowledged that the Zulu community's collective intelligentsia was correct in its critique of Loram's reforms. He acknowledged that they would damage the African population's intellectual growth. *Inkosi* Luthuli's philosophy later developed beyond the philosophy associated with the journal as a result of the experience he had with *Ilanga laseNatal*.

Scholars who have studied Gramsci's perspective on organic intellectuals tend to list trade union leaders as closely linked to his definition. The teacher unions can be said to fall within this criterion as teachers are workers in their profession and need to protect their interests. Natal had its own teachers' union called the Natal Native Teachers Union, that later changed its name to Natal Bantu Teachers' Union. *Inkosi* Luthuli joined the African Teachers' Association in 1928 as its secretary and in 1933 went on to be its president.¹⁰⁹ This Association existed within all four colonies of the South African Union: Orange Free State, Cape, Natal and Transvaal. Es'kia Maphahlele states that the Cape Colony's Association had been founded by another African intellectual, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu, who was president.¹¹⁰ Natal's Association had *inkosi* Luthuli as President from 1933. According to Jonathan Hyslop's discussion on the history of African teachers' organisations, the Association began as a conservative organisation that did not lead to meaningful change.¹¹¹ This changed from the 1940s - just after *inkosi* Luthuli left the teaching field. There is very little written about this organisation and, in particular, the Natal branch. There is a need for further research about this organisation's history since different sources use different

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.37; Chisholm, "Consolidating Segregation", p.95.

¹¹⁰ Es'kia Mphahlele, "Black Teachers in South Africa: Organizing under Adversity", *Africa Today*, 28, 4, 1981, 30-32.

¹¹¹ Jonathan Hyslop, "Teachers and Trade Unions", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 11, 6, 1986, 90-97.

names. The autobiography and Hyslop use the name ‘African Teachers’ Association’ whilst other sources like Chisholm use ‘Natal Native Teachers’ Union’. The literature on teachers’ unions is primarily focused on the Transvaal African Teachers’ Association. The 20th century saw the rise of teacher organisations that formed under similar teacher experiences of low wages.

The Association in Natal fought for better wages for teachers. While *inkosi* Luthuli was a member of this organisation, he found himself involved in the second boycott of his life. The Association was also his first involvement in a national organisation. The significance of highlighting this boycott illustrates that the philosophy of civil disobedience had early roots in *inkosi* Luthuli’s activity before he took part in the Defiance Campaign. Under this Association, he established the Zulu Language and Culture Society branch of the organisation. This Society demonstrated his Zulu nationalist thinking and his vision for South Africa. It became a real representation of his intellectual thinking, moving it from theory to action in society. He states, “I believed then, as I do now, that an authentic, comprehensive South African culture will grow in its way.”¹¹² He believed that both cultural groups and teachers needed to be part of the process to influence that culture’s development. For him, there was a mutual responsibility carried by all members of society to help grow South Africa. Like Gramsci, *inkosi* Luthuli believed that traditional intellectuals are not autonomous from the process but play a part in it. He believed that their role was to link the past comprehensively to the present and connect it to the future.

One of the philosophies that *inkosi* Luthuli has been identified as possessing is that of multiracialism. This philosophy stems from his encounters with and understanding of the various racial groups. His discussion around whites and Africans’ interaction illustrates his understanding of diverse cultures and their social interaction. He argues within his autobiography “I believed then, as I do

¹¹² Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.37.

now, that an authentic, comprehensive South African culture will grow in its own way. This will not be determined by cultural societies, but they may influence it".¹¹³ Here we see one of the claims that *inkosi* Luthuli believed in around the philosophy of multiculturalism. He believed that no one culture would dominate within the new South Africa but there would be an emergence of a new South African culture informed by the existing cultures. I would argue that his founding of the Zulu Language and Cultural Society was him exercising and a practical implementation of his belief in multiculturalism. For him, the Zulu language and Culture Society was not trying to romanticise the time before the arrival of the white population to which the NP wanted them to return but understood that their arrival harmed the natural evolution of African culture.¹¹⁴ He remarked that cultures are meant to progress and adapt to modern times. However, there is still a desire to preserve elements of their heritage, which are essential, whilst removing outdated elements that do not apply to the present time. Here we can see *inkosi* Luthuli exercising self-awareness about his culture and heritage that non-intellectuals would not commonly have about their culture. Culture is commonly identified and claimed but rarely is it viewed as an evolving social mechanism in the way *inkosi* Luthuli views it in his autobiography. While at Adams College, we see him exercising his multiracialism philosophy and putting it into action through his involvement in organising inter-racial sports.¹¹⁵ For *inkosi* Luthuli, multiracialism moved beyond being a theoretical concept to being an ideology that he actively practised.

His insight from his experience with a minister from the Dutch Reformed Church, Mr De Villers, taught him that racial hatred was a trait taught from childhood rather than a character flaw.¹¹⁶ *Inkosi* Luthuli learned that the Afrikaner community was training their children to hate non-Afrikaans children and adults.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.38.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.40.

Before meeting De Villers, he had believed hatred and acts of brutality resulted from individual character flaws. De Villers tried to revolt against this type of upbringing. *Inkosi* Luthuli learned of the liberal Afrikaner's dilemma - to fight for the acknowledgement of Afrikaner history and identity while rebelling against the oppressive teachings that come with that identity. The insight into their dilemma gave him a sympathetic perspective that allowed him to gain resistance to the growing hatred and bitterness towards white South Africans. However, he cautioned against the victim mentality that liberal Afrikaners adopted as he believed that it could result in two outcomes. Either they would avoid responsibility for their part in the oppressive system or end up condoning evil. His Christian faith also gained a critical insight through his experience with CW. Atkins who was a Head of the training school at the College. Through him, he learned to believe that his Christian faith should be used to serve God and serve the community. Atkins view of active Christianity inspired him and set the foundation for *inkosi* Luthuli's view of his role in society. It provided him with insight into how to use his faith to navigate the political realm. Had it not been for his belief that Christianity needed to be an active service in the secular world, he would have remained a lay minister within his church.

3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the early development of *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thinking, using his autobiography as the guiding tool to navigate this part of the investigation. Simply to call him an African intellectual and jump straight into his intellectual work would not be an adequate biographical study, thus, tracing the development of his intellectual thought was necessary. His social context and early childhood played a significantly influential role in his development. Ntaba and Titisi Luthuli set the foundation for his adoption of Congregationalism. Their role in the community raised the family status,

allowing them to be influential figures within the *amaKholwa* class. This Congregationalist faith went beyond mere religion, it set the Luthuli family apart and turned them into prosperous individual landowners. Their value for education, instilled the belief in *inkosi* Luthuli that education was essential for the African population. His faith also led him to believe in democratic principles which became infused into the Groutville community and their cultural practice of electing their chief. MaGumede played an influential role in her son's social context beyond just being his parent as she was the source of his disciplined nature that helped him carry out his nonviolent resistance strategy. The chapter also discussed Martin Luthuli for he exposed *inkosi* Luthuli to the political realm and the role of a chief of Groutville. Both through the traditional ventures of executing his duties as chief of Groutville and his involvement in Congress. The last element that influenced the development of his intellectual thought was his time at Adams College. The College became a site where he began to exercise his traditional intellectual thought and formulated his thinking around education, culture, race and his role in society

4. Chapter Four: Becoming A Rural intellectual

Inkosi Luthuli's time as chief of Groutville is significant to this discussion of his intellectual thinking and activity. During his time as the chief, he began to embody some of Gramsci's standard features associated with a rural intellectual type.¹¹⁷ Gramsci defines rural-type intellectuals as individuals who connect to both the mass society and the petty bourgeoisie class. They perform a politico-social function within their society by connecting the peasantry class to the local and the larger state.¹¹⁸ They perform a dual role of mediating between the professional space and the political realm. They reside within the countryside and raise the living standard of their social group. The community tends to look up to this type of intellectual and aspire to become them. The study also applies Margret King's argument found in *The Social Role of Intellectuals* as it is relevant because *inkosi* Luthuli transitioned from a traditional intellectual to a rural intellectual.¹¹⁹ His role as chief of Groutville, coupled with his marriage, provided him with the perspective needed to critique the cultural practices of governance and understand women's positive impact in society. He made improvements in and around Groutville that affected the subaltern class of his community. This knowledge would later be used to motivate and educate his social class and society about creating a multiracial democracy. The discussion within this chapter is centred around the activeness of *inkosi* Luthuli's rural type intelligentsia.

The previous chapter outlined the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's thinking. It argued that he could be seen as a traditional intellectual based on his formal western education obtained through the missionary schools and Adams College. He was at the College for 15 years, from 1920 when he enrolled until he left for his chieftaincy in 1936. It was standard among *amaKholwa* intellectuals to have

¹¹⁷ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.148.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ King, "The social role of intellectuals", p.24.

attended missionary schools during their early intellectual development phase. Their formal education is recognised as being one of the features used to identify traditional intellectuals. The application of Gramsci's definition of traditional intellectuals to the context of *amaKholwa* leads one to believe that the class was predominantly made up of traditional intellectuals.

4.1. Transition period: From Traditional intellectual to Rural Intellectual

What set *inkosi* Luthuli apart within the *amaKholwa* class was that he transitioned from a traditional intellectual to a rural intellectual. This transition phase happened during his role as a chief. One can recognise that he experienced a transition period that covers three different aspects: intellectual, geographical and social. All of these aspects were interconnected and intersectional. The first aspect of his transition was his career change. Gramsci stated that intellectuals are aware of their economic function, social function and political function.¹²⁰ One would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli became aware of all these functions during his transition period. In his autobiography, he states that Adams College sheltered him and kept him distant from the realities of African people's hardships. The change from teacher to chief made him more aware of his function within society. All these functions intersected with the economic, societal and political conditions of the time. The change in his career was a significant point in *inkosi* Luthuli's life, particularly regarding his intellect; he moved from being a traditional intellectual to a rural intellectual. The second aspect in which he experienced a transition was geographically as he moved from Adams College to Groutville. This was also connected to his career transition, and both intersected with society and his social condition. The final aspect of his life in which he

¹²⁰ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.134.

experienced transition was in his social status. This happened through his marriage.

4.2. Marriage to MaBhengu

Intellectuals have views, thoughts and opinions on how society should function and what roles individuals, groups, and the government should occupy. One could argue that the social transition that *inkosi* Luthuli experienced through his marriage helped inform his view of society concerning gender roles. His marriage was significant for it was a strong foundation that informed his view on society. His marriage was a significant change that helped inform his social function and later helped him navigate his political function in society.

This thesis claims that *inkosi* Luthuli was an African intellectual who respected women both in his life and in their roles in society. His intellectual activity that expressed and envisioned South Africa as becoming a multiracial democratic society was also inclusive of equality between races, cultures and genders. He expressed this feminist-like thinking through his speeches like ‘Message to the National Conference of the African National Congress’ where he stated, “May South African women continue to play their noble and heroic part in our liberation struggle” and continued on to say “I charge them to use their womanly influence and tactics, to win increasingly into the Congress and into the struggle, growing numbers of men. If gentle persuasion should prove unavailing, goading them to it by derisive words and actions may be used. Women are generally masters at this”.¹²¹ For *inkosi Luthuli* he understood women had to play a role within the ANC and the liberation struggle. He encouraged their participation within society and in the movement for his words above point to that idea that he welcomed them within the political space. He did this himself before even his time as

¹²¹ Albert Luthuli, “Message to the National Conference of the African National Congress Women’s League, August 1959, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.149.

President-General in Groutville which will be discussed below in further detail. There is no doubt that gender equality was a feature within his political thought about a multiracial democracy within South Africa. Though he might not have known about feminist ideology or engaged with it in literature, he exhibits trace amounts of the ideology within his intellectual thought. This was evident in his time as chief and President-General of the ANC. The chapter will explore this in detail later.

This study does take note that *inkosi* Luthuli does not cite any feminist literature in his autobiography therefore it would difficult to claim him to be a feminist thinker that was informed on the topic of gender equality. However, one can argue that his lived experience from his childhood and the example set by his mother, MaGumede, informed his thinking about gender. The second source that reinforced this thinking was his marriage to his wife Nokukhanya kaMaphita kaBhengu Dhlokolo (referred to as uMaBhengu).¹²² Given the chronological narrative of this thesis, it is appropriate to discuss his marriage at this point. The couple were married in 1927, and their union lasted until *inkosi* Luthuli's death. Through his discussion of uMaGumede and his wife, his autobiography illustrates that these two African women in his life were the source of his view of gender equality. Biographies and scholarly work on him pay very little attention to MaBhengu even though he, in his autobiography, placed significant importance on her and her role within their household.¹²³ He states in his autobiography "I think what I value most about Nokukhanya is her integrity, which expresses itself in everything from her steadfast reliance on God, her devotion to me and our family".¹²⁴ Here one can see the high value he placed on her and her role within the family.

¹²² In Zulu culture it would be customary to call her uMaBhengu.

¹²³ One biography does exist on MaBhengu by Peter Rule, Marilyn Aitken, Jenny Van Dyk, *Nokukhanya, Mother of Light* (Braamfontein, 1993).

¹²⁴ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.44.

Historians and scholars have critiqued writings that focus on the early African nationalism of South Africa as lacking necessary attention to the role that women played in the development of this ideology.¹²⁵ As historians, there is a need to pay attention to and write about women's role within our history in which they have been left out, ignored and rendered invisible. MaBhengu's role within the *inkosi* Luthuli's life was essential. Vinson's biography states, "At home, Nokukhanya [MaBhengu] vetted Albert's speeches as they hosted visiting ANC members and friends".¹²⁶ This illustrates the impact of her role in *inkosi* Luthuli's life in an attempt to avoid leaving out MaBhengu's role in the development of *inkosi* Luthuli's African nationalism, the thesis will briefly turn to their marriage.

MaBhengu came from the Bhengu royal family, and her grandfather was *inkosi* Dhlokolo Bhengu of the Ngcolosi.¹²⁷ Thus, *inkosi* Luthuli was marrying a person of royal descent. His autobiography pays homage to her family's royal lineage as he does with his mother, uMaGumede. The significance of paying tribute to the cultural lineage illustrates his pride in his culture, especially since both women came from Zulu royal families. *Inkosi* Luthuli expressed in his autobiography and in speeches the importance of keeping important aspects of cultures. For him keeping a record of the women's heritage within his autobiography showed the essential parts of culture that needed to be kept. The other significance of recounting both MaGumede and MaBhengu's royal heritage was to show his respect for both women and the families from which they came.

The couple met while at Adams College when *inkosi* Luthuli was already a teacher at the college, and MaBhengu was pursuing her teacher's training course. She obtained her qualification and went on to join Adams College Hostel for Girls' staff.¹²⁸ When the two got married, it was agreed that MaBhengu would

¹²⁵ Meghan Healy-Clancy, "Women and the Problem of Family in Early African Nationalist History and Historiography", *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 3, 2012, pp.450-471.

¹²⁶ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.47.

¹²⁷ Reddy, *Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli*, p.285.

¹²⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.43.

return to Groutville to establish the ‘new’ Luthuli home and look after the then frail MaGumede. In a symbolic nature, it could be said that this was the passing of the Luthuli family’s matriarchal lantern that MaGumede carried during *inkosi* Luthuli’s early life until MaBhengu entered his life. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s autobiography consistently associates the words ‘stability’, ‘consistency’ and ‘security’ with MaBhengu’s role in his life and within their home.¹²⁹ His perception of her and her role within his life was of equality, for he saw her as his equal partner. Even though they served different roles within the community and the household, he still acknowledged the vital role she played in his life.

The couple had seven children together Hugh Bunyan Sulenkosi, Albertina, Thandeka Hilda Isabel, S’mangele Eleanor, Thembekile Jane Elizabeth, Christian Madunjini and Sibusiso Edgar.¹³⁰ It is interesting to note that most of their children were given both a Christian name and a Zulu name. It speaks to *inkosi* Luthuli’s inclusive African nationalism which he envisioned for South African society. One could make the argument that their names were an expression of dual-relationship between African heritage and Christian identity. MaBhengu was left responsible for setting up the home while *inkosi* Luthuli continued his role as a teacher at Adams College until 1935. During the early years of their marriage, MaBhengu learned farming techniques from uMaGumede.¹³¹ Vinson states that uMaBhengu sold produce from their successful farming, making her the breadwinner of the family when *inkosi* Luthuli resigned from teaching to take the post of chief of Groutville.¹³² One can argue that the Luthuli’s marriage illustrated an alternative Zulu household where the wife was the breadwinner of the household and the partners performed an equal role within the home. *Inkosi*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.44-45.

¹³⁰ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.22.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

Luthuli does not raise any issue with the change in their social roles and responsibility.

MaBhengu was frequently referred to throughout his speeches and his autobiography further illustrating her vital role in his life. She accompanied him when he went to receive his Nobel Peace Prize. Her role in his life influenced how he viewed women, allowing him to exercise revolutionary decisions like including women into his Groutville Council.

4.3. The Road to *ubukhosi* (Chieftaincy)

The present study identifies *inkosi* Luthuli's chieftaincy journey as the beginning of his intellectual journey from traditional to rural intellectual. He became involved in a few activities during his time as a chief that illustrated that he possessed rural-type intellectual elements. This showed that his intellectual thinking was complex and not so easily defined. During his time as chief, one could argue that he gained the necessary insight to bring in more of the rural regions of the African population into the ANC under his leadership as President-General. One of the distinct features about *inkosi* Luthuli was that he was a Zulu chief stripped of his title by the apartheid state for his political involvement. The state's intrusive involvement within the chieftaincy system resulted in *inkosi* Luthuli being deposed. The state's interference with this system caused the liberation movement and the international community to pay more attention to him and moved him to deliver his famous "The Road to Freedom via the Cross" speech.

The reader needs to know where *inkosi* Luthuli obtained his authority and status from within the Zulu kingdom. The Zulu chieftaincy system is much more complicated than what is discussed here but for the purpose of understanding how *inkosi* Luthuli was deposed by the state, the study requires a brief discussion. It is critical to walk the reader through the Zulu chieftaincy system to grasp

Shepstone's impact. The Zulu chieftaincy governed through the use of a hierarchical model system. When *inkosi* Luthuli was elected as chief of Groutville at the end of 1935, this type of structure remained, and he operated within this structure.¹³³ The hierarchy consisted of five layers: the top two layers had *Nkosi* (Paramount Chief), and *amakhosi* who were the traditional leaders, both these types of leaders inherited their positions.¹³⁴ *Inkosi* Luthuli belonged to the *amakhosi* tier that fell underneath *Nkosi*. The third layer consisted of the Traditional Council (Council) that had members who were democratically elected. The last two layers included *izinduna*, *izibonda* and *amaphoyisa enkosi*, all of whom were appointed by the senior traditional council.¹³⁵ *Amakhosi* would handle the homestead's daily matters while *izinduna*, military heads, supported either warriors or wealthy men.¹³⁶ *Izibonda* were the elderly community members that had lived in the community the longest and had the historical knowledge of the community's past. *Amaphoyisa enkosi* were the members of the community who were entrusted to main peace and order within the community especially during community gatherings.¹³⁷ The hierarchal structure shows how African governance comprised of different components, each supporting the tier above it. *Inkosi* Luthuli accounts for this type of practice in his speech "Our Vision is a Democratic Society", "in Bantu practice, the king or chief sat with his council and debated an issue: and all of the leading men in the tribe had a say in decisions".¹³⁸ The *Nkosi* did not rule as a dictator but had *amakhosi* who helped him rule the kingdom.

The homestead economy was based on communal land that fell under the regional chief's authority, who had the authority to distribute the land to his followers.

¹³³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.54.

¹³⁴ Sandile Mbokazi and Thamsanqa Bhengu, "An unexplored partnership: the influence of traditional leaders on schooling.", *Journal of Education*, 44, 2008, p.51.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Anna Kolberg Buverud, "The king and the honeybirds: Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon, Zulu nationalism and the implementation of the Bantu authorities system in Zululand, 1948-1957," MA thesis, 2007, p.25.

¹³⁷ Mbokazi and Bhengu, "An unexplored partnership", p.51.

¹³⁸ Albert Luthuli, "Our Vision is a democratic Society", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.132.

Anna Kolberg Buverud's thesis on Cyprian Bhekuzulu ka Solomon describes the role of the chief of a homestead.¹³⁹ Their responsibility included looking after the clan that resided within their homestead, enforcing the customary laws and maintaining social cohesion. They administered over cases within their courts and received the fines and cattle on behalf of their clan. Though they had the final word on all matters, a good chief would have a Council with which they would consult. The system was based on patriarchal values - the chiefs and heads of homesteads were men, and the land was passed down the patriarchal lineage. Buverud describes that the practice of inheritance through patriarchal lineage was not necessarily passed down to the eldest son of the first wife but rather to the son of the 'great wife' who was chosen much later.¹⁴⁰ The heir would have to be male for them to inherit the land. Zulu chiefs and traditional leaders carried the responsibility to oversee the system, and they had the authority to issue land.

Over time, the chieftaincy system evolved with different clans merging. This resulted in *amakhosi* submitting under *Nkosi* as the head of the entire chiefdom to form part his council. Within the Zulu governance system, the *Nkosi* did not operate as an authoritarian ruler but was expected to consult with *amakhosi* before making the final decision. The 'Shepstone system', along with the Codification of customary laws, impacted the Zulu governance structure and allowed for colonial settler government to control the Zulu leadership system. Etherington argues that the system was put in place by the commission because they believed the state needed to get involved to avoid the deterioration of chiefs' rule and customary law.¹⁴¹ The colonial government used magistrates as tools to enforce the colonial state's intervention in traditional authority and put in place laws that

¹³⁹ Buverud, "The king and the honeybirds", p.25.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁴¹ Norman Etherington and N.A. Etherington, "The origins of 'indirect rule' in nineteenth-century Natal", *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 47, 1976, p.13; see also Jeff Guy, "An Accommodation of Patriarchs: Theophilus Shepstone and the Foundations of the System of Native Administration in Natal", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 32, 1, 2018, p.83.

abolished polygyny, bride prices and prosecuted witchcraft.¹⁴² The Shepstone system became one of the colonial government's mechanisms to break down the Zulu king's power over the independent state. The consequence of this system on the Zulu chieftaincy was that it left *inkosi* Luthuli unprotected against the white supremacist government when they stripped him of his chieftaincy.

Initially, Shepstone only intended to recognise some elements of the traditional rule during the mid-1800s.¹⁴³ However, the colonial government took it a step further towards the late 1800s, after Shepstone had retired, to recognise a dual legal system. In 1878 the colonial government acknowledged that chiefs could exercise authority over their respective tribes but retained its power to depose any chief that abused their powers. It introduced 'indirect rule' to allow the colonialists to govern over the Zulu state. Shepstone thus appointed his 'own' chiefs as administrators of the new system that he was setting up to govern over colonial Natal. The system incorporated existing chiefs into the governance structure, and in regions that did not have an existing chief, Shepstone then appointed his own chiefs. Thus, was introduced what historians and scholars call the 'Shepstone system'. The involvement of Theophilus Shepstone through the Shepstone system transformed the role of *ubukhosi* within the chieftaincy system.

The purpose of this system was to rule the African population through the chieftaincy system. This system recognised the traditional governing system because it allowed the colonial government to gain complete control over the African population without complete subjugation.¹⁴⁴ The colonial government opted for this method to rule rather than a detribalisation policy as this policy had failed in Cape Colony's administration of Basutoland in 1871.¹⁴⁵ The colonial state infused the approach of 'indirect rule' from the Shepstone system into the

¹⁴² Etherington, "The origins of 'indirect rule'", p.13.

¹⁴³ Guy, "An Accommodation of Patriarchs", p.86.

¹⁴⁴ Anthony A. Costa, "Chieftaincy and civilisation: African structures of government and colonial administration in South Africa." *African Studies*, 59, 1, 2000, p.21.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.22.

1910 Union Constitution and furthered its interference into the chieftaincy system through the 1927 Native Administration Act.¹⁴⁶ The Native Administration Act granted the Governor-General supreme chieftaincy status over all chiefs in the Union provinces. It ranked chiefs with inherited chiefs below supreme chiefs who were senior colonial officers, the governors.¹⁴⁷ The Act further limited chiefs' powers while granting powers to the supreme chief using pre-colonial practices as a reference. The powers of the paramount chief or supreme chief corrupted the traditional chiefs' authority, and the courts determined the extent of the supreme chief's authority.

The Shepstone system transformed the authority of *amakhosi* - while allowing them to maintain their ability to distribute land, Shepstone kept the authority to remove and appoint chiefs.¹⁴⁸ The system introduced magistrates into the arrangement, leaving *amakhosi* to handle minor criminal cases. *Inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography states that not all of them had the same jurisdiction, some had the authority over criminal cases, and others did not depending on the Governor-General.¹⁴⁹

4.4. *Inkosi* Luthuli's traditional rule

It is important to discuss *inkosi* Luthuli's journey as chief to understand his philosophy on multiculturalism and creating a modern South Africa. He believed cultures and their practices needed to adapt to a changing world and this view came from exercising his intellectual activity as a chief. His experiences provided him with some insights like the need for chief's role in society to modernise. *Inkosi* Luthuli's election to chieftaincy followed democratic principles that involved both the *amaKholwa* community and the community's Traditionalist

¹⁴⁶ Jo Beall, Sibongiseni Mkhize, and Shahid Vawda, "Emergent democracy and 'resurgent' tradition: Institutions, chieftaincy and transition in KwaZulu Natal", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, 4, 2005 755-771, p.761.

¹⁴⁷ Costa, "Chieftaincy and civilization", pp.33-34.

¹⁴⁸ Beall, Mkhize, and Vawda, "Emergent democracy and 'resurgent' tradition", p.761.

¹⁴⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.55-56.

members. During his election process, conducted by the Native Commissioner, he ran against three other candidates.¹⁵⁰ His account of the electoral process that Groutville conducted confirms the discussion above about how the state was involved in the Zulu chieftaincy system. In 1936 after the electoral process, he was installed as chief, replacing *inkosi* Josiah Mqwebu who had followed after Martin Luthuli in 1921.¹⁵¹ Scholars and the autobiography point out that *inkosi* Luthuli took a significant pay cut when he assumed this position since teachers earned considerably more than chiefs. His belief in a people-centred approach within his leadership eventually pushed him to give in to the call from his community and take up the mantle of chieftaincy.

Inkosi Luthuli returned to Groutville amid poor leadership and economic hardship in the community. His time as chief opened his eyes to the economic hardships faced by his social group in a way that his role at College had not. He states that “At Adams College I had had no particular cause to look far beyond the walls of the institution... All that came to an end when I became Chief of Groutville. Now I saw, almost as though for the first time, the naked poverty of my people, the daily hurt to human beings”.¹⁵² Adams College had sheltered him for the socio-economic hardships faced by his people and as chief he had the responsibility to mitigate these hard conditions. When he became chief, he was also faced with “as never before by the destitution of the housewife, the smashing of families because of economic pressures, and the inability of the old way of life to meet the contemporary onslaught”.¹⁵³ As an intellectual he needed to have the foresight and the capabilities to navigate these problems and provide solutions. I would argue that he does exactly that during his chieftaincy and proves that he had the

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁵¹ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.24.

¹⁵² Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p.57.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.61.

intellectual capacity of an intellectual to navigate his social group through socio-economic conditions created by the segregation government.

Inkosi Luthuli had an understanding of the role played by chiefs within the chieftaincy system and he understood the power dynamics that the position had within the minds of his own social group and those of the dominate social group. In his autobiography, he informs us that the view of chiefs varied between Africans and Europeans. He states “a chief does not stand for the same things in white minds as in African. In African eyes a chief possesses certain authority by virtue of his position, while in European eyes all that he has is conferred on him by beneficent whites – he is a sort of appointed boss-boy”.¹⁵⁴ Africans viewed chiefs as occupying a place of authority that was respected if not revered whilst the Europeans viewed chiefs as their appointed boss-boy. One would argue that the difference in perspective is attributed to traditional authority’s legacy and the colonial government’s interference with their authority. *Inkosi* Luthuli was aware of these different perceptions and understood his role within his community. He avoided getting caught up in being a puppet for the white supremacist state.

Inkosi Luthuli detailed the duties of a chief within the chieftaincy system that had government interference. He understood that the role of chiefs had changed since the interference of the colonial government in the chieftaincy system. Chiefs acted as magistrates over civil matters, with some being granted jurisdiction over criminal matters depending on the Governor-General - *inkosi* Luthuli had jurisdiction over both.¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, he was an exception to other chiefs in many ways. He was given more responsibility than others. The ‘Tribal’ courts required the chiefs to know traditional laws and customs and adjudicate these matters. *Inkosi* Luthuli was no exception to this practice and he confirms this in his autobiography “It was my fortune to be well versed in the fundamentals of

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.56.

what is called Native Law and Custom, so I was able to take up my court work with no great difficulty”.¹⁵⁶ Here one can see that chiefs had to exercise specialised knowledge to allow them to exercise their authority effectively. This set chiefs apart from non-intellectuals. One could argue that they operated in the same realm as intellectuals because they had specialised knowledge not possessed by nonintellectuals.

Inkosi Luthuli does note how the colonial government got involved and changed ‘Tribal’ courts: court witnesses used to stay for the entire trial, but the colonial administration did away with this practice.¹⁵⁷ These courts also had fines or court fees given to the chiefs, but the NP implemented laws requiring that these funds be sent to the Tribal Treasury.¹⁵⁸ These state interventions can be seen as streamlining the traditional court system and ensuring fewer chances of corruption or external influences of the court proceedings. The chiefs acknowledged and recognised under the Administration Act were liaisons between their community and the Native Commissioner. *Inkosi* Luthuli highlights that chiefs of mission reserves were not given the authority to allocate land, something traditional chiefs had the authority to do before the state’s invention. However, he was the exception and had the power to allocate land.¹⁵⁹ Here we see yet again him performing duties and responsibilities that made him an exception.

Inkosi Luthuli’s role as chief of Groutville speaks to the impact of the legacy of the ‘Shepstone system’ which codified customary laws and the chief’s authority. At first glance, it seems like he performed his role within the existing system, but he shows he carried agency within it. He was granted exemptions by being given more authority than general chiefs. For example, he was granted jurisdiction over

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

criminal matters and had the power to allocate land. The state giving him more responsibility could imply that the state had a level of trust in *inkosi* Luthuli's ability, but it could also imply that they saw him as their boss-boy who would do their bidding. However, he was not a state puppet, and his agency allowed him to break free of these chains. *Inkosi* Luthuli performed his duties as chief with a high moral and ethical grounding that emanated from his active Christian faith. His commitment to serving his community beyond material and financial gain is illustrated through him choosing not to accept the fines and court fees which were given to chiefs that acted as magistrates of 'tribal' courts.¹⁶⁰ According to his autobiography, chiefs were permitted to accept up to five pounds or two head of cattle as part of the court fees.¹⁶¹ This practice had been permitted in the early years of the Shepstone system. The practice was intended to keep the chief adjudicating over the matter interested. However, this practice was done away with by the NP. *Inkosi* Luthuli welcomed this as a needed improvement. It can be argued that he took this position, because he believed that the fines and court fees bred corruption within the court system. His distaste for the practice illustrates the high moral influence that was present within his leadership style and his philosophy.

Inkosi Luthuli practised his intellectual thought on the modernisation of African culture and tradition. He moved his philosophy beyond being strictly theoretical to practise his thinking and applying it in real life. He did something revolutionary within the 'Tribal' court system of his community by allowing women into the tribal council.¹⁶² The traditional court system was part of the African culture's patriarchal system with very little space for women. Women were involved only as spectators as community members. Every chief needed to have a 'Tribal' Council to seek advice from or consult with over the tribe's affairs or court cases.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.61.

These councils were mainly community elders and predominantly male. *Inkosi* Luthuli had a similar body: “In all my routine work I was assisted by tribal elders. These men were entirely unpaid. They did their work without any compulsion as a public duty, recognising far better than our rulers that privilege – even if it is merely prestige – carries with it obligation”.¹⁶³ *Inkosi* Luthuli elevated women’s role within the African community by allowing women onto the Council. He states: “I took the quite revolutionary step of admitting women to these tribal councils. Although the change was accepted by the people without murmur, ingrained custom tended to keep the women on the outskirts of the discussion”.¹⁶⁴ His action in this regard can be seen as revolutionary, he was the first chief in Groutville to do so, and we can attribute this revolutionary move to his marriage with MaBhengu. He viewed her as his equal and consulted with her and therefore he extended this into his chieftaincy through including women onto the Council. His actions to include women demonstrates how he used his intellectual thinking to influence his community’s functioning and the chieftaincy system. It speaks to his view on gender and gender equality within society which was highlighted above. Rather than continuing the patriarchal practice of excluding women within the recognised leadership structure of chieftaincy, he empowered women.

The segregation state and apartheid state introduced government policy that brought in white-owned beer halls which threatened African women’s livelihoods of brewing alcohol at their homes.¹⁶⁵ *Inkosi* Luthuli, rather than becoming the state’s boss-boy and complying with the new policy, fought against the introduction of these white-owned beer halls. These beer halls were taking women’s income and plunging African communities into further poverty. He justified his rejection of these beer halls, even though he was not a consumer of

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.57.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.61-62.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.63.

alcohol himself, by pointing to the threat they posed to women's livelihoods which needed to be protected. His rebellion against the beer halls illustrated his intellectual thought about the African population's economic condition and the means through which to raise their economic status. His interest in women's economic emancipation within his community illustrated his position on women's role in society. His advocacy for protecting their livelihood set him apart from traditional intellectuals who wanted to keep the status quo. In this way, he began his journey towards becoming a statesman. His political journey later included providing support to women when he became President-General of the ANC.

Inkosi Luthuli, while a chief, moved into the realm of a rural-type of intellectualism. He did not limit his role to the social condition of the 5000 Groutville community members. He acknowledges this shift in his community leadership role when he states: "I was going to go beyond merely ruling Groutville's five thousand people efficiently, my service to the community would be related to their difficulties as peasant sugar farmers".¹⁶⁶ In addition, rather than being preoccupied with 'Tribal' court affairs, he got involved in other matters outside the courts. Gramsci identifies intellectuals as being the organisers of society who express the needs of their social group.¹⁶⁷ The expression of the needs of their social group is intended to expand the social group towards dominance. *Inkosi* Luthuli's focus on economic empowerment was not limited to African women but also included peasant sugar farmers. "I continued organising African sugar producers until about 1949... I look back with nostalgia on this type of work".¹⁶⁸ I would argue that based his statement above in his autobiography that *inkosi* Luthuli does fulfil the element of organising his community as an intellectual. His servant-leadership style allowed him to

¹⁶⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.65.

¹⁶⁷ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.135.

¹⁶⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.70.

navigate and address issues that impacted on various groups within his community. His intellectual activity did not limit him to only to day-to-day matters but he was able to enter the realm of agriculture and assisting African peasant sugar farmers. While chief of Groutville, he sought to change the peasant sugar farmers' economic conditions. Groutville's economy was mostly based on subsistence farming of mainly sugarcane and cash-crops.¹⁶⁹ The previous chapter detailed how the indigenous Zulu community was dependent on the land to change their economic condition.

AmaKholwa were granted access to land through the exemption clause within Mission Reserves. They were successful in planting sugarcane and cash crops. Their successful farming granted them access to a nearby white-settler capitalist economies in urban areas. Groutville was a farming community. *Inkosi* Luthuli understood this and used it to improve its living conditions. The 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Land Act had plunged the African population of Natal into extreme poverty by limiting the majority of the population to 13 per cent of South Africa's land. The Act had completely devastated the African population's households and hit farmers hard. The government sought to protect the interests of white farmers at the expense of African farmers. The government introduced the Sugar Act, No. 28 of 1936 and the Sugar Industry Agreement 1936.¹⁷⁰ The Sugar Act restricted sugar production - each sugar mill was permitted a fixed sugar quota - and set up an industrial board known as the Sugar Industry Central Board. The board comprised of three individuals, which included the chairman appointed by the South African Sugar Association, a growers' representative who came from the Growers' Association and a millers' representative.¹⁷¹ Couper adds that the 1936 Sugar Act further compounded the challenges faced by sugarcane farmers

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.58.

¹⁷⁰ Huntley, J.K., "The Development of Production Control in the South African Sugar Industry", *Agrekon*, 5, 2, 1966, 5-18, p.8.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

because, by implementing quotas on the amount of sugar, it further restricted Natal rural farmers.¹⁷²

Luthuli's attempt to address the hardship experienced by peasant sugarcane farmers involved establishing the Groutville Cane Growers Association during the early 1930s with Ackroyd Mvunyana.¹⁷³ Mvunyana became the secretary and *inkosi* Luthuli became chairman. The Association organised an estimated 200 African peasant sugarcane farmers. It had become challenging for African, Indian and coloured sugarcane farmers to survive within South Africa's economy with very little state economic support. The Association aimed to organise small-scale African sugarcane farmers and represent their interests since the Native Affairs Department had not given them any representation. The segregatory government favoured white farmers. Here we see *inkosi* Luthuli consciously organising his social class members to better their social group's livelihoods. He states in his autobiography that "[I]t was quite clear that if we had not organised ourselves and revived the Growers' Association, our lot would have continued to deteriorate".¹⁷⁴ In forming a trade union for peasant sugar farmers, he fitted Gramsci's qualities of an intellectual. He believed that organising his social group would protect them from the harsh conditions set up by the dominant social group. He further states: "[T]he fact that our organisation and representations which we had made had produced limited results, made me acutely aware of the plight of other districts where nothing whatever had been done".¹⁷⁵ Here one can see him being cognizant of both the successes of organising and the shortfalls of the organisation. I would argue that this experience of being exposed to the hardships faced by African peasant farmers in not only his community but also by those in his surrounding region expanded his intellectual capacity to bring in

¹⁷² Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.42.

¹⁷³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.66; Shula Marks, "Patriotism, patriarchy and purity: Natal and the politics of Zulu ethnic consciousness", 1986, (accessed via www.wiredspace.wits.ac.za).

¹⁷⁴ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.67.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

more members from the rural areas during his time as President-General. The Association's successes led to the establishment of the Natal and Zululand Bantu Cane Growers Association in 1934 wherein *inkosi* Luthuli partnered with Reverend Alpheus Zulu and Mvunyana as part of the executive.¹⁷⁶ Rev. Alpheus Zulu later became the first black bishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa. The second Association was a revived organisation that had been active in the late 1800s during the sugarcane industry boom but had gone dormant until *inkosi* Luthuli revived it. The second Association had performed similar work to the Groutville's association to organise small-scale African farmers and negotiate on their behalf with the government.¹⁷⁷ *Inkosi* Luthuli openly acknowledges that the second Association did not reap significant success, but it did have some success. His major challenge was unifying the African population. "I do not claim that my attempt to organising my people was successful... but not all did see the point, so that we were met too often with incomprehension, apathy or suspicion".¹⁷⁸ My argument here is that *inkosi* Luthuli recognised, through the use of his intellectual activity, that his social group needed to organise and was able to diagnose the core challenge. He stated that Africans were not inclined to unify without a strong uniting tool. He believed that Africans struggled to come together for the sake of coming together; instead, they required a significant rallying call to unite them under one banner or cause. According to him, oppression seemed to be a strong enough tool to unite Africans.¹⁷⁹ "[T]he increase in oppression in recent years has had the happy effect of driving us closer together, though our troubles are not over".¹⁸⁰ In 1935 *inkosi* Luthuli also revived the Mission Reserve Association, which attempted to help Africans maintain their freehold rights and help

¹⁷⁶ Ian Macqueen, "A Different form of Protest: The Life of Bishop Alpheus, 1905 – 1960", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 23, 1, 2005, pp.171-202.

¹⁷⁷ Marks, "Patriotism, patriarchy and purity", p.16.

¹⁷⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.67.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

individuals gain individual land ownership.¹⁸¹ His role as union leader included him advocating for African teachers, carpenters and builders to receive better wages as they were earning below the costs of living and their white counterparts within the same industry.¹⁸² *Inkosi* Luthuli believed that his social group needed to unify and organise and the argument above has shown Luthuli making several attempts to organise his social group through various associations and organisations. Despite the challenge of Africans not wanting to organise, he is seen to be not giving up on this strategy to protect his social group from the oppression of the dominant social group. The belief in organising as Africans feeds into his African nationalist philosophy.

Inkosi Luthuli's role as chief also illustrated the type of African nationalism he embodied. It began as early as his time at Adams College, establishing the Zulu Language and Cultural Society formed in 1935. "We did not have the desire of the Nationalists that we should return to the primitive. But we did have an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and outmoded".¹⁸³ From this statement, we can see another element of his intellectual thought which carried his vision for a democratic South Africa. Infused into his African nationalism thinking was a theme of inclusivity. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli's choice in this type of African nationalism was rooted in his active Christian faith combined with his *amaKholwa* background. He understood the balance that had to exist between African heritage and Christian identity. His *amaKholwa* background informed his belief in modernizing African culture. He understood that it was important to acknowledge African cultures and preserve the essential elements. His African nationalism sought to keep African heritage and move it with the changing times rather than completely erase it. Previously the study had mentioned that *amaKholwa* intellectuals understood the

¹⁸¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.71

¹⁸² Limb, *The ANC's Early Years*, p.466.

¹⁸³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.37.

dual-relationship that existed between Christian identity and African identity. *Inkosi* Luthuli understood this balance coming from that line of thinking. He was not a Zulu nationalist but was a proud Zulu man. His understanding of the importance of culture and African people's heritage informed his view of heritage as imperative for African society. The second significant thing about this statement is that he accepted culture as more flexible and malleable than fixed and rigid. He believed cultures to be adaptable to the changing of time and space. Lastly, we see through this statement that he believed that African cultures needed not to revert to the time before colonisation but to acknowledge the change in evolution and progress from the change.

Through its legislation and mechanisms, the white supremacist State aimed to push down an already emerging class. *Inkosi* Luthuli's African nationalism thinking believed African heritage was not stagnant, but a constantly evolving social entity. During his time as chief, he frequently visited the Zulu King, *Nkosi*, at the royal capital, Nongoma, to pay his respect. For him, this institution became a site of education where he learned more about his culture, customs and tradition. He states in his autobiography: "Accordingly, my visits to the capital fitted in happily with my desires. They were an education too. I was introduced to customs of which I had not formerly been fully aware, and the formality and ceremonies etiquette of the Royal capital seemed to fill a vacant place in my make-up".¹⁸⁴ He was open to learning about his African heritage, keeping in touch with his African identity. Through this, he maintained the balance between his dual-identity of his Christian identity and African identity. His commentary on the balance and mutual existence between what he called "urbanised and educated Africans" alongside Traditionalist Africans illustrates his type of African nationalism.¹⁸⁵ His nationalism did not romanticise the pre-colonial world but was instead an acknowledgement of modernity within African culture. He states in his

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.74.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.75.

autobiography that “I am angered by the Nationalist gibe nowadays that such schools as this one, or Adams College, or St. Peter’s, Rosettenville, turned out ‘Black Englishmen’”.¹⁸⁶ He later reflects on two occasions when he had visited the royal capital and had been accompanied by white companions. They had expressed frustration by the cultural formalities, he states “The leisurely compliance with court formality and the accustomed delay between our arrival and our being granted an interview, made them see the with impatience, whereas I revelled in it. I suppose it is in my blood. I do not think I am a ‘Black Englishman’ ”.¹⁸⁷ Here we see him rejecting the idea of creating ‘Black Englishmen’, instead focused on an acknowledgement and a consciousness of being African. He rejected white South African thinking that education cuts off Africans from their fellow Africans. However, instead, he believed that they, as *amaKholwa*, possessed the ability to balance the two and keep a foot in both worlds.

Inkosi Luthuli and the chiefs who still recognised the *Nkosi*’s authority did so not out of forced legal obligation but out of genuine respect and status. He states that: “the relation of Zulu chiefs to the Paramount is a matter of sentiment, rather than of law. He has no legal authority over lesser chiefs or over their people, but the authority which he exerts by virtue of his place in their hearts of Zulus is great”.¹⁸⁸ Historians and scholars are generally in agreement that a critical symbol tied to the Zulu nation and its culture was their King.¹⁸⁹ *Inkosi* Luthuli acknowledged that uniting Africans under a ‘tribe’ was no longer viable. Political leaders needed to be given the platform to unite them.¹⁹⁰ Here we see him using his intellectual thinking to assess the time he was in and what was best for his social group and

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.75.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.73.

¹⁸⁹ Beall, Mkhize, and Vawda, “Emergent Democracy and ‘Resurgent’ Tradition”, p.760; Patrick Harries, “Imagery, Symbolism and Tradition in a South African Bantu: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha, and Zulu History”, *History and Theory*, 32, 4, 1993, p.108.

¹⁹⁰ Luthuli, *My People*, p.73.

the betterment of society as a whole. He exercised an awareness of his social groups' strengths and weaknesses.

Couper's paper "Chief Albert Luthuli's Conceptualisation of Civilisation" argues that *inkosi* Luthuli was part of a new wave of *amaKholwa* intellectuals who believed in and practised the amalgamation of their African identity and western influences.¹⁹¹ Their generation stood apart from the early *amaKholwa* intellectuals who emerged during the 19th century, as discussed in the earlier chapter. These intellectuals were still figuring out their dual-identity dilemma. In contrast, this 'new' wave of *amaKholwa* intellectuals had solidified their dual-identity that allowed them to occupy an intellectual space in which they could redefine, innovate and create a new society for liberated South Africa.

4.5. The development of *Inkosi* Luthuli's Internationalist Philosophy

Inkosi Luthuli, while performing his duties as chief, also continued to develop his internationalist philosophy. Dorothy Woodson's paper on *inkosi* Luthuli argues that the time he spent travelling internationally, whilst performing his duties as chief, were the formative years of his philosophy.¹⁹² She claims that this international experience provided him with exposure to other racial groups outside of the South African context and away from segregation and the white supremacist state. This further developed his internationalism beyond the exposure that he experienced while at Adams College. Vinson substantiates Woodson, stating in his biography that *inkosi* Luthuli's international tour informed him about the transnational nature of white supremacy.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Scott Everett Couper, "Chief Albert Luthuli's Conceptualisation of Civilisation", *African Studies*, 70, 1, p.53.

¹⁹² Dorothy C. Woodson, "Albert Luthuli and the African National Congress: A Bio-Bibliography", *History in Africa*, 13, 345-362, p.347.

¹⁹³ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.37.

He visited India in 1938 as part of an interracial Christian delegation which his church had organised for an international missionary conference.¹⁹⁴ This visit exposed him to India's extreme poverty, and he acknowledged that this experience opened his eyes and stretched his horizons.¹⁹⁵ The trip to India for him opened his eyes to the application of active Christianity stating that "it was alive and active, grappling with its problems and facing its challenges".¹⁹⁶ The trip also turned *inkosi* Luthuli into a critic of his own South African Christian brethren "I came home an incisive critic of South African Christianity. I still am one. It does not diminish my loyalty".¹⁹⁷ Here *inkosi* Luthuli, as a devout Christian, not stepping away from bolding stating that he does not reserve his criticism for South African Christianity. As a conservative this shows that Luthuli had the intellectual capacity to criticise his own faith especially when it was lacking in addressing the social issues of their time. His ability to not blindly follow Christianity but also critique his own faith not only shows a level of maturity that he possessed but higher intellect that some nonintellectuals often do not possess. Overall the trip to India left a deep impression on him "I came back from India with wider sympathies and wider horizons", which one could argue is why he support the cooperation strategy of the ANC.¹⁹⁸ His congregationalist church also took him to the United States in 1948 where he spoke at public gatherings and gave public lectures all over states like Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis and Washington, DC.¹⁹⁹ His lectures covered Zulu tradition, values and their respect for law and order. These public lectures illustrated *inkosi* Luthuli's commitment to educating his community and global society about his social group. Unfortunately, in the research for this study, one could not uncover any of his public lectures. However,

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁹⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.81.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.79.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.81.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.82.

it has relied on Vinson's book on Luthuli and the autobiography to substantiate this point.

During his visits, he expressed his intellectual thought on international communities' involvement in African affairs. His internationalist philosophy believed that the international community, like the US, should only get involved to better the lives of African people. He states: "I hoped then, as I do now, that the U.S.A was concerned with the uplifting of people and not with the dragooning of Africans into the Western camp for reasons of international politics; nor solely with the exploitation of material resources. I said this repeatedly to Americans with whom I discussed the matter".²⁰⁰ His internationalist philosophy did not seek for Africa to be completely reliant on the international community not for Africa to be dragged into Cold War politics. His philosophy sought to maintain Africa's independence and protection of its own resources. During his visit to the deep south, *inkosi* Luthuli experienced the same segregation policy that he had in South Africa. *Inkosi* Luthuli's internationalist philosophy was infused with African nationalism, and this is illustrated by his refusal to stay in the US and stating, "But South Africa is my home, and I hanker after nobody else's".²⁰¹ We see him being a proud citizen of South Africa rather than abandoning the country. The US had given the African Americans constitutional rights and he hoped to use the country as a model for a multiracial democracy. These trips were possible at this point because the apartheid government had not cracked down on Africans travelling beyond the South African border yet. These international visits helped *inkosi* Luthuli to view Africans' struggle within the global context. It granted him the insight to see how other racial groups, apart from Africans, were experiencing similar changes but within a different context. I would argue that these two international trips informed *inkosi* Luthuli's geo-political intellect on socio-economic oppression and political oppression. He was concerned about the

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.85.

suffering that was experienced by the poor in India and by the political oppression experienced by African Americans in the south. It shows that *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thinking was not limited to that of just his immediate social group but he applied his thinking to the liberation of all people and the international community. He was willing to learning from his international experience and the international community and apply this knowledge to his own context. It shows that *inkosi* Luthuli intellect was informed by diverse sources and experiences thus producing a hybrid African intellectual.

4.6. Conclusion

Inkosi Luthuli left Adams College, an environment that had developed him as a traditional intellectual for 15 years, to take up the position of chief. He was democratically elected as chief of Groutville and assumed the role of a rural intellectual.²⁰² As a teacher and now chief, he elevated the community's status through his duties as a magistrate that he performed as chief. He became an example for his African peasantry community and became the standard to which they could aspire. The transition period made him aware of his role and function in society. His function was informed by his active Christian principles, which he had adopted while at Adams College. His social aspect, which involved his change in marital status, was not only about marriage. His marriage to MaBhengu was significant because it informed his view of gender equality within society. *Inkosi* Luthuli did envision a society where both genders were equal. It was essential to explore the source of this view. His marriage to MaBhengu allowed him to make the revolutionary decision to include women into his Council. His lived experience within the marriage informed this decision. MaBhengu's role is essential, and stories like hers need to be written into our history books. *Inkosi* Luthuli was chief under the Shepstone system and was later deposed by

²⁰² Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p.38.

legislation that carried the principle of the same system decades later. The chieftaincy system experienced the terrible influence of colonialism; though it codified the system, the impact was detrimental to African governance. *Inkosi* Luthuli's time as a chief helped him transition from a traditional intellectual to a rural intellectual and became a source of information about the hardships experienced by his subaltern social class. His duties as chief gave him the necessary insight into how the white government maintained his social group's oppression. He organised his social class under various associations to fight the economic conditions created by the dominant class. During his time as chief, he was provided with the opportunity to build his internationalist philosophy through his international tour to India and the US. These experiences transformed *inkosi* Luthuli into a rural-type intellectual and set the foundations for him to turn into a political leader. *Inkosi* Luthuli exercised his traditional rural intelligentsia during his time as chief of Groutville to improve his community's lives. He represented the African peasantry class's needs to the state and influenced his society to include women in leadership spaces. *Inkosi* Luthuli used his intellectual thinking to advocate for the marginalized groups of his community, he advocated for African women and African peasant sugar farmers. He used his authority to move the role of a chief from being a place of authority to being an agent of social change. He transformed his 'Tribal' courts against against decades of custom and practices without erasing the essence of African heritage. *Inkosi* Luthli goes beyond being a traditional intellectual but manoeuvres over different types of intellectual thinking, making his intelligentsia more complex and therefore making him a hybrid African intellectual.

5. Chapter Five: *Inkosi* Luthuli the African intellectual, From Chief to Nobel Laureate

This thesis set out to illustrate to the reader that *inkosi* Luthuli was an African intellectual through a biographical study. The study traced the development of his intellect and him beginning to exercise it as chief. As a result it began to reveal that he exercised a hybrid intellectual activity. At the foundation of this argument has been Gramsci's work and his work has been used as the springboard to launch the argument. His work introduced concepts like 'traditional' and 'organic' intellectuals which were applied in the previous chapters. These two intellectuals' formation and function are involved in social democracy and helping society along its historical process. Before discussing *inkosi* Luthuli's life, there needed to be some contextual discussion around the socio-political condition to set the background. The reader learned how the mineral discovery and the arrival of missionaries led to the formation of *amaKholwa*. Christianity played a considerably influential role in forming this class and the spread of mission education. Their religious background and similar education allowed them to create a common language and an identity for their social group. Natal's economic condition propelled various African families to the forefront of their class, and they became landowners, just as the Luthuli family did. Later, the study focused on *inkosi* Luthuli - it looked at how his intellectual thinking developed, identified key institutions and highlighted foundational principles of his intellectualism. These principles included African nationalism, multiracialism, active Christianity and democracy. These principles fed into his vision of a new liberated South Africa. The current chapter's purpose is to illustrate how *inkosi* Luthuli exercised his hybrid intellectual thinking to impact society. Gramsci states that an intellectual has the ability to organise society, both their social group

and general society.¹ I illustrate that *inkosi* Luthuli did precisely that and used his speeches as a mechanism to organise society to move in the direction of multiracial democracy.

Through this study, *inkosi* Luthuli was identified as a progressive traditional intellectual based on his missionary education at Adams College. He was identified as a ‘traditional intellectual’ based on his profession as a teacher, but he stepped out of the educator’s role when he was elected chief of Groutville. He challenged the status quo by advocating for education to produce educated Africans rather than ‘black Englishmen’. He participated in Natal’s teachers’ union and even became its president for some time. His progressive intellect was influenced by his active Christian principles and paved the way toward his political role in society. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s acceptance of his election as chief of Groutville turned him into what Gramsci terms a rural-type intellectual.² He moved to the countryside as a teacher and as a newly-elected chief; he elevated his community’s status through his duties as a magistrate and revived organisations that catered to the African peasantry’s needs. *Inkosi* Luthuli implemented revolutionary practices that brought women into ‘tribal’ courts, giving them a voice in a patriarchal and masculine space. He conducted his duties as chief to reduce the harsh living conditions created by the segregatory state and played an advocacy role by representing his community with the state. His active Christian faith principles orientated his approach to societal issues and guided him towards adopting cooperation and non-violent resistance. Gramsci states that an intellectual must be an active participant in their society and linked to industrial labour.³ Arguably, *inkosi* Luthuli proves this through activities in Adams College and his Chieftaincy.

¹ Gramsci, *Prison Notebook*, p.135.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p.141.

Gramsci states that intellectuals carry the responsibility to conscientise society and expand their social group to move them in the direction of replacing the dominant social group.⁴ Here lies another common feature of intellectuals that can be applied to *inkosi* Luthuli, specifically during his time within the political realm. His appointment as a political branch leader, and later the entire organisation's head, gave him the platform to grow his social group. He advocated for a multiracial democracy that was underpinned by African nationalism. He influenced his social group and the general society to adopt multiracial democracy through nonviolent resistance strategies. This thesis attributes his ability to mediate within his social group, between racial groups and general society to his hybrid intellect. The events in *inkosi* Luthuli's life, like him being elected as chief, election to political leadership roles, and participation in the liberation movement, illustrated his political function within society. His speeches demonstrated his hybrid *Kholwa* intellect. He understood how the political economy functioned and used this knowledge to educate the African population and the world about multiracial democracy. The international community recognised his efforts to move South Africa towards democracy and awarded him, the first African-born recipient, the Nobel Peace Prize.

The ANC's intellectual activity was a build-up and bringing together of different approaches, philosophies and ideologies. *Inkosi* Luthuli was no exception to this tradition when he stepped into the political realm. He arrived in the political space with his political philosophies and ideologies already developed. His political thinking was aligned with existing ANC policies; therefore, he did not need to be convinced to adopt their approach to resisting the white supremacist state. Some of the early African intellectual thinkers at the social class's helm occupied official positions within the ANC. This granted them the opportunity to influence the ANC's policies in a particular direction, but this lies beyond the present

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.132-135.

thesis's scope. *Inkosi* Luthuli is one such example among these African intellectual leaders within the ANC that transformed the organisation into a movement. A few of his speeches have been selected among his extensive work to help demonstrate his intellectual thinking. He produced a large body of speeches during his political career, which E.S Reddy compiled in *Lutuli: Speeches of Chief Albert John Luthuli* and would require a doctoral dissertation to study adequately. These speeches were his primary mechanism to educate both the African peasantry, from which he came, and the rest of society.

Africa used oral tradition to educate society; therefore, his public speeches kept in line with this tradition. Due to his State bans, some speeches were delivered in person, while others were read out in his absence when he was restricted to Groutville. Western and European scholars identify an individual as an 'intellectual' by the vast literature and published material that the individual had produced because their society is based on written tradition. The thesis aims to contextualise *inkosi* Luthuli within the African oral tradition space. Therefore, his speeches, a form of oral tradition, were delivered at public gatherings to educate society and his social group. He does not abandon his original vocation of being an educator, but instead, morphs his role into educator of the entire society about democracy, multiracialism and his vision for future of South Africa. During his time, a large majority of Africans of South Africa had not received a formal education. Therefore, many South African intellectuals like *inkosi* Luthuli educated society about theoretical concepts like democracy through public speeches.

5.1. *Inkosi* Luthuli enters the Political realm.

Under Dr Alfred Bitini Xuma's presidency, 1940-1949, a different strategy emerged. This change resulted in a new approach to the liberation movement and its function within the ANC. "Congress gradually began to take on a new

character. It began to formulate its aims and policy far more clearly than hitherto. Inspired by the Atlantic Charter, and by a war for human freedom”.⁵ This drew *inkosi* Luthuli’s attention but he had not officially joined the ANC at this point as he was still preoccupied with his Chieftaincy. They fought against the 1913 and 1936 Land Act and their fight against pass legislation drew him into the movement. In *The ANC’s Early Years*, Limb argues that the ANC had experienced a period of stagnation before Dr Xuma was elected as President-General.⁶ Xuma’s presidency brought about the rebirth of the ANC after years of stagnation. The rebirth was caused by the ANC’s retaliation to the Hertzog Bills’ implications, which repealed the Cape franchise.⁷

Inkosi Luthuli stepped into the political realm grounded in an active Christian political philosophy which was infused with a people-centred approach. His chieftaincy is a prime example of where he exercised this philosophy. He believed a people-centred approach to chieftaincy was what was needed in a democratic society: “My view has been, and still is, that a chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs”.⁸ In 1944, *inkosi* Luthuli stepped into the political realm. In his autobiography, he describes his entry into ANC as being not planned “I was precipitated into Congress casually, almost by accident” when he had to fill in for an already well-established African intellectual, Dr Dube.⁹ Dr Dube was head of the independent Natal Native Congress that he had formed after being outvoted for the presidency of NNC during the 1920s.¹⁰ Dr Dube experienced a stroke that

⁵ Luthuli, *My people Go*, p.98.

⁶ Limb, *The ANC’s Early Years*, p.384.

⁷ *Ibid.*; Harvey M Feinberg, “Protest in South Africa: prominent black leaders’ commentary on the Natives Land Act, 1913-1936”, *Historia*, 51, 2, p.123. The Hertzog in 1927 had introduced the Natives Land Act (Amendment) Bill which contained a clause that removed Africans’ voting rights in the Cape. Parliament passed the Native Trust and Land Act which restricted Africans to seven percent of South African land.

⁸ Albert Luthuli, “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross”: Statement when Dismissed from Chieftainship for Refusing to Resign from the African National Congress, November 15, 1952, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, pp.11-12.

⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.99.

¹⁰ Maynard Swanson, “Changing the guard: Champion-Msimang-Luthuli. The ANC in Natal 1945-1951”, *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, 40, 1990, p.52.

created a vacancy within the Natal African leadership within the political space. In his autobiography, *inkosi* Luthuli describes the meeting that decided on Dr Dube's replacement in the ANC of Natal.¹¹ The meeting had descended in chaos after membership dispute along with Rev. Mtimkulu abandoning the meeting as the chair. He states "I leapt on to the platform and called for silence. To my surprise, I got it... I urged the delegates to appoint an acting chairman of the meeting, and carry on. This is what was done, and I found myself in the chair".¹² To his surprise, he was elected into the executive of Natal's Congress. This marked *inkosi* Luthuli's entry into the political realm. Before this, he was not an active member of the ANC but followed its work. When Dr Dube passed away a by-election was called to replace him in Native Representative Council (NRC) and *inkosi* Luthuli was elected. It is almost poetic that another intellectual, *inkosi* Luthuli, replaced the void of one African intellectual.

Under Xuma's administration, the ANC's Youth League (Youth League) emerged in 1944. Before this, the younger African men had not been given an official platform nor leadership roles within the Congress. Xuma's leadership changed the tide and "[y]oung men began to come into their own, and the Congress Youth League injected new determination and vitality into the organisation".¹³ The early years of the organisation was predominantly occupied by African men until the ANC Women's League's formation. The Youth League consisted of Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Joe Matthews, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo.¹⁴ Lembede attended Adams College, like *inkosi* Luthuli, and he is recognised by Clive Glasser as the intellectual force of the Youth League and philosopher of the organisation.¹⁵ The early years of the organisation's intellectual thought were informed by exclusive African nationalism, which

¹¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.100.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.98.

¹⁴ Woodson, "Albert Luthuli and the African National Congress", p.108.

¹⁵ Clive Glasser, *The ANC Youth League* (Auckland Park, 2012) p.29.

caused a shift in its political strategy. “Congress suddenly became a streamlined organisation... it must be said that Dr. Xuma had much to do with this improvement. We began to know what we were after, and we began to evolve methods for pursuing it”.¹⁶

The emergence of the Youth League was significant because it signified an intellectual shift within South African politics which caused the rapid change in African leadership within African organisations and a change in approach to the liberation movement. *Inkosi* Luthuli states that the impact of the new change resulted in “[t]he machinery was overhauled and altered in ways which turned a rather vague and shapeless body into something whose workings its members could grasp, and a drive was launched to establish branches throughout the country”.¹⁷ They adopted a more militant approach to fighting the oppressive white supremacist State. The ANC’s intellectual shift moved in the direction of African nationalism, one of the political philosophies that *inkosi* Luthuli possessed within his intellectual thought. “I refer to the strengthening of the African front by a unification of African tribes under the banner of African Nationalism. Our Nationalism should be progressive and liberal and thus embrace a co-operation with other communities on the basis of equality and an intense desire for the universal enjoyment of democratic rights by all people in the country.”¹⁸ His type of African nationalism was more inclusive, and he believed that Africans could accept support from other racial groups and international organisations.

The intellectual shift allowed the Youth League to cross paths with *inkosi* Luthuli. Their political philosophies aligned and allowed them to see each other as allies. This motivated the young men to push the Chief of Groutville up the local Natal

¹⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.98.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Albert Luthuli, “A Challenging Situation: Presidential Address to the Annual Conference of the African National Congress, Natal Branch, Ladysmith, October 31, 1953”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.25.

leadership ranks and ultimately up the national ranks. The Youth League forced ANC to abandon their polite policy approach to the white government, an approach adopted by the older generation of African intellectuals. Arguably this approach can be connected to their *Kholwa* nature which sought to prove that they were ‘civilised’ and could negotiate with the white government and the British Crown. This approach was rooted in their Christian faith, and they had believed it was an appropriate strategy to challenge the oppressive legislation implemented against Africans.

The Youth League brought a state of urgency and a desire for action more than what Xuma was prepared to accommodate. The Youth League eventually grew tired of Xuma and moved to support Dr James Moroka as President-General of the ANC. Xuma had clashed with the Youth League in terms of the direction in which they were taking the organisation.¹⁹ Just as the Youth League had influenced the ANC at the national level, the Youth League of Natal in 1951 orchestrated to have AWG Champion removed from the Natal branch presidency and replaced by *inkosi* Luthuli.²⁰ Champion had set himself in opposition to the Natal’s Youth League and openly spoke out against the ANC adopting its formation within the mother body.

In 1947, Xuma initiated an official connection with the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), thus establishing an alliance between SAIC and the ANC.²¹ It became known as the Doctors’ Pact, a coalition signed by Dr Xuma, Dr Dadoo, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), and Dr Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). Goolam Vahed’s paper “Gagged and trussed rather securely by the law” argues that this cooperation had been motivated by a

¹⁹ Raymond Suttner, *Why is this Election different from all others? ANC, COPE and the way forward*, (Johannesburg, 2009), p.2.

²⁰ Swanson, “Changing the guard: Champion-Msimang-Luthuli”, p.52.

²¹ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, pp.290-292.

change of demographics within cities.²² More Indians and Africans had moved into the cities during the 1930s and 1940s, which brought conflict. Organisations like trade unions and the Communist Party established a connection with each other. The cooperation was meant to increase the ANC's impact and finances, and it moved the movement towards the adoption of non-racialism.²³ He states in his speech "Africa and Freedom" that non-racialism was a philosophy that had been adopted by Congress, "Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country, to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all other".²⁴ Not everyone in the ANC welcomed the partnership, and some members believed that the solution to fighting the white supremacist State lay with Africans and Africans alone. These members sparked the beginning of the Pan-Africanist ideological wing within the organisation and had begun before the complete break-away under *inkosi* Luthuli's leadership. Glasser states that some of the rejection of the cooperation policy and Xuma's acceptance of the Communists into the organisation came from the Youth League.²⁵ The Doctors' Pact illustrates the early conditions created within the liberation movement by African intellectuals to open up the ANC to working with other racial groups in a collaborative manner. He substantiates this co-operation strategy in his speech "Freedom in our Life Time!" stating, "together with other national liberatory movements whose object is to awaken the political consciousness of the non-white and white masses and to get the present rulers in the Union to accept the non-white on the basis of equality and no other and extend to them full democratic rights so as to enable them to share in the government of the country".²⁶ One can consider this a milestone because it signified the beginning of the collaborative

²² Goolam Vahed, "'Gagged and trussed rather securely by the law': The 1952 Defiance Campaign in Natal", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 31, 2, 2013, pp.68-89.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.72.

²⁴ Luthuli, "Africa And Freedom", *Lutuli*, p.219.

²⁵ Glasser, *Youth League*, p.16.

²⁶ Albert Luthuli, "Freedom in Our Life Time!: Presidential Address to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, Queenstown, December 18-20, 1953", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.33.

approach within the ANC that Xuma introduced and *inkosi* Luthuli transformed this further through his political philosophy.

In 1948 the NP won the general election. For *inkosi* Luthuli, African leaders and the African population, this came as no surprise since white supremacist administrations were already excluding them under Botha, Hertzog and Smuts from participating in the electoral process.²⁷ These elections only signified an intensification of the already existing hardship brought on by the Union of South Africa. *Inkosi* Luthuli states that this only united Africans and African intellectuals even more than it had before.²⁸ “We endured Botha, Hertzog and Smuts. It did not seem of much importance whether the whites gave us more Smuts or switched to Malan. Our lot had grown steadily harder, and no election seemed likely to alter the direction in which we were being forced”.²⁹ Here we see that *inkosi* Luthuli recognising that his social group gaining resilience and being resolute in their direction of removing the dominant social group.

Another milestone that was reached before *inkosi* Luthuli stepped into the ANC’s national leadership was the introduction of the Programme of Action. During the 1949 National Conference of the ANC, the Youth League tabled this Programme, which was meant to be a strategy of mass boycotts, that was adopted along with the election of Dr Moroka.³⁰ Moroka came into the position with the Youth League’s support as the only candidate that supported the Programme. The adoption of this programme illustrates the intellectual shift in political strategy. “I am aware that the 1949 Programme of Action of the African National Congress is based on African nationalism as a philosophy of struggle. The African National Congress has not abandoned this philosophy of building up national

²⁷ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.106-107.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.107.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, p.291.

consciousness amongst its tribalistic people”.³¹ The Programme was inclusive of stay-at-homes, strikes, civil disobedience tactics and boycotts. Peter Walshe argues that the Programme was more than just a change in strategy but included an ideological shift from self-pity towards heightened national self-consciousness and pride.³² It was an exact portrayal of *inkosi* Luthuli’s African Nationalism as the Programme was not aimed at the radical removal of Europeans, rather the removal of white supremacy with acceptance of other minority groups’ support. What needs to be emphasised about this Programme’s strategy was that all their nonviolent tactics resonated with *inkosi* Luthuli’s nonviolent political strategies. “[I]ntensification of oppression and the deaf ear turned by white South Africa to the pleadings of the people for the amelioration of their sufferings led the African National Congress to adopt a militant programme of action on the basis of non-violence”.³³ *Inkosi* Luthuli’s understood the purpose of the Programme which was to introduce African nationalism as the liberation movement’s philosophy and building national consciousness among Africans. The ANC had to respond to the increase in oppression inflicted by the State and thus they adopted a more militant programme that was aligned with a non-violence approach.

The Programme’s adoption led to a ‘stay at home’ National Day of Protest for 26 June 1950 in protest of the Suppression of Communism Act, Bantu Authorities and Separate Representation of Voters Act.³⁴ The protest was to mourn the deaths of those who had lost their lives at the white supremacist State’s hand. The ANC attempted to take advantage of its earlier cooperation with the Indian Congress. The two organisations’ leadership met up after Pixley ka Seme’s death to discuss the recommendation of a mass defiance campaign.³⁵ In his autobiography, he

³¹ Albert Luthuli, “A Reply to Mr Jordan K. Ngubane’s Attacks on the Africa National Congress, June 5, 1956”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.82.

³² Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, p.292.

³³ Albert Luthuli, “Fifty Years of Union – Political Review: Speech to the Council of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1960”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.170.

³⁴ E.C. Webster, “Stay-aways and the black working class since the second World War: The evaluation of a strategy”, 1979, pp.2-3 (accessed via wiredspace.wits.ac.za).

³⁵ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism*, pp.292-293.

states that a Joint Planning Council was established. *Inkosi* Luthuli argued that “The joint organisation of the Defiance Campaign took us one step nearer to a South Africa where the race will be of incidental importance”.³⁶ Here he illustrates his vision for the future of South Africa and that cooperation between races through such organisations would be the mechanism to lead us there. The Joint Planning Council comprised of Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Yusuf Cachalia, who represented the SAIC, and Dr Moroka, Walter Sisulu, J.P. Marks, who represented the ANC.³⁷ For *inkosi* Luthuli, the joint committee fitted his intellectual thinking of working with various racial groups in the struggle. The cooperative nature would move the movement towards creating a multiracial democratic South Africa. The cooperation with the Indian community was not welcomed by all national members, and opposition came from J.B. Marks, Selope Thema, C.S. Ramahano, W.G. Champion and H. Selby Msimang.³⁸

The ANC’s Natal branch had accepted the Programme under Champion’s leadership. However, Champion later backtracked away from the new policy. This could be why Natal was behind in their preparation for the Defiance Campaign. Historians and the autobiography mention that Champion had openly opposed the Youth League. Given that the new policy was the Youth League’s ‘brain-child’, it comes as no surprise to one that Natal was unprepared for the Defiance Campaign. *Inkosi* Luthuli resigned from Champion’s executive, stating that Champion had tried to appoint his executive without following democratic practices and constitutional means.³⁹ He stated that: “Champion upon reverting to the practice of appointing his own Executive, I declined to serve under him – his action seemed retrograde, undemocratic, and it was unconstitutional”.⁴⁰ Here we see that *inkosi* Luthuli’s value for democracy was infused into his intellectual

³⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.110

³⁷ Vahed, “Gagged and trussed rather securely by the law”, p.69.

³⁸ Baruch Hirson, “The Defiance Campaign, 1952: Social Struggle or Party Stratagem?” *Searchlight South Africa*, 1, 1, 1988, 94-95, p.79.

³⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.111.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

thinking and actively practised this philosophy. He believed other members of his social group had to do the same. He was a principled man and was unwilling to compromise these values for a position within the organisation. Despite resigning from the executive, he did not leave the organisation entirely but remained a member. His actions illustrate his foundational pillar of active Christianity - even when faced with the challenge of difference with other African leaders and intellectuals, the commitment to service remained.

When Natal's Youth League pushed out Champion, they approached *inkosi* Luthuli to nominate him for president of the branch. He initially refused this but eventually accepted it under pressure from the Youth League. He states in his autobiography, "In the end, I agreed, but on one condition. I wished to remain quite clear of squabbles for position and of the personal conflicts within the movement. I told the younger men that my name could go forward only if Msimanga agree to this".⁴¹ Champion's faction continued to oppose him even after he had won the branch's presidency. *Inkosi* Luthuli's hesitation at this point to accept the nomination automatically is not to be overlooked lightly. Firstly, it speaks to his humble nature. Secondly, he was presented with an opportunity to replace a man he had clashed with but turned it down. Not only did he refuse it for himself, but he offered the name of the branch secretary, H. Selby Msimanga, as an appropriate alternative nomination for president. He only gave in to the nomination on the condition that it did not create conflict with Msimanga. Here he exercised his people-centred approach in his leadership viewing his decision as not only impacting himself but the entire organisation and not being willing to risk the movement at the expense of his status.

After his election, *inkosi* Luthuli was sent documents from the National Executive about the Defiance Campaign. Natal was unprepared compared to how far along

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Msimanga was the Natal Congress' secretary who *Inkosi* Luthuli believed should have been president of Natal Branch.

the national body was in their preparation for the Campaign. At the National Conference, he exercised what one would consider a bold move for a recently elected branch president but a correct one. He asked for the postponement of the Campaign's scheduled launch on the 6th of April because Natal was not prepared.⁴² Members of the meeting did not welcome his earnest plea. In his autobiography, he recounts that a woman at the conference called him a coward, "I well remember the interjection of one woman delegate when I tried to argue for a later date: Coward! Coward! She shouted at me".⁴³ He does not identify who the woman was, but it is assumed she was one of the conference delegates. His response to the rejection by some of the delegates illustrated that he was a calm, level-headed critical thinker: "It is better for me to express my cowardice here...than that I should keep silent and then go away and play the coward outside".⁴⁴ *Inkosi* Luthuli continued to display the principle of people-centred leadership. Rather than plunge the entire organisation into chaos with a disorganised campaign, he expressed caution and exhibited a level of self-discipline. The cooperation approach that the ANC had adopted for the campaign with the SAIC was not welcomed by all within Natal, given the racial tensions between the Indian community and the African community. "among Natal Africans there was a degree of anti-Indian feeling...Malcontents represented the policy of co-operation as the intervention of the new leaders in Natal".⁴⁵ These tensions were detailed in the previous chapters, and they continued to exist even after the unification of South Africa. *Inkosi* Luthuli was aided by the ANC already having adopted the cooperation approach during Xuma's time. The Natal branch had no other option but to comply with the national body. He already possessed similar thinking to the ANC that he exhibited during his time at Adams College.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, pp.113-114.

Through his international tour, he was more receptive to the cooperation approach than his predecessor, Champion.

5.2. Road to Defiance Campaign

At its annual conference in December 1951, the ANC discussed the beginning of the Defiance Campaign, which was meant to begin on 6th April 1952 on the tercentenary of Jan Van Riebeeck's arrival.⁴⁶ The Joint Planning Council presented the plan to the ANC and it was adopted. The Council had set up the Campaign to roll out in three different stages, with each stage intensifying after the previous. This was led by Nelson Mandela as National Volunteer-in-Chief.⁴⁷ The plan consisted of a letter to be sent to the Prime Minister, Malan, with an ultimatum to repeal the unjust, discriminatory legislation or risk the Defiance Campaign's launch. The Defiance Campaign initially was planned to have the Pass Laws; Stock Limitation; Group Areas; Voters' Representation Act; Suppression of Communism Act; and the Bantu Authorities Act repealed by March 1952.⁴⁸ On the 6th of April 1952, a National Day of Pledge and Prayer was launched. The state ignored the joint letter written to Malan, and thus on 31st May 1952, the Congress Alliance announced the commencement of the Campaign to be 26 June 1952. The mass demonstrations were part of the nonviolent passive resistance strategy and incorporated a Satyagraha approach which came from the Indian Congress.

The Defiance Campaign became one of the first massive demonstrations co-operated between the ANC, SAIC and 'Coloured' Franchise Action Committee. The Campaign required volunteers to participate in the mass demonstrations. Thousands responded to the call. On 26 June 1952, the SAIC and the ANC officially launched the Defiance Campaign. The Campaign involved civil

⁴⁶ Vahed, "Gagged and trussed rather securely by the law", p.69.

⁴⁷ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.55.

⁴⁸ Hirson, "The Defiance Campaign", pp.94-95.

disobedience volunteers who participated for the year and took part in deliberately breaking pass laws and curfews as well as sit-ins at ‘Europeans only’ venues.⁴⁹ The Campaign was an abandonment of old strategies of petitions, representations of committees that did not yield real change, cooperation with the Government and appeals to the white organisation for assistance. These efforts had only brought further oppression by the white supremacist state through legislation like Land Acts, Hertzog Bills and Pass laws.

The Campaign could not be left to the organisation’s political leaders alone but needed the ordinary population’s involvement and needed them to volunteer. The ANC began to move toward being a mass-based organisation. The call for volunteers drew in different racial groups: Africans, Indians and Coloureds. They targeted laws that discriminated against these racial groups, EUROPEANS ONLY facilities and unjust legislation. The Campaign illustrated the disciplined nature of the liberation movement’s opposition to the apartheid State. Discipline was an important principle that existed within *inkosi* Luthuli’s leadership style. Discipline is the cornerstone of a nonviolent resistance strategy. The volunteers were required to exercise self-discipline and self-control, given that they were challenging a State that was all too familiar with using violence. As anticipated, the volunteers were met with violence and imprisonment as the Campaign progressed throughout 1952. On the 12th of August, many leaders from various organisations were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act.⁵⁰ Close to 8 326 volunteers were arrested by the end of the Campaign in December 1952. One cannot ignore the existence of riots that broke out across the country amidst the Campaign’s progression. In his autobiography, *inkosi* Luthuli acknowledges that the riots did occur but informed the reader that these were not part of the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.78.

⁵⁰ Hirson, “Defiance Campaign”, p.83.

Campaign's planned strategy.⁵¹ A culmination of both the Campaign and the riots resulted in new draconian laws coming into place.⁵²

Natal eventually joined the Defiance Campaign in August despite its unpreparedness, with their demonstration launching on the 31st of August. Leading up to this mass demonstration, *inkosi* Luthuli, as president of the branch, delivered his speech "We Go To Action".⁵³ The speech is relevant to this argument for his intellectual thinking. It demonstrates that by the time he stepped into the political realm, he understood democracy within his political philosophy and its application to South Africa's context. His philosophy on democracy included the creation of a multiracial South Africa. He pushed this theme of cooperation between races within this speech and not only between these two racial groups but among all racial groups. He states "We invite all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, who prize democracy to join our forces".⁵⁴ Here *inkosi* Luthuli is seen to be encouraging multi-racialism within his social group and growing his social group to include other racial groups within the movement. He began to transform the ANC's cooperation policy through the further inclusion of other racial groups. The minor alteration to the policy moved the organisation closer to its adoption of non-racialism.

What informed this approach was both his own belief in nonviolent passive resistance, based on his Christian faith, combined with the ANC's existing cooperation approach. "We Go To Action" set the tone for Natal's involvement within the Campaign and reiterated the ANC's commitment to spreading democracy to all parts of South Africa. It affirmed Natal's acceptance of Indians and Coloureds' support in the Defiance Campaign. In his speech, he stated, "As Africans we are glad that at the invitation of the African National Congress the

⁵¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.125-128.

⁵² Hirson, "Defiance Campaign", p.87.

⁵³ Albert Luthuli, "We Go to Action: Statement on the launching in Natal of the Defiance Campaign, August 30, 1952", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*: p.9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.10.

Indians and Coloureds, through their national organisations, pledged to support our Congress in its just struggle”.⁵⁵ His ability to quell decades of rooted racial tensions within Natal and convince his social class, Africans, to participate in the Defiance Campaign was no small feat. It illustrated his influence over his social group and Natal’s general society. Without the other racial groups’ involvement in the campaign, it would have set back the liberation movement. *Inkosi* Luthuli understood this and used his speeches to reach out to a broader support base. This speech also speaks to the inclusive African nationalism philosophy that he held. The deliberate use of the words “As Africans” shows an acknowledgement of their African identity and recognises that the struggle impacted them as a social group.⁵⁶ I would argue that he deliberately separated the social group from the political organisation because he understood that the ANC would be the umbrella body that would house other racial groups. Rather than saying “As the ANC we are glad...”, he opted to phrase the organisation in a neutral manner that would allow other races to join. His closing words for the speech were “May God bless our Volunteers who are helping Natal to honour its pledged word so that in the final reckoning Natal will say ‘I too was there in the struggle to make the Union of South Africa a true democracy for all its people irrespective of colour, race or creed.’”⁵⁷ Here *inkosi* Luthuli uses his speech as a rallying call to bring Natal into the Campaign with the national organisation. He motivates his members to claim their role in the fight for democracy. Illustrating to them that their participation would be seen as them playing a part in bring about democracy in South Africa. He helps them claim ownership of the movement and uses his active Christian faith to help illustrate this as being a noble cause.

Inkosi Luthuli was a Staff Officer in the Campaign and played a background administrative role within Natal. He notes in his autobiography that he was

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10.

careful not to contravene regulations that governed him as chief.⁵⁸ “I was a Staff Officer. I did not myself defy any law. My job was to remain in the background, to keep up the pressure, and to organise”.⁵⁹ The Native Affairs Department had heard about his participation within the Campaign and questioned him about his involvement. The meeting concluded with an ultimatum posed to him - he must either denounce the ANC and keep his chieftaincy or step down from the chief’s position. “[A] letter came requiring my reply... I replied neutrally, stating that I had no intention of resigning either from A.N.C. leadership nor from the chieftainship, since the two did not contradict one another”.⁶⁰ For *inkosi* Luthuli, his chieftaincy was not given to him by the Native Affairs Department, and he saw no loyalty nor obligation to align himself to the department. Here we see him rejecting the ‘boss-boy’ view of chiefs. The Secretary for Native Affairs had said to *inkosi* Luthuli, “You can’t be a Jekyll and Hyde”, reprimanding him about his involvement in the Campaign as a chief.⁶¹ For him, this remark revealed how the apartheid government viewed their roles as chiefs within the government system: “it seems to imply that chiefs, who are indeed concerned with maintaining and dispensing law, must have split personalities before they can possibly object to the immoral laws, whose main purpose is to uphold white supremacy, a repugnant creed”.⁶² He exercised his independence from the state by consulting with the Groutville community, thus exercising his people-centred approach. *Inkosi* Luthuli rejected the ultimatum stating that he refused to resign from the ANC, nor did he want to step down from his chieftaincy. The Department removed him as chief of Groutville.⁶³

⁵⁸ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.119.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.123.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.123.

As a result, *inkosi* Luthuli delivered one of his earliest key public speeches titled “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross”.⁶⁴ The speech is often referenced in many scholarly discussions on him, leaving one with the impression that it is one of his most powerful speeches. This speech is discussed in greater detail in Raymond Suttner’s paper “The Road to Freedom is via the cross: Just Means’ in Chief Albert Luthuli’s life”, in which he provides a comprehensive assessment of the speech and his political ideology.⁶⁵ Historians and scholars acknowledge this speech as *inkosi* Luthuli’s public expression of his nonviolent passive resistance philosophy. Couper states in *Bound by Faith* that the speech came directly from his theological perspective, given that certain portions of the speech came from his sermon ‘Christian Life: A Constant Venture’ which he had delivered at Adams College a few days prior.⁶⁶ The speech expresses his political philosophy fused with his Christian faith. He believed South Africa would use the principles of democracy to liberate itself from oppression enforced by the white supremacist state. The opening lines of this speech are infused with his democratic philosophy, expressed in his emphasis on being a democratically elected chief. “I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Groutville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General.”⁶⁷ It was essential for him to emphasize his election process, given the nature of Groutville’s chieftaincy. It also shows that his understanding of the philosophy came from experiencing it first-hand - it was not a theoretical concept that he wished to enforce. It also carries the idea that he belonged to the community of Groutville rather than being the government’s puppet. He distanced himself from the image and connotations of traditional chiefs being

⁶⁴ Albert Luthuli, “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross”, Collection number: A3337, Collection name: Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁵ Raymond Suttner, “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross’: ‘Just Means’ in Chief Albert Luthuli’s Life”, in Thula Simpson, (ed.), *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa*, (London and New York, 2017), pp.693-715.

⁶⁶ Couper, *Bound by Faith*, p.58.

⁶⁷ Albert Luthuli, “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross: Statement when dismissed from chieftainship for refusing to resign from the African National Congress, November 15, 1952”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.11.

‘boss-boys’ which, he states in his autobiography, was the view of the state as discussed previously.

In this speech, he acknowledges that his previous efforts in fighting for a democratic state were moderate. “I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation”.⁶⁸ He further states “in so far as gaining citizenship right and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door”.⁶⁹ He does not shy away from recognising that he had adopted a moderate approach and states that he along with the Christian organizations, that he worked with, that adopted the same approach had hopes of gaining citizenship rights and the development of African people. His statement above leaves one with the impression that the African intellectuals and *inkosi* Luthuli believed that the moderate approach would yield them more results and that the apartheid state would be open to listening to the plight of African people and developing South Africa towards democracy.

The actions by the apartheid state in its response to him brought harsher living conditions; thus, it justified to him a change in strategy. He recounts the states’ harsh response to their moderate approach: “Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress”.⁷⁰ Here one can see that the state did not respond well to the moderate approach and thus justified a change in strategy.

This speech acts as a signpost to the shift in strategy by some African intellectuals of liberation organisations and political leaders had adopted in their fight against

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.11.

oppression within South Africa. Indirectly, his speech historicised how African intellectuals and early political leaders had emerged and were involved in the liberation movement, like *amaKholwa*. They had adopted a more moderate strategy in engaging with the white supremacist state and with Britain. The speech acknowledges the change among Africans within the liberation struggle to adopt nonviolent passive resistance techniques that were exhibited through the Defiance Campaign. He states, “I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner”.⁷¹ He justified his involvement within the Campaign, stating that the technique was the most legitimate and humane strategy to pressure the government to bring about equality and democratic rights for all. He says in his speech, “[v]iewing non-violent Passive Resistance as a non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving”.⁷²

Inkosi Luthuli’s speech has an inclusive, rather than exclusive, nature embedded throughout as he uses words like ‘democratic rights for all’. This speaks to his type of African nationalism that sought to promote cooperation among different racial groups. He believed his role was to create harmony in society and harmony for Africans within a multiracial society. One would argue that this belief was linked to his Christian faith, which was the foundation of his intellectual thought and his role as a chief of his community. He did not restrict himself or his active Christianity to serve Africans but viewed himself as an active agent within the broader South African context. This illustrates his South African nationalist thinking. In the spirit of cooperation that existed within the ANC, the speech further invited outside organisations to continue supporting and working with him

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

in his fight against the oppressive state. Here one can see him moving the ANC's cooperation policy toward international involvement.

The speech is also an expression of his intellectual thought on the role of chiefs within the political realm. *Inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thinking sought to modernise the chieftaincy system and adapt it to his time. His first-hand experience as an elected chief placed him in the proper position to apply his mind and speak on their role within society. His experience granted him the intellectual ability to navigate his social group through the possible changes as he understood the importance of culture and developing society. He states this in his speech: "I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the Government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of chiefs".⁷³ He sought traditional leaders of communities to adapt to the changing world rather than be stuck in old ways. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli had the intellectual foresight to grasp that for South Africa to become a democratic state, African people had to change parts of their culture to allow democracy to exist. He understood the balance between modernity and transitioning his social group to a new way of life without losing their African identity. He sought for traditional leaders to work with political leaders, allowing the chieftaincy system to adapt to the political realm, thus staying relevant. His speech highlights areas where chieftaincy could improve while acknowledging the impact of the interference of the colonial government within the system. He believed that chiefs had a social responsibility, stating, "Any chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws. If the Government should resort to dismissing such chiefs, it may find itself dismissing many chiefs".⁷⁴ This part of his speech speaks to his understanding of modernising the chieftaincy system that had colonial government interference. He wanted chiefs to go beyond just being

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.12.

sources of authority but to be active participants of their society and be some-like social justice activists.

His intellectual thought incorporated modernity into his understanding of African nationalism. He did not believe that society should remain stagnant or regress. The argument here is that *inkosi* Luthuli displayed characteristics of an African intellectual through his “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross” speech because he mapped the role of chiefs in society, a social group he emerged from and made recommendations on how to better the lives of Africans. His speech painted a picture for the African community of how they should develop and how the Government should govern. He declared his commitment, whatever the consequence, even death, to continuously strive for democracy in South Africa.

For *inkosi* Luthuli, the Defiance Campaign was a tipping point for the liberation movement. The state’s response to the Campaign was swift and unforgiving. The state used its legislative powers and judiciary to crack down on the Campaign. It passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Public Safety Act and allowed courts to banish and ban members. It banned public gatherings and arrested volunteers in large numbers, including the leadership. The state also issued out bans which resulted in *inkosi* Luthuli receiving his first ban. The state’s response led to the ANC going further underground. One would argue that this Campaign can be considered to be the first step towards a multiracial movement. The Campaign illustrated the cooperation between the various racial groups and political organisations in the Campaign. The Campaign’s impact on the ANC was that it grew the organisation from 7 000 to more than 20 000 members. It also resulted in more African Christians and the Church joined the movement. For *inkosi* Luthuli, this was rather important for he believed Christians’ involvement could provide moral guidance for passive resistance. He argues in his autobiography, “It is utterly idle for Christians to criticise Communism and Islam from a deep armchair when Communists and Moslems are concerning themselves

with those involved in the conflicts”.⁷⁵ Beyond the physical and tangible impact of the Campaign, it also had an intangible impact which was to conscientise the minds of the oppressed groups.

5.3. President-General Luthuli

The apartheid state responded to the Campaign with the mass arrest of both volunteers and political leaders. Dr Moroka, the ANC’s President-General at the time, was also arrested. He chose to be defended separately and entered into a separate plea.⁷⁶ There is very little said about why he chose to have a separate lawyer and enter a separate plea. He possibly did not believe in the direction of the Defiance Campaign after it had begun. His decision set off his downfall within the organisation as seen in the annual National Conference in 1952, which was also a presidential election year. *Inkosi* Luthuli and Dr Moroka’s names were nominated, and the Natal president had overwhelming support. While Dr Moroka had separated himself from the other arrested organisational leaders of the Campaign, *inkosi* Luthuli refused to step down from his chieftaincy and denounce the ANC. Without knowing the organisation’s internal dynamics, it would be reasonable to assume that *inkosi* Luthuli would become a favoured choice. According to his autobiography, the ANC sent the newly elected President-General on a South African tour; he visited the ANC’s various provincial branches.⁷⁷ He states in his autobiography, “The aim of my tour, suggested by my working committee, was to keep the Defiance Campaign spirit alive and to extend it where possible”.⁷⁸ One would argue that this can be viewed as a strategic move by the organisation to use *inkosi* Luthuli as a symbol for nonviolent passive resistance. The South African tour can be seen as another tool that *inkosi* Luthuli

⁷⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.138.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.128-129.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.142.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.143.

used to spread his thinking and influence the direction of the movement. He confirms this point when he states, “I used the opportunity to acquaint myself with my new relationship to the people, and I spent some time looking into the records and the efficiency of local branches”.⁷⁹ He was the ideal beacon of the Campaign because he symbolised martyrdom of the white supremacist state’s hardship after being stripped of his chieftaincy for participating in a nonviolent campaign. His belief in the strategy would not take much to convince individuals or crowds who would listen to him about joining the resistance. He believed in the strategy wholeheartedly, and this carried influence with the crowds to whom he spoke.

After the end of *inkosi* Luthuli’s first ban, which he had received on the 30th of May 1953, he continued with the South African tour. He was able to attend a conference in Durban, where he delivered a cooperation speech. His public speech “Let Us March Together to Freedom” was delivered as an opening address at the Natal Indian Congress in February 1953 as part of his role as President-General of the ANC.⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that this African leader delivered the address at an Indian conference. It speaks to the continued alliance that existed after the Defiance Campaign’s end and continued cooperation between the two congresses. In this speech, he made the type of alliance that existed between the two organisations clear: “ours is not a marriage of convenience but is a political alliance based on a common genuine regard for democracy”.⁸¹ He expressed their alliance to be for political means to continue their efforts to fight for democracy. He was aware that their alliance was not wholly accepted by all community members but remained committed to creating a multiracial democracy through the alliance. He understood some circumstances required compromise and others required commitment. For him, cooperation with other races was a necessity that

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.151; Albert Luthuli, “Let Us March Together to Freedom: Opening Address to the sixth annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress, Durban, February 21, 1953”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.14.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

could not be compromised. His “Let Us March to Freedom” speech maintains the same theme of cooperation found in his “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross” speech, thus adding to the argument of the philosophies that *inkosi* Luthuli had spread during his time as African intellectual leader.

Within the same speech, *inkosi* Luthuli acknowledged that his new position now meant he represented all Africans. He moved beyond representing only teachers or the Groutville community or the Natal branch to representing all Africans who followed the ANC. “ I am happy to speak to you as a living symbol of our unity-in-arms, representing as I do the African wing of our comradeship-in-arms, since events in the African National Congress have placed me in a position of representing and speaking on behalf of all Africans who owe direct allegiance to or come under the sphere of influence of the African National Congress”.⁸² He was aware that his constituency had changed. He showed that he understood that his role within society had shifted and his social group had grown, which meant his advocacy role in society had to be more comprehensive to a broader group. His speech contained continued criticism of the white supremacist state, but it also contained his criticism of fellow African intellectuals. He states in his speech, “bogus political frauds as Mr S. S. Bhengu’s Bantu National Congress and the Supreme Council of African Affairs, both of which we have reason to believe, enjoy the active support and guidance of the Government party!”.⁸³ Before this speech, most of his critique was towards the state. The speech, however, critiqued African leaders who claimed to be representing Africans but were known to be reaping a financial benefit. He critiqued society members who were seen as fence-sitters and passivists who did not challenge the status quo and argued that their position and attitude towards the struggle needed to change. *Inkosi* Luthuli used his intellectual thought to critique the state, fellow African political leaders and non-intellectuals. This should be seen as his attempt to

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

develop society and map out how Africans could emerge as the dominant social group.

He also responded to the criticism, raised against the ANC for adopting a nonviolent passive resistance strategy, that the strategy was too militant and rash. He states, “To this accusation we plead that our experience is that since the Union our representations and protestations through the so-called regular channels have been either treated with contempt by the Authorities or conveniently ignored in their efforts to ensure the supremacy of the white man”.⁸⁴ He justified the ANC’s decision and argued that it was an appropriate response given the state’s ineffectiveness and lack of response to previous strategies that early African intellectuals and political leaders had adopted.

He openly critiqued the state’s establishment of so-called democratic institutions like local councils and advisory boards, and he argued that these were delay tactics to pacify the oppressed. He critiqued these institutions as a “gross insult to and mockery of democracy in that, whilst they were diplomatically presented as elementary steps to the attainment of democracy, they have proved in practice to be blind alleys serving mainly as a delaying tactic to ensure the prolongation of the period of white domination over blacks”.⁸⁵ Within this speech, one can also identify *inkosi* Luthuli’s expression of his internationalism philosophy. He referenced a global historical event, the US fight for democracy from Britain, and used this as imagery to convey the hardship they were about to experience. *Inkosi* Luthuli spoke against passiveness among Africans, stating, “Must we fold our hands in despair when we see our people drift to ultimate impotence and perpetual slavery? God forbid that we should be so untrue to Africa and the cause of Freedom!”.⁸⁶ This statement found within his speech demonstrates his active Christianity approach and connects it with his African nationalism philosophy.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.16 – 17.

He believed being passive during the struggle liberation went against their African identity. He used his philosophy to prepare members of his society, prophetically, for the state's harsh retaliation. He assured them that this hardship was common in history in the pursuit of freedom. *Inkosi* Luthuli showed that he was not disillusioned by the reality of choosing nonviolent passive resistance to pursue democracy. He stated that society needed to have a Divine Discontent spirit to push them through the liberation struggle.

In May, he was interviewed by *Drum Magazine*.⁸⁷ *Inkosi* Luthuli's participation in this interview performed two roles. Firstly, it articulated his intellect in a simplified manner. Secondly, it informed and educated non-intellectuals about the ANC's shared ideology. The interview informed one about the ANC's position on Communism, extreme nationalism and tribalism. In the interview, he is asked whether he considers communism a menace to South Africa. He responded, "No, I do not. The nature of our own movement at present is Nationalist rather than Communist. There should be room for all political parties among us".⁸⁸ Here we see *inkosi* Luthuli maintaining the position of the ANC being an umbrella organisation for all races, cultures and inclusive of other philosophies. He does this even when he clearly states in his autobiography, "For myself I am not a Communist. Communism seems to me to be a mixture of false theory of society linked on to a false 'religion'".⁸⁹ In the interview, he is asked about other philosophies like extreme nationalism and whether the ANC is in danger of adopting it, and he responds, "There is no sign of it at present, and the fact that we have welcomed co-operation with other races shows that it is being avoided. We recognise the danger and are guarding against it".⁹⁰ To argue for a subject to be considered an intellectual, one needs to show that the subject shared their intellect with non-intellectuals and social group members. His participation

⁸⁷ Albert Luthuli, "Interview to Drum", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.153-154.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.17.

in this interview, including his other public speeches that he delivered during his tour, proves that he met this criteria.

Despite his State bans, the President-General was not restrained nor silenced by the state's punishment for his involvement in the liberation struggle. He continued to spread his intellectual thought to the members of his social class and the rest of his society. He delivered some of his public speeches and statements in absentia. For example, his "A Challenging Situation" speech was delivered at an ANC Natal branch conference in 1953 during his first ban.⁹¹ In this speech, he articulated thoroughly for his political members and society the philosophy that underpinned the purpose of Apartheid policy, which was to maintain white South Africans' domination over Africans through political and material powers. The speech highlighted the implications of not challenging the apartheid policy and maintaining the status quo. He broke it down into four critical implications "(1) a betrayal of the endeavours and hopes of the immortal leaders of our race before and after the advent of the Whiteman to the present time... (2) an acceptance by Africans of a position of inferiority in their land, (3) assisting in our domination and eventual annihilation (4) an admission by the African that he is inferior and has no sense of values, values such as an unencumbered right to enjoy human rights including the right of self-determination".⁹²

The speech also simplified the two main intellectual philosophies that were used to challenge the white supremacist state. He stated that the ANC used African nationalism and multiracial democracy as critical pillars to challenge apartheid. He explained that their African nationalism was liberal, co-operated with other racial groups and united Africans to fight for democratic rights. He applied his intellectual thinking to assess Natal's weaknesses during the Defiance Campaign. He explained that Natal did not get the small towns involved in the Campaign,

⁹¹ Albert Luthuli, "A Challenging Situation", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.22.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.23

and the heavy influence of tribalism politics within the province was used by the Government to continue to divide rather than accept cooperation. He exposed the flaw within society's understanding of freedom which limited Natal's participation in the Campaign and the struggle. Their understanding of freedom was limited because they equated freedom with having material possessions. This exposed Natal's weaknesses further. He also stated that Africans need to let go of the idea that the white Government would give up power voluntarily. *Inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual ability to assess society and his social group's actions allowed them to comprehend the movement and move towards improving their engagement within the struggle.

5.4. "Freedom in Our Life Time!"

Another speech selected for this thesis' core argument is *inkosi* Luthuli's "Freedom in Our Life Time!" speech delivered at Queenstown in 1954.⁹³ The speech contained his principle of active Christianity. He placed a call on his fellow intellectual leaders, stating, "We, who are vitally concerned with the emancipation of Africans in their land should keep a keenly observant eye on events and trends in our homeland".⁹⁴ He believed that African leaders who believed in liberating Africans had to be active members of their communities, which meant paying attention to what was happening within their respective societies. I argue this active citizen philosophy comes from his Christian faith. One draws on this same theme from his previous speech, "The Road to Freedom is via the Cross". His active Christianity principle helped him navigate his role within society and called on chiefs who were leaders of their communities to be active participants within society too. His principles required leaders to pay attention to their surroundings. This call within the president's speech indicates

⁹³ Albert Luthuli, "Freedom in Our Life Time!: Presidential Address to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, Queenstown, December 18 – 20, 1953", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.28.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.30.

the tools and mechanism that the ANC implemented to grow the organisation to be inclusive of the rural areas of South Africa, allowing the organisation to become a mass movement. Gramsci's work on intellectuals argues that intellectuals help society understand the challenges it faces.⁹⁵ Their understanding of economic function, social function and political function can create conditions to expand their social group. They use this knowledge to develop the general society's intellectual activity and organise their social group to obtain dominance. One would argue that this speech was a demonstration of Gramsci's idea.

His speech demonstrated an understanding of the apartheid regime's system and its ability to maintain power by dominating the oppressed racial groups. He explained to his social group how the dominant social group maintained its dominance stating, "apartheid is intended to maintain white supremacy which, conversely, means the permanent subjugation and domination of non-whites by whites".⁹⁶ The above statement illustrates his understanding of the apartheid system. He further elaborates the mechanism as to how the system of oppression is kept in place: "Apartheid laws are being enacted in great haste and impatience and are being implemented in the same tempo and ruthlessness with studied utter disregard for human feelings and sufferings of the people affected who happen to be voteless and, therefore, voiceless and defenceless non-whites".⁹⁷ I argue that, through the above statements from his speech, *inkosi* Luthuli demonstrates the ability to educate his social group about society, the dominant social group and identify structures that maintain the dominance of the dominant social group. He points out to his social group the importance of the ability to vote because without the ability to vote, they will continue to be voiceless, thus maintaining their

⁹⁵ Gramsci, *Prison Notebook*, p.132.

⁹⁶ Luthuli, "Freedom in Our Life Time!", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.30.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30 – 31.

oppression. The ability to vote is a critical feature of democracy, and I would argue he is educating his social group about the importance of democracy.

He provided his audience with a solution to the social issue. He believed that the oppressed racial groups needed to challenge the oppressive system by obtaining their democratic rights. He understood that democracy and constitutional rights would grant them, as citizens, access to the state. This motivated the ANC. The apartheid state had implemented the Groups Areas Act, Industrial Laws Separate Amenities Act. He used his speech to target these legislations as examples of how the state maintained its dominance. Rather than merely listing these legislations, he applied effort in explaining how these legislations impacted them as an oppressed social group. He picked three pieces of legislation to illustrate how the dominant social group perpetuated their oppression through The Group Areas Act, the Industrial Laws and The Separate Amenities Act.⁹⁸ He described how these laws kept them segregated, deprived them of access to the economy and further enforced inequality through Bantu Education's introduction.

His speech went on to layout how the apartheid state had turned into a fascist state. The introduction of the Suppressions of Communism Act, Public Safety Act and the Criminal Amendment Act as legislation was used as tools to fight both Communism and the Defiance Campaign. In his analysis, he included the apartheid state, the (NP), who used master race theory to argue that civilisation was based on white men. He stated that the NP's success was based on three aspects. It was because of, firstly, their loyalty to an ideal, secondly, their centring of that ideal as the single purpose towards which everything needed to strive and, lastly, their determination to ensure the realisation of that ideal. He stated that these contributed to a single ideal which was Afrikaner nationalism.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.30.

His assessment of the NP's success in using the Afrikaner nationalism as a rallying call was not out of admiration but as a lesson for the ANC. He stated in his speech, "Their success was due, inter alia, to some of these qualities, if my observation is correct: loyalty to an idea or ideal and a singleness of purpose in working for the realisation of that idea or ideal. The ideal was the founding of an Afrikaner nation, and so, Afrikaner nationalism became their focal point of rallying their people".⁹⁹ He was able to educate his social group about the qualities needed to succeeding over the dominant social group and that was by adopting a single ideal. At the core of the organisation, lay the philosophy of African nationalism and that was the single ideal towards which every member of their social class had to strive if they followed the ANC. He characterised their nationalism as being inclusive, progressive, democratic and open to working with Government. His message is clear that for the ANC to succeed in opposing Afrikaner nationalism there needed to be a singular adopted philosophy: "Some of us hope and believe that African nationalism shall remain broader, democratic and progressive, in keeping with the declared policy of the African National Congress of seeking to establish in the Union of South Africa a democracy".¹⁰⁰ He articulates the type of African Nationalism that should be adopted and this one is the type of nationalism he believed in. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli used this this speech to make it clear the philosophy his social group and the liberation movement needed to adopt to remove the dominant social group. The statement above shows he possessed the intellectual ability to take complex theories and simplify them for nonintellectuals. Educating them in this manner paved the way for more intellectuals to emerge.

His speech indicated a shift toward much broader inclusivity in their cooperation policy. He expressed that the ANC had moved within the liberation movement toward being more inclusive of Africa as a continent. "[W]e must regard our

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.32.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

liberatory movement in the Union as part of the liberatory movement in the whole of Africa. In this connection, I am happy to say that the African National Congress is already interesting itself in the proposition of a Pan-Africanist conference”.¹⁰¹ The ANC’s plans were to get involved with the Pan-Africanist Conference, and he welcomed the interest from Gold Coast (now Ghana), Egypt and India. “We welcome the interest taken in this matter by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr Nkrumah, the President of Egypt, General Naguib, and the Prime Minister of India, Mr Nehru. The African National Congress has played a noble role in setting into motion the liberatory movement. It can well regard itself as being the vanguard of the movement in the Union”.¹⁰² Here we see *inkosi* Luthuli’s intellectual thought embracing both African nationalism and internationalism. I would argue that his welcoming of Mr Nehru’s interests in what was happening in South Africa points to his belief in internationalism. His acceptance of outside interest and stretching the liberation movement allowed the ANC movement to grow as large as it did. His acceptance of other African leaders’ attention and interest is why this thesis does not limit him to being a South African intellectual but an African intellectual. He did not remain confined to the South African border but stretched the ANC’s cooperation policy to a continental and international level to solve their local problem.

Earlier, it was mentioned that *inkosi* Luthuli became a symbolic martyr for the Defiance Campaign, which translated into his “Freedom in our Life Time!” speech and the speeches before it. He continued to remind people of the Defiance Campaign and thanked the volunteers. Honouring the volunteers became a constant feature of his early speeches after the end of the Campaign, which showed that it was necessary to acknowledge their sacrifice. However, the difference in this speech is that he expressed that the Defiance Campaign was a nonviolent passive resistance tactic and was part of the 1949 Programme of

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.33.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Action. He defined the Campaign as being more than just a demonstration but a qualification of the strategy they had adopted. “The campaign has so sharpened the political issues in the country as to leave no room for middle-of-the-road individuals or groups”.¹⁰³ He educated his social group and society about the type of strategy the ANC had adopted through the Programme. It was not the only military tactic that was adopted as others were adopted in principle.

He acknowledged the existence of other strategies within the Programme. As President-General, nonviolent passive resistance was his preferred strategy for as long as it served its purpose to the situation. He highlighted a few successes of the Defiance Campaign; it signified an awakening of political consciousness among the oppressed racial groups and the white population. “It accelerated greatly the political consciousness of the people. It gave them a new feeling of courage and confidence in themselves as a people. But, even more profound, it forcefully brought them a new awareness of the potency of united and co-operative action among all oppressed people irrespective of colour or class”.¹⁰⁴ Through the above statement, we see the social group gaining a sense of conscientization through their participation in the Campaign.

He cited the emergence of liberal white political parties that formulated after the Campaign. Some of these parties had reached out to the ANC and were willing to co-operate on specific issues. The impact of the Campaign on the oppressed racial groups, from his perspective, was a new awareness of the impact that came with cooperation between different races. The speech indicates this in the statement, “even more profound, it forcefully brought them a new awareness of the potency of united and co-operative action among all oppressed people irrespective of colour or class. The cooperation of the non-white groups in the political sphere has come to stay”.¹⁰⁵ In his autobiography, he carries this same

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

thinking and further states that “the Defiance Campaign had given notice that the African people mean business. They rallied to the movement, and confidence in it grew”.¹⁰⁶ Thus, carrying the same message of the intrinsic value of the Campaign. He argues that this same impact led to the establishment of the Congress of Democrats (COD) which later became known as the Congress Alliance.¹⁰⁷ In his speech, he affirmed the ANC’s nonviolent resistance strategy. He reiterated that they would “keep on the nonviolent plane”, telling the world that the ANC would continue to use this tactic as long as the state made it possible to keep it that way.¹⁰⁸ One can interpret this as showing that he understood that the ANC would keep their nonviolent resistance strategy as long as the government’s response did not intensify to the extent that required a change in strategy.

“Freedom in Our Life Time!” is a signpost of the ANC moving its cooperation policy towards the inclusion of a multiracial policy. The move was illustrated through *inkosi* Luthuli welcoming white political parties and national organisations that wished to align themselves with the ANC. He placed a condition on this approach, stating that the ANC’s approach was based on equality and mutual respect. He spoke against Africans working with these organisations for political benefit. He warned that the consequence of this type of alliance with liberal political organisation would be the division of Africans. He stated that all Africans’ freedom required unity underneath the ANC. For *inkosi* Luthuli, the spirit of cooperation was something he believed the ANC had correctly adopted. This belief is illustrated in some of his speeches and “Freedom in Our Life Time!” is no exception. He called on the Coloured community to join the ANC and disregard the Governments legislative tactics, which only performed delay strategies to limit the liberation movement.

¹⁰⁶ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.146.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.140.

¹⁰⁸ Luthuli, “Freedom in Our Life Time!”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.35.

Inkosi Luthuli demonstrated an understanding of the impact of the Defiance Campaign on the international community and capitalised on this impact. His speech moved from making the fight for freedom one country's issue to a continental and a global issue. He states that "Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole".¹⁰⁹ He spoke out against various oppressions that existed within Africa at the same time and urged Africa to fight against imperialism that was enforcing subjugation and poverty in Africa. He connected South Africa's fight for freedom to other regions in Africa fighting against imperialist powers. He condemned the British government's involvement in Kenya, their banishment of Kabaka of Uganda, their banishment of Sereste Khama and the removal of the elected government of British Guiana. One attributes this political move to his internationalism philosophy. It laid the groundwork for African countries to pledge their support to the ANC and for international countries to seek to fight off imperialism. *Inkosi* Luthuli positions the ANC for potential future international alliances. He does this through his statement in his speech, "In this matter of working for the liberation of colonial peoples we applaud progressive elements in Great Britain and other colonial powers that fight against the oppressive policies of their governments and champion the cause of freedom for colonial peoples".¹¹⁰ I would argue that this speech shows that *inkosi* Luthuli had the intellectual foresight to strategically place the liberation movement to global partners that the exiled ANC was able to set its foundation upon. His acceptance of international aid aligned the ANC with a broader community. He spoke against both the US and Britain's involvement in creating war conditions within the African continent. His closing sentiments welcomed the United Nations' fight against racial discrimination. *Inkosi* Luthuli's mention of this in his presidential speech, showed an awareness of the

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.36.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.37.

international attention the ANC was getting and used it to further create allies with other African countries and international organisations.

5.5. Freedom Charter

The Freedom Charter is said to be a prime illustration of South African intellectual thinking. Historians see this document as the blueprint to the current democratic South Africa and the guiding document in the formulation of the Constitution. *Inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography discusses his role in the drafting process and the campaign that preceded the document's adoption and ratification. The document was adopted during the President-General's second 2-year ban of 1954. However, he was not the sole drafter of the document but was involved in some of the document's planning and two-day conference meetings.

In 1954 the ANC, in line with its cooperation policy, joined with SAIC, South African Coloured Peoples Organisation and the COD to form the Congress of the People. The idea was initially sparked by another African intellectual, *inkosi* Luthuli's close colleague and lifelong friend who he had met at Adams College, Professor ZK Matthews. He was the president of the Cape ANC.¹¹¹ He is cited as saying, "we want a gathering to which ordinary people will come, sent there by the people. Their task will be to draw up a blueprint for the free South Africa of the future".¹¹² The autobiography describes Professor Matthews as the driver of this vision, travelling up and down South Africa to gather support for this event.¹¹³ Due to the president's ban, Professor Matthews tried to organise one planning committee meeting within the president's confined district. However, *inkosi* Luthuli states that the ban restricted him from the majority of the planning.¹¹⁴ He also had suffered a stroke which created a further hindrance for him to engage

¹¹¹ Raymond Suttner, "The Freedom Charter: The People's Charter in the 1980", *Crime and Social Justice*, 24, 1985, p.75.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.156.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

appropriately with this shift in political strategy. He acknowledges that this two-day meeting did what the Defiance Campaign could not, which was to reach the rural areas. One would argue that the lessons learned from the Defiance Campaign allowed the Congress of the People to succeed.

His state-issued bans never deterred *inkosi* Luthuli from delivering public speeches and public statements, which were read out at public gatherings in his absence. This study argues for him to be recognised as an African intellectual. In order to support this argument, one must show his continuous effort to educate his social group and society. His public statements that were read out in public gatherings even when he was not physically present at the event were still a distribution of his intellectual thought for the education of his social group and society. One of his speeches that illustrates his endeavour to educate and mobilise different social groups and intellectuals was his “Resist Apartheid Campaign Message to Meeting in Johannesburg”, delivered on the 11th July 1954.¹¹⁵

The core lesson embedded in *inkosi* Luthuli’s speeches was about the oppression Africans experienced along with other oppressed racial groups and how to fight the oppressive state. His “Resist Apartheid Campaign” speech does not deviate from this core lesson. “We have met here today primarily to unitedly call for Resist Apartheid Campaign and for the Congress of the People Assembly whereat people from all walks of life in our multi-racial nation will have the opportunity to write in this great Charter of Freedom their aspirations on freedom”.¹¹⁶ He informed his social group about the state’s introduction of the apartheid policy. The speech was a rallying call to his social group and society to join the Congress of the People to fight back against the Western Areas Removal Plan, which further established the apartheid policy. Here we see the ANC using mobilisation as a tool to fight the white supremacist state. His speeches showed a continued

¹¹⁵ Albert Luthuli, Collection number: A3337, Collection name: Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982, p.26.

¹¹⁶ Albert Luthuli, “Resist Apartheid: Statement to meeting in Johannesburg, July 11, 1954”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.40.

awareness of the impact of the mobilisation of various oppressed racial groups' to resist the white social group's domination and the state. *Inkosi* Luthuli continuously demonstrated his view of the world from his perspective of active Christianity. "He breathed the divine spirit of human dignity. And so we have all the human and moral rights to resist laws and policies which create climate inimical to the full development of our human personalities as individuals and our development as a people".¹¹⁷ His active Christianity principle comes through in the above statement, confirming not only that his faith was at the centre of his political approach to the struggle, but he used it to justify his resistance to the oppressive government. It is this perspective that allowed him to frame how society should function and how society should develop. "Resist Apartheid Campaign" informed his social group and society of the source of their right to human dignity and equality. He believed that the source was God's divine creation of humanity. He believed that God breathed his divine spirit into all human beings and, as a result, made all racial groups equal. Therefore, they possessed the right to fight laws and policies that denied them their human dignity. God's spirit did not accept the suppression of human dignity, which hindered society's development; thus, Africans and other racially oppressed groups should resist these barriers enforced by the state that prevented society's development.

The speech articulated *inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual shift from a traditional intellectual to a hybrid intellectual. His hybrid intellectual thought allowed him to mediate between both traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals under one umbrella. He called for ministers of churches, teachers and professional men - who, following Gramsci's work, would be identified as members of the traditional intellectual class - to join with business people, workers and farmers - who belonged to the organic intellectual class. His call mobilised an emerging

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.40.

petty-bourgeois class with the peasantry class under one banner. These were two groups from different economic backgrounds and social classes were being rallied by one intellectual. It was a bold move by *inkosi* Luthuli and served to grow the movement. He came from a *Kholwa* intellectual background and performed his social role as chief of Groutville, which helped frame his understanding of the importance of merging different groups to remove the dominant white class. It was this needed forwarding thinking that moved the liberation movement toward the removal of the dominant class. His speech closed with the rallying call to the various social groups under one call - “Mayibuye”. This call was directed at the white South Africans and sought to reclaim their lost control over Africa.¹¹⁸

On the 25th and 26th of June 1955, the Congress of the People met in Kliptown with 2884 delegates that represented various organisations and social groups.¹¹⁹ The delegates’ purpose was to agree on the content of the Freedom Charter and ratify the document. *Inkosi* Luthuli, Yusuf Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston were issued the honorary title of *Isitwalandwe*, which paid respect to distinguished society members.¹²⁰ The event was interrupted by a police search, and they confiscated documents that were later used in South Africa’s Treason Trial. The conference resumed, and the delegates adopted the Freedom Charter. Suttner argues that this document’s importance came from its drafting process, which was democratic in that it had broad input from all over South Africa incorporated into its formulation.¹²¹

Inkosi Luthuli’s presidential message, which was delivered at the ANC’s annual conference in Bloemfontein of that same year, aimed to move the organisation towards the Freedom Charter’s ratification. His autobiography alludes to the

¹¹⁸ Albert Luthuli, Collection number: A3337, Collection name: Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982, p.29.

¹¹⁹ Suttner, “The Freedom Charter”, p.73 and p.79.

¹²⁰ Author unknown, “Chief Albert John Lutuli”, *Article in The African Communist Number 31 Fourth Quarter 1967*, 38 – 44, p.38. (accessed via <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/acn31676>).

¹²¹ Suttner, “The Freedom Charter”, p.81.

address's core message: the ANC needs to address its ideology and its view of the Charter. In the autobiography, he stated, "I sent a note to the Conference which ratified the Charter urging delegates to discuss very fully such things as, for instance, the principle of nationalism".¹²² The presidential message, "African Nationalism", adopted an analytical approach and began reflecting on the ANC's past seven years since its adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action.¹²³ He articulated this programme's adoption showed his awareness of what the Programme signified for the liberation movement. "This Programme was a direct outcome of a conviction that had been growing among the people that the white people in South Africa had no intention of extending democratic rights to the non-whites".¹²⁴ According to his analysis, this indicated a shift among Africans and other oppressed racial groups as a collective moving towards the realisation that their democratic rights would not be recognised under white rule. The speech also acknowledges a collective consciousness of their collective oppression. The oppression was maintained by white dominance and white supremacy, which implemented discriminatory legislation that stretched as far back as the Act that established the Union and reinforced by 1936 laws. All this culminated in their economic and social exclusion from South Africa. His intellectual thinking analysed how Africans and other racially oppressed groups responded to these discriminatory statutes. Their response included: collective participation in Day of Mourning and Prayer of 1950, participation in the nonviolent Defiance Campaign of 1952 and in the Congress of the People and Freedom Charter illustrated their nonviolent resistance strategy. What became apparent and was universally accepted was that the ANC, as an organisation, was the leader of the liberation movement through their use of mobilisation of races and classes under one banner.

¹²² Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.160.

¹²³ Albert Luthuli, "African Nationalism", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.58.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.59.

Inkosi Luthuli's intellectual analysis contained a critique of his organisation, indicating how they could improve. One can argue that this was rather significant as it showed the president applied an objective view of the organisation rather than a subjective one. Critiquing one's own organisations' weaknesses so succinctly is evidence of high-level intellectual activity. He honed in on three of its major weaknesses. Firstly, the ANC lacked military efficiency and technique, which he argued could be solved by studying the methods of planning and execution of the plans they had made so far. He placed the responsibility at the National Executive's feet and instructed them to study the organisation's mechanisms and systems to combat the failure. Secondly, his analysis identified the organisation's ideological debates as crippling the organisation. His autobiography elaborates on one of these debates which was whether or not the ANC was a Communist organisation.¹²⁵ He was unequivocal about not being a communist because his Christian faith could not reconcile with communist philosophy but stated that the ANC was a big enough organisation for different ideologies to co-exist. His presidential message took a different tone, less personal. It stated that the ANC could not operate without an ideology but should instead opt to define or refine its African nationalism. He stated that this was important given that African nationalism was the foundational philosophy of the organisation. *Inkosi* Luthuli believed that tribalism was not the philosophy to be adopted by the ANC because "tribalism is detrimental to our advancement and to Christianity".¹²⁶ While he branded their type of African nationalism as containing multiracialism and opposing tribalism, he still used their 'tribal' connection to draw people into the organisation under one membership. The third weakness he recognised was the organisation's lack of discipline. This was a by-product of the ANC lacking efficiency in its systems and how it functioned. One is inclined to attribute this insight to his strict upbringing from MaGumede.

¹²⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.135.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.20.

Inkosi Luthuli's analysis ended by providing the ANC with a way forward. The Government had been using coercion to maintain the submissiveness of the racially oppressed groups. *Inkosi* Luthuli implored its members to adopt the Freedom Charter's "Let us draw inspiration from the Freedom Charter - The People Shall Govern" to counter the Government's coercive powers.¹²⁷ Suttner argues that the Charter was a revolutionary call, for it was something that had not existed before in South Africa. The state, however, was not willing to implement it.¹²⁸ He used a line from the Charter within his speech to show his approval of the document. Even though his autobiography acknowledges that he had very little to do with drafting the document due to his health. He states in the autobiography "I can speak only vaguely of the preparations which went before it, not only because I was excluded by the ban from all but top-level decisions, but because of illness".¹²⁹ However, this did not stop him from using his presidential message "African Nationalism" to encourage the ANC to ratify the document and he used his influence to move the ANC towards accepting the Charter's terms. His critical analysis of his organisation moved the ANC towards a multiracial movement guided by the Freedom Charter - a symbolic representation of South African intellectuals of that time.

Inkosi Luthuli's political consciousness allowed him to raise criticism against the ANC leaders, and it also granted him the awareness of the movement's weaknesses. In his autobiography, he highlights two core weaknesses, among others, of the resistance. "But in sober moments one is aware also of the weak spots in the resistance – and it has never seemed to me the path of wisdom to blind myself to these".¹³⁰ He identifies the disunity firstly and secondly the lack of coordination in the organisation.¹³¹ The disunity was caused by what he

¹²⁷ Luthuli, "African Nationalism", in Reddy, compiler, *Luthuli*, p.62.

¹²⁸ Suttner, "The Freedom Charter", p.82.

¹²⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.157.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.188.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

describes as *slave-mentality* among Africans within the white farm labour system. They were subject to hopelessness caused by the oppression Africans experienced at the hands of white farmers and overseers.¹³² Within the rural areas existed apathy among Africans based on their loss of land from the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts which had caused malnourishment among cattle. The loss of land due to the piece of legislation had limited the availability of arable grazing land. With Africans losing access to arable land, their cattle could not freely roam and graze, thus causing malnourishment. The white authorities continued to keep modern technology away from the rural areas, thus continuing the African rural area's underdevelopment. *Inkosi* Luthuli's thinking allowed him to view and interpret the social condition of his social class to help them to move beyond their challenges. He stated that Africans were either ignorant to the workings of politics or South Africa's issues.¹³³ He states in his autobiography "Another real weakness is that many Africans are still ignorant of the workings of a political system. They are even ignorant of what goes on in South Africa".¹³⁴ The dominant white class used this lack of political consciousness among Africans to coerce them and continue the oppressed class's subjugation. The lack of political consciousness also came through with Africans believing the government's empty promises, which were only delay tactics. His criticism of the resistance's weakness also stretched to African Christians within the movement that believed God would grant freedom in the future. His solution to counter this weakness was active Christianity based on the principle of work and prayer.¹³⁵ For *inkosi* Luthuli, it was important for the Church to demonstrate active Christianity rather than focus on polygamy and finances. White South African Christians had also abandoned their spiritual belief in their faith. However, they had grown over the

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.189.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.190.

decades to believe in material prosperity. This caused them to cling to the lifestyle created by apartheid policy.

5.6. Treason Trial

December 1956 marked the start of South Africa's historic Treason Trial against political leaders, Congress of the People delegates and organisers all whom were being charged for treason. *Inkosi* Luthuli was also charged. In his autobiography, he states that he was arrested on the 5th of December in his home in Groutville.¹³⁶ Although the accused came from different racial groups, ideologies and political positions, they all were accused of attempting to overthrow the state through violence.¹³⁷ The main leading document used as part of the prosecution's case was the Freedom Charter. Other ANC policies were used as well. Historians, scholars, and the autobiography state that most of the evidence was gathered during the Special Branch's raids.

By December 1957, the attorney-general dropped charges against 61 of the accused including *inkosi* Luthuli.¹³⁸ In 1960 the President-General was called to testify about ANC's nonviolent policy. The Trial went on for four years. In between these four years, *inkosi* Luthuli continued his work as President-General but acknowledged that the trial had slowed down the liberation movement. He continued to deliver public speeches and release statements. The leadership role that the ANC took up within the movement provided *inkosi* Luthuli with the appropriate platform to engage with other political organisations. In this argument to recognise this man as an African intellectual, it has been stated that the intellectual needs to educate not just their social group but also society. Some of the speeches he delivered were at public gatherings that included Africans as well as Indians. This was the case when he delivered his speech "Let Us March

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.162.

¹³⁷ Thomas G. Karis, "The South African Treason Trial", *Political Science Quarterly*, 76, 2, 1961, p.223.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

Together to Freedom”.¹³⁹ He fully embraced ANC’s cooperation policy which already existed within him before he had joined the organisation. His speeches often encouraged cooperation between races which later came to include whites in white liberal political organisations like the United Party and the Congress of Democrats. The cementing of this policy came after the Defiance Campaign.

Inkosi Luthuli delivered his “Our Vision is a Democratic Society” speech in 1958 to a public meeting organised by the South African Congress of Democrats in Johannesburg.¹⁴⁰ He delivered this speech to the general public. His speech advocated for South Africa to become a democratic country. He states with his speech, “I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy”.¹⁴¹ The overall speech was structured with a white audience in mind. His speech was deliberate in addressing questions and issues that white South Africans had about the liberation movement. His address dispelled some of these beliefs and critiqued the origins of these beliefs.

His speech argued that the apartheid government, being the dominant class, was the antithesis to democracy. The government’s apartheid policy moved Africans towards tribalism, an ideology that the ANC did not support. In his autobiography he states that government had glorified “the past, and the cry by the present Government (with legislation to match) that Africans should “develop along their own lines”.¹⁴² He believed that democracy was necessary for the development of society based on their consensus. He argued development based on their consensus required the right to develop, the right to determine how to develop and, at the core, the existence of freedom and self-determination. He tied freedom

¹³⁹ Albert Luthuli, “Let Us March Together to Freedom: Opening Address to the Sixth Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress, Durban, February 21, 1953”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.13.

¹⁴⁰ Albert Luthuli, “Our Vision is a Democratic Society”, in Collection number: A3337, Collection name: Albert Lutuli, various papers, 1953-1982, p.49.

¹⁴¹ Luthuli, “Our Vision is a Democratic Society”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.130.

¹⁴² Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.20.

inextricably to human instinct and argued that humankind throughout history illustrated a constant striving to achieve freedom because slavery is not natural for humankind. Here, *inkosi* Luthuli used his intellectual thought to break down for society the importance of having democracy. He connected this philosophical concept to society's development and human instinct. He moved the mission for democracy from a racial issue to a human issue and claimed that all racial groups could find a connection.

His speeches contextualised the vision for a multiracial democracy as a South African issue and a continental issue. He places this thought in his statement, "The yearning for freedom is not peculiar to South Africa. The whole of Africa is emerging into freedom. We live in the midst of what has rightly been described as 'Emergent Africa'".¹⁴³ He argued that Ghana, who had obtained their democracy, and Nigeria, who were on the verge of obtaining theirs, illustrated that the African people yearn for democracy. His political awareness of what was happening in other parts of the African continent allowed him to connect South Africa to the rest of the continent and demonstrated his African nationalism philosophy. He argued that the world's view was moving towards accepting democracy, and countries would be measured against the existence of democracy. South Africa would see itself being isolated from the rest of the world if it continued with its apartheid policy.

Inkosi Luthuli's speech argued for a multiracial democracy. He stated that South Africa had to accept its reality that within its society existed different races that had to live in peace and harmony. He says this in his statement, "What is important for our situation is that we[']re all here. That we cannot change! We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to change it. And since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realise democracy".¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Luthuli, "Our Vision is a Democratic Society", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, pp.127-128.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.128.

I would argue that his adoption of multiracialism philosophy speaks to his inclusive African nationalism. He wanted his social group to accept that South Africa was not just for Africans but for them to acknowledge the other races' existence. Indirectly this indicates that *inkosi* Luthuli was not a supporter of extreme nationalism philosophy.

He acknowledged that European countries that had adopted democracy had homogeneous societies based on their race which made it easier for their society to accept it. Homogeneity, he argued, was essential for the acceptance of democracy. On the other hand, South Africa had a society with different races, colour, and culture, thus making accepting democracy a challenge. He believed that South Africa's solution lay in embracing its diversity and creating a new pattern for democracy from which the world could learn. South Africa's homogeneous society would be based not on race, colour or culture but rather on shared values. "I think there is a challenge to us in South Africa to set a new example for the world. Let us not side-step that task. What is important is that we can build a homogeneous South Africa on the basis not of colour but of human values".¹⁴⁵ *Inkosi* Luthuli argued that a democratic homogeneous South Africa based on shared values and standards would result in a society undergoing a 'transformation'. He believed South Africans would bring together their different cultures and take apart elements they did not consider essential while merging the best parts of their cultures to create a South African culture. He did not advocate for one culture dominating over the others, and he accepted that there were parts of his culture that needed to be done away with just as there were parts that needed to be kept. This process would apply to all races. He used his hybrid intelligentsia to paint a new type of South Africa and explained how society had to get to that version.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.130.

Inkosi Luthuli's "Our Vision is a Democratic Society" speech addressed a few issues that white South Africans needed to know about to understand the type of democracy Africans envisioned for South Africa. He addressed the belief that white South Africans had that accepting the oppressed racial groups into society would result in their heritage's disappearance. He countered their argument stating that isolation or the further exclusion of others was even more harmful to their heritage and would guarantee its disappearance. Preferably there should be a creation of a society where white South Africans had to share their values that existed within their heritage with the other racial groups. *Inkosi* Luthuli's speech addressed white South Africans' fear that Africans' numbers would overwhelm their number under democracy and their feeling of being endangered. He stated that the number of Africans would not matter in a democratic society because their shared values would be important. He also stated that the apartheid government created their fear of feeling in danger. Africans throughout history had proven they did not wish to inflict violence and he referred to the times when early missionaries and traders had roamed southern Africa freely as an example.

His speech further addressed the creation of Bantu Authorities and argued this to be another antithesis of democracy. He states, "For "Bantu Authority" is the exact antithesis of democracy; it is a rule by some kind of council appointed even without consultation with the people, by the sole decision of the chief and the Native Affairs Department".¹⁴⁶ He explained that the Bantu Authorities Act, which created councils without the people's consultation, turned African kings and chiefs into mini dictators. *Inkosi* Luthuli educated the audience about the historical African governance structure, which traditionally was never autocratic. However, the Bantu Authorities Act was trying to create and introduce that type of governance structure. African Kings and Chiefs had councils with whom they consulted and who would be involved in debates over matters that needed to be

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.

resolved. The King or chief would come up with a resolution based on these discussions. He dispelled the misconception created by the apartheid state that kings and chief were autocratic. He stated that *Nkosi* Shaka was an exception just as Napoleon was an exception. *Inkosi* Luthuli used this example to counter the argument that generalised African governance as autocratic using *Nkosi* Shaka as a reference point. He believed that there was a need to counter this narrative by explaining that *Nkosi* Shaka was an exception to the norm. The narrative about *Nkosi* Shaka being a dictator was used to justify establishing an autocratic system within the African governance structure but *inkosi* Luthuli attempted to dispel this notion. Here it is evident that *inkosi* Luthuli was arguing that democratic-like practices existed within the African governance structure. In his ‘The Road to Freedom is via the Cross’ speech, he substantiates the same point stating that he believed that “it is inconceivable how chiefs could effectively see the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (chiefs) and leaders elected democratically by the people themselves”.¹⁴⁷ Here we see both speeches illustrating *inkosi* Luthuli’s perspective on the role of chiefs within society and how chieftaincy should govern.

The speech transitioned from addressing white South Africans directly to addressing general society and stated that multiracial democracy was possible. *Inkosi* Luthuli used the example of the moon landing, an idea that was once seen as impossible but, through human ingenuity, it was made a reality. His speech equated that historical event to South Africa becoming a democratic state. The notion that South Africa could become a democratic state was seen as impossible. He had the responsibility to convince his audience, his social group and society that democracy was possible. *Inkosi* Luthuli used this real-life example to convince his social group and society that a democratic South Africa was

¹⁴⁷ Luthuli, “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross”: in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli* p.12.

possible. He did caution society against striving for democracy only for future generations sake. He believed that his social group had to believe in democracy as a possibility for themselves, not just for the generation that would follow them. He believed fighting for democracy for the sole purpose of the next generation was an error because the future generations might think differently or judge them and hate them for their actions. He believed that their aim for multiracial democracy had to be because they believed in it for themselves.

The Treason Trial increased international attention on ANC leaders and the liberation movement whilst strengthening the various political organisations' co-operative alliances.¹⁴⁸ In the autobiography, *inkosi* Luthuli substantiates that the Trial brought those who opposed the apartheid Government a lot closer and gave them a sense of solidarity.¹⁴⁹ He states that the Treason Trial gave "Government's opponents of all races, both in and out of the ranks of the accused, a new sense of solidarity and a new sense of direction were born".¹⁵⁰ It did, however, create a further divide within the ANC along ideological lines. While leaders on one side believed in multiracialism, leaders on the other side believed in militancy through extreme Africanism. The growing divide within the organisation and their polarized ideological stances were amplified by the Trial. One finds this milestone within *inkosi* Luthuli's life to be significant to his intellectual thinking. His autobiography traces the build-up of the ideological tensions within the organisation. He states, "Congress policy is in favour of uniting all resisters to white supremacy, regardless of race, while the Africanists prefer to follow a solitary course, disregarding Indian, white, and Coloured opponents of apartheid. For them, the resistance is an African-only movement, and they repudiate the broad South Africanism of the A.N.C.". ¹⁵¹ Here we see *inkosi* Luthuli drawing the line in the different philosophies that existed during the movement. He points

¹⁴⁸ Karis, "The South African Treason Trial", p.233.

¹⁴⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.172.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.185.

out the ANC's approach, which he supported as the president at the time, and the extreme African Nationalism that other intellectuals had also adopted.

He refers to a bus boycott disagreement, the expulsion of two Africanist thinkers, Josias Madzunya and Potlako Leballo, and conflict during a Provincial Conference meeting as critical contributors to the tensions.¹⁵² The ANC National Executive expelled Madzunya and Leballo for their loud and open objection to the Congress Alliance representing multiracialism.¹⁵³ The Provincial meeting was the final straw that caused the National Executives to take control of the Transvaal provincial offices due to mismanagement. The meeting dissolved into chaos with both sides, extreme Africanist thinkers and ANC members, hurling insults at each other. It concluded with the Africanist thinkers resigning from the organisation. The walkout of the Africanist thinkers led to the launch of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in 1958, led by Robert Sobukwe.

As an umbrella organisation for different ideologies, the ANC had accepted and allowed the co-existence of African nationalist strands. The organisation, before the formation of PAC, had extreme, conservative and liberal African nationalist thinkers. These different thinkers all worked together towards overthrowing the white supremacist state and later the apartheid government. In *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography, he states that the Pan-Africanist wing had initially supported the 1949 Programme because it was believed that it would only involve Africans in its execution and implementation.¹⁵⁴ The autobiography states, "In argument the Africanists base their approach on the claim that the 1949 Programme of Action did not envisage anything but an Africans-only resistance". He acknowledged that this approach was adopted because there was "no co-ordinated resistance" before the Programme was adopted.¹⁵⁵ His intellectual thinking on modernity and

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.186-187.

¹⁵³ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.88.

¹⁵⁴ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.185.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

the development of South Africa allowed him to see the Programme within its political context. He continues to say, “I maintain, however, that since this is no longer 1949, we have gone some way beyond the Programme of Action. It would seem to me unnecessarily doctrinaire to cling to an outlook which may have been appropriate then”.¹⁵⁶ The statement shows he was open to modifying the Programme to suit the socio-political context and the needs of the resistance. The ANC moved in the direction of co-operation policy and moved away from the Africans-only approach. It placed the ANC on the path towards multiracialism but put them at odds with extreme African Africanism.

Inkosi Luthuli’s political awareness allowed him to understand that the change in approach reflected the intellectual shift of that time. He rejected the Africans-only approach and embraced South Africanism as his philosophy, “I believe that a racially exclusive resistance is the wrong reply, and it is also a demonstration of the wrong method if we think of the ideal it sets before our children”.¹⁵⁷ He believed a more inclusive resistance approach was needed to create a multiracial democratic South Africa. He argued that the change in strategy to co-operation was the ANC’s acknowledgement of the need at the time.

From the early years of the organisation, the Pan-Africanist wing had rejected the adoption of the co-operation policy. They believed that the liberation struggle belonged to Africans alone and did not need Indians, Coloureds or Whites.¹⁵⁸ *Inkosi* Luthuli argued that the ANC’s adoption of multiracialism was an ethical approach but also had tactical value.¹⁵⁹ He believed that the ANC had chosen cooperation with other races because they were motivated by the inherent moral value that the approach contained. The fact that it had a strategic element to it only bolstered their decision. Had they decided to adopt the approach only for a

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.186.

¹⁵⁸ Richard De Villiers, “The resistance to the extension of passes to African women: 1954-1960”, 1979. (accessed via wiredspace.wits.ac.za).

¹⁵⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.186.

strategic purpose, they would have quickly abandoned it when the state increased its oppression. The moral value of the decision was the reason the ANC held onto the approach for as long as they did. This ideological split within the ANC caused the PAC's break-away under *inkosi* Luthuli's leadership. He expressed that he hoped that once tensions dissipated, the PAC members would return to the ANC. He expressed his hopes in his autobiography, "I look forward to the day when we may be able to re-join forces. There will be time enough for contest after Freedom".¹⁶⁰ He believed that the ANC was an umbrella organisation that could house various ideological views until a multiracial democratic South Africa was achieved.

5.7. Women in the Struggle

Previously in this thesis, it has been argued that *inkosi* Luthuli believed in the core principle of feminist ideology - women are meant to be equal in a South African society. The earlier chapters traced the origins of his feminist-like thinking back to MaGumede and MaBhengu who were key figures in his life that informed his thinking about society. *Inkosi* Luthuli believed that women's role within the liberation movement was crucial. Their involvement bolstered the movement to such a degree that he believed that it would have failed without them. In his autobiography he states, "Among us Africans, the weight of the resistance has been greatly increased in the last few years by the emergence of our women. It may even be true that, had the women hung back, resistance would still have been faltering and uncertain".¹⁶¹ Their increased involvement was escalated by the apartheid policy that was enforcing Pass Laws on all African women.¹⁶² He used his socio-political intellectual thinking to comprehend the impact of the oppressive legislation on African women who belonged to his social

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.188.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.191.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

class. These laws impacted African women's living conditions, their families' lives and wages, as well as increasing the poverty of their children. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli's own life experience of having witnessed first-hand the impact of this legislation informed his view on how they impacted African women. His mother and wife were both African women who were present in his life therefore he would have seen how these laws from a young age would have made their lives difficult. His mother working the land and washing clothes so to put him through school was a knock-on effect of these oppressive legislation. I would also argue that women's involvement in the liberation movement was to improve their livelihood within the African community. To liberate themselves from harsh conditions that existed within African community with African men being the breadwinners in cities while African women stayed in the outskirts and rural parts of South Africa. Their engagement with the political arena was to also give themselves a voice and express the socio-economic hardships that they experienced within their own community.

One would argue that his feminist-like thinking was rooted in African tradition. His statement that "[w]omen in African society have never been a subservient group" demonstrates his view of women in society.¹⁶³ He sketches out in his autobiography the different roles African women have played in South Africa, which illustrated their influential role within society. He describes an African woman that led an army in the Orange Free State, the influence of Nongqawuse on the Xhosa people, the reign of a Swazi queen and the political role Zulu women played before and after the arrival of white settlers.¹⁶⁴ He states in his autobiography, "My point here is simply this: our women have never been treated by us as inferiors. It is the whites, misunderstanding the laws and customs by which we formerly governed ourselves, who have done this".¹⁶⁵ In the same way

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.192.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

that the colonial government, through its interference in the chieftaincy system, had distorted the role of African women. Throughout the course of history, African women have shown their resilient spirit to improve not only their own lives but that of their families. The study has shown this resilience as far back as from the early African Christian converts, the African women that fled the hardships that came the social conditions of Traditionalist living. We see the same spirit come through the *amaKholwa* that worked the land and they managed the domestic affairs of African households while their African husbands were occupied with politics. I would argue that *inkosi* Luthuli's speech speaks to not only individual African women but he shines a light on something that always existed within African community – women that were not inferior but challenged both oppressive colonial rule and African hardships.

Inkosi Luthuli's feminist-like thinking was limited. We see the limitation through him not providing the names of these historical African women. He describes what they did to help illustrate that African women were not inferior. He argued that the misconception and perverted view of African women being inferior came from the white dominant class. He believed that this view was translated through their legislation which rendered African women minors for the rest of their lives. The effect of this led to a significant negative impact on African society and their view of women. *Inkosi* Luthuli's consciousness of gender equality allowed him to discern between African women's historical role in society and the white dominant class's false narrative. The white dominant class had used legislation to target what he considered fundamental aspects of African women: their numbers, livelihood, and function in society.

From the 1950s, the apartheid government implemented more legislation that intensified the enforcement of the Pass system. The Pass system had been introduced during the early years of the mineral revolution in the Witwatersrand area and later was adopted across the Union. After 1950, the laws were aimed

more at relocating Africans from cities and town areas to the Bantustans.¹⁶⁶ The Pass system was the white government's mechanism of maintaining control over African employment, access to land and citizenship rights. The Defiance Campaign had drawn women in and including the ANC Women's League.¹⁶⁷ It led to more African women getting involved in demonstrations opposing the Bantu Education Act and the Pass Laws. The most prominent women's demonstration was in Pretoria. In 1956, 2000 women were involved in a massive demonstration against pass laws during which they marched to the Union building to present the Prime Minister with petitions.¹⁶⁸

Inkosi Luthuli recognised that women's growth in numbers in the resistance movement was also assisted by African women's involvement from rural areas. Their involvement closed the gap between city women and countrywomen. In his autobiography, he makes observations on how political consciousness impacted the different genders and their focus within the movement. He noted from his view that, "Among men, political awareness presupposes a certain sophistication. Among, women, awareness of the fundamentals presupposes no such thing".¹⁶⁹ *Inkosi* Luthuli noted that when men obtained political consciousness, they focussed on sophistication.¹⁷⁰ This statement suggests, based on his *Kholwa* background, that he believed men focus on ideology, policies, and the movement's strategy. On the other hand, when women obtained their political consciousness, they focused on addressing the hard reality that resulted from oppression. For example, they concentrated on providing blankets and tackled directly the issues around beer halls that impacted African household wages.¹⁷¹ It is necessary to note that *inkosi* Luthuli did not make these observations as fixed

¹⁶⁶ Michael Savage, "The Imposition of Pass Laws on the African Population in South Africa 1916-1984, *African Affairs*, 85, 339, 1986, p.182.

¹⁶⁷ Judy Kimble and Elaine Unterhalter, "'We Opened the Road for You, You Must Go Forward': ANC Women's Struggle, 1912-1982.", *Feminist Review*, 12, 1, 1982, p.25.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.194.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

and mutually exclusive, but rather as a trend he observed within his society. The women also adopted the non-violent militant approach to their demonstrations against pass legislations. This showed that women within his social group had adopted the same political strategy. This further confirms his influence on the overall social group. At the ANC annual conference, the organisation resolved to increase their resistance against the Pass system, emphasising how these Pass laws had affected women.¹⁷²

During his second ban, *inkosi* Luthuli delivered a statement at their national conference in 1959 which addressed the ANC Women's League.¹⁷³ *Inkosi* Luthuli's message to the women attempted to encourage African women's participation in the struggle and co-operation with other women from different race groups. He states in the message, "It is gratifying to record that African women are playing an admirable part and, in close co-operation with their sisters of other races, are showing a growing aggressive opposition to serfdom".¹⁷⁴ Here we see him embracing women's political involvement, and this same action carries on from his time as chief of Groutville when he brought them into the 'Tribal' council system.

He endorsed the Federation of South African Women joined by the ANCWL during the height of the Defiance Campaign. The women took part in the Bantu Education boycott and Potato boycott.¹⁷⁵ For *Inkosi* Luthuli, education was essential for society's development and his social group's emergence. The State's introduction of Bantu Education attempted to prevent and restrict the African population's education. The study has detailed the establishment of missionary

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Luthuli, "The African National Congress Women's League", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.147.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.148.

¹⁷⁵ In his autobiography and his address to the ANCWL, he lists some of the events African women were majorly involved in during the resistance movement. They were involved in opposing Bantu Education of 1954 and the Potato Boycott of 1959. The Bantu Education boycott was a call by the ANC to parents to pull their children out of state schools. The Potato Boycott was a protest against the use of prison labour on Potato Farms. The ANC called for a nationwide protest.

education in earlier chapters, which gave rise to the *amaKholwa* intellectuals from whom many political leaders, including *inkosi* Luthuli, emerged. Dr Verwoerd's Bantu Education was a secularised education system that increased the State's involvement in the education of Africans. The ANC and Women's League decided to boycott all schools that followed Dr Verwoerd's Bantu Education system.

He charges South African women to continue their involvement within the liberation movement. His speech calls on "them to use their womanly influence and tactics, to win increasingly into Congress and into the struggle, growing numbers of men. If gentle persuasion should prove unavailing, goading them to it by derisive words and actions may be used. Women are generally masters at this!"¹⁷⁶ *Inkosi* Luthuli uses this speech to grow the movement by charging African women and South African women, continuing the co-operation policy within the liberation movement. He encourages them to use both gentle persuasion and provoking words to grow the movement, especially the participation of men.

5.8. The Road to Nobel Peace Prize

The Treason trial gained both the liberation movement and the ANC the international community's attention. *Inkosi* Luthuli used this to carry out his internationalist philosophy. His presidential address, "The Liberation Struggles Is on In Earnest", delivered at the ANC's annual conference in 1959, illustrated an awareness of his international attention and deliberately positioned the ANC in a way in which they could work with the international community.¹⁷⁷ In the speech, he is seen thanking the international community for the funds raised to fund the resistance. He states, "Where would we be in all this political persecution

¹⁷⁶ Luthuli, "African National Congress Women's League", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.149.

¹⁷⁷ Albert Luthuli, "The Liberation Struggle Is On In Earnest: Presidential Address To The 47th Annual Conference of The African National Congress, Durban, December 12, 1959", in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.158.

without the financial aid canvassed from the public here and overseas by the public-spirited men and women working in solo fashion or under the auspices of organisations such as the Treason Trial Defence Fund, Christian Action in England and other”.¹⁷⁸ He further continues, “This appreciation covers others who have raised funds for other political cases and for the defence lawyers in all political cases that have come before the courts of the land, particularly the Treason Trial defence lawyers”.¹⁷⁹ Both these statements show the actualization of his international philosophy and maintain the belief that the international community had a role in assisting Africans in gaining their freedom. Their assistance came in both financial and legal aid. I would argue that *Inkosi* Luthuli’s hybrid intellectual thinking positioned the ANC on an international platform, and his intellectual ability allowed the ANC to navigate the global terrain and build international relations.

As in his other speeches, he touched on the ANC’s core political principles: multiracialism, rejection of race and colour as a dominant factor, broad South African culture and unpartitioned South Africa. These principles are quoted directly from the Freedom Charter, and this also shows continued support of the adopted Charter.¹⁸⁰ With the elections having occurred and the sudden rise of Dr Verwoerd as Prime Minister, there was a shift towards intensified violence against Africans and the liberation struggle. He states, “we have entered a most crucial and decisive stage in our struggle for freedom”.¹⁸¹ Verwoerd, as minister of Native Affairs, had introduced the Bantu Education Act, new Pass laws and legislations that further entrenched the apartheid policy. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s speech warned his social group and the liberation movement members about what it meant for them that Verwoerd had assumed office. It painted a bleak picture and he stated that the new legislation passed by the apartheid government only meant

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.157.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.158.

further oppression and hardship for the already oppressed racial groups. His speech equated the new severities to a re-incarnation of slavery.

The Nationalist's position that democracy would be achieved "over our dead bodies" indicated to the liberation movement members that the government had committed to white supremacy and maintained their dominance as a social class.¹⁸² He counters this position by the government by stating, "Our task is to see to it that the democratic form of government and the values inherent in democracy become the accepted pattern and are valued by all people in the land".¹⁸³ He reinforces to his social group the core vision of the liberation movement, which is to bring about a democratic state with a democratic government. I would argue that this message of democracy that constant reoccurs throughout his speeches like this one kept Africans, ANC and the liberation movement on course for democracy. *Inkosi* Luthuli claimed that the state's implementation of Tribalism Authority lacked democracy. He states that tribalism "is most ill-equipped to meet the demands of life in a dynamic scientific age. Chiefs themselves on whom the system must revolve may be possessed of Native wisdom, but, not of the knowledge required of leaders of this age".¹⁸⁴ Here we see *inkosi* Luthuli using his principle of modernity, African Nationalism philosophy, along with his belief in democracy to paint a picture of a new South Africa. His understanding of the role of chiefs in traditional communities allowed him to understand the importance of chiefs letting go of tribalism philosophy. The statement shows he understood the need for chiefs to adopt the theory of democracy to prepare them for the changing times to come under a democratic state.

In response to the government's push for Africans to adopt tribalism, *inkosi* Luthuli assured members of the liberation movement that non-violent

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p.160.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.161.

demonstration by locals, the church and mutual cooperation between racial groups were vital contributors to the fight against white supremacy and domination. Their use of non-violent methods was based on the 1949 Programme. For him, the international community's condemnation of apartheid policy through the United Nations and free African states supported the liberation movement's fight against apartheid. He mobilised his social group to join along economic lines. He asked his social group to join as workers and consumers to boycott South African goods, which the international community had started to do. His encouragement of international sanctions illustrated his understanding of the influential role the international community had in South Africa. The effects of these sanctions would bring on further taxation, levies and rehabilitation schemes for which *inkosi* Luthuli iterated the liberation struggle had to be prepared.

His presidential address focused on the future of the liberation struggle specifically within the context of the following year, 1960, and the African continent. He called on free African states to continue their fight against colonialism to ensure countries' further independence, implementation of constitutional change and introduction of self-government. He called on Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now part of Malawi) and Algeria to continue their fight against colonialism and for Africans to reject white-only rule and Portuguese rule in Africa. He believed that the fight against colonialism was essential to fight the scramble for Africa by the world powers and to ensure new independent countries. *Inkosi* Luthuli's intellectual thinking allowed him to use the international community's attention as a mechanism to create a platform to voice the struggles of the African continent. He spoke out against imperialist powers, like the French, that attempted to create a 'French community' within African countries. He also helped galvanise support for South Africans fighting against the apartheid government.

1960 was marked as ‘Africa’s Year of Liberation’. Unfortunately for South Africa, the year did not bring the same optimism in the shadows of the Sharpeville Massacre. *Inkosi* Luthuli declared 28th March a national day of mourning, calling on South Africans to stay home and pray. This was well received.¹⁸⁵ It was followed by *inkosi* Luthuli and other ANC leaders, like Mandela, who burned their Reference books in protest of the Pass system.¹⁸⁶ The apartheid government declared a State of Emergency that set off mass arrests of ANC and PAC leaders and volunteers that took part in the demonstrations that followed the Sharpeville Massacre. Vinson argues that this massacre set off the ANC’s rapid route towards adopting a violent resistance method by establishing *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK).¹⁸⁷ Stephen Ellis’s paper on “The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle in South Africa” tracks the armed struggle’s formation.¹⁸⁸ It notes that recent biographies and autobiographies do not have a consistent narrative about this. Sources commonly acknowledge Mandela as the commander-in-chief of the MK and is recognised as a key figure that motivated for the adoption of armed struggle.

The autobiography and other sources indicate that the armed struggle existed within the Programme of Action principles and was debated among African leaders throughout the years that followed the Programme’s adoption. The Youth League, Africanists and Communists carried the idea of armed resistance within the ANC. However, the clash in ideologies between them did not allow for an explicit adoption of the armed struggle.¹⁸⁹ The African continent experienced a wave of emancipation after Ghana, with some countries like, Algeria and Egypt, adopting violence as a strategy to obtain their emancipation.¹⁹⁰ Fidel Castro’s movement had overthrown Batista’s government by using guerrilla war tactics

¹⁸⁵ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.222.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.223.

¹⁸⁷ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, pp.100-101.

¹⁸⁸ Stephen Ellis, “The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948-1961”, in Thula Simpson, *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa*, (London and New York, 2017), pp.657-676

¹⁸⁹ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.111.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

which motivated many African leaders that pushed for a military strategy. Cuba and the Soviet Union gave their international support for the development of the armed struggle in South Africa. *Inkosi* Luthuli maintained his nonviolent resistance stance throughout the build-up towards the formulation of MK. He states in his autobiography, “I make it clear that we mean to cling to methods such as this, to non-violence, and we mean increasingly to use these weapons even against such tyrants as South Africa’s present Government”.¹⁹¹

In 1961, the ANC’s national executive held a meeting in June in which the adoption of the MK was the main agenda item.¹⁹² The meeting was spent trying to convince *inkosi* Luthuli to accept the armed struggle’s formation, but he requested it to be independent and separate from the ANC. They kept him up to date as the President-General on the MK’s work and allowed the ANC members to be part of both the military wing and the ANC. Through their different work, scholars and historians have written on the armed wing’s formulation and state that different ANC leaders met with the President-General to negotiate the move towards an armed resistance strategy. *Inkosi* Luthuli recognized that the ANC was bigger than himself and would not stand in the way of the will of the people. Therefore, he allowed its members to join the MK. The thesis agrees with Ellis’s line of argument that *inkosi* Luthuli’s request for the MK to be independent and separate from the ANC kept the political organisation non-violent during his time as President-General.¹⁹³

5.7.1 Nobel Son Honours Africa: The Speech and Lecture

In 1961, *inkosi* Luthuli received the news that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the first African-born winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and

¹⁹¹ Luthuli, *My People Go*, p.219.

¹⁹² Ellis, “The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle”, p.120.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

he was the first to win in the Human Rights category.¹⁹⁴ The international recognition exposed the President-General to a broader international audience. The apartheid government refused to issue him a passport, but later gave in due to the growing international pressure on the state. On the 10th of December 1961, *inkosi* Luthuli delivered his acceptance speech, “An Honour to Africa”, in Oslo City Hall.¹⁹⁵ A public lecture followed the speech. Both illustrated his formalized intellectual activity.

In his acceptance speech, he assured the audience that the liberation struggle and those who participated in it remained committed to non-violence. He states in the speech, “It is an honour to the peace-loving people of the entire world, and an encouragement to us all to redouble our efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship”.¹⁹⁶ The award symbolised the international communities approval of the ANC’s approach to the fight for liberation. It recognized and supported their strategy towards creating a non-racial South Africa. Being the first African-born to receive the award was not something he overlooked, for he accepted it in honour of both South Africa and the African continent. He acknowledges Africa stating, “I accept it also as an honour, not only to South Africa, but to the whole continent of Africa, to all its people, whatever their race, colour or creed”.¹⁹⁷ I would argue that this statement illustrates his African Nationalism philosophy, connecting South Africa to the African continent. He believed that Africa had a role to play globally by ensuring that peace was spread throughout by ending oppression, white supremacy and racial discrimination. “In Africa, as our contribution to peace, we are resolved to end such evils as oppression, white supremacy and racial discrimination, all of which are incompatible with world peace and security”.¹⁹⁸ He believed that peace was for everyone and should be

¹⁹⁴ Vinson, *Albert Luthuli*, p.100.

¹⁹⁵ Albert Luthuli, “An Honour to Africa”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.210.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.211.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

spread globally. The starting point, for him, was the use of the ideals that the Nobel Peace Prize stood for as a guiding example.

His Nobel lecture, titled “Africa and Freedom”, was delivered to the guests that attended the ceremony.¹⁹⁹ He dedicated the award to those who were involved in the fight against racial discrimination which, he acknowledged, had started long before his time. His motivation to join the fight against racial discrimination came from his active Christianity principle and he argued that humans’ oppression could not be ignored but required action. For him, neutrality on the matter of systematic oppression of people could not be tolerated, especially by Christians. He believed that the Church had the responsibility to end oppression and, in the South African context, to end the experience of modern slavery in the farm system. The apartheid government had received pressure from the white farmers to solve the labour shortage on farms.²⁰⁰ Through state regulations, the government created an influx of an African working class that created cheap labour under harsh economic conditions. *Inkosi* Luthuli called on Christians to get more involved in developing people in this life rather than focusing on the afterlife.

His lecture showed that he believed that the award was more than a prize but a symbol of solidarity with the liberation movement from the international community. His intellectual thinking led him to define Africans’ role in a global society, creating peace based on merit. In his lecture, he states, “it is a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation”.²⁰¹ The African continent during his time had been riddled with conflict, especially with more African countries

¹⁹⁹ Albert Luthuli, “Africa and Freedom: Nobel Lecture delivered at the Oslo University, December 11, 1961”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.212.

²⁰⁰ Pam Christie and Margaret Gaganakis, “Farm Schools in South Africa: The Face of Rural Apartheid”, *Comparative Education Review*, 33, 1, 1989, p.81.

²⁰¹ Luthuli, “Africa and Freedom”, in Reddy, compiler, *Lutuli*, p.213.

fighting against colonial powers. For *inkosi* Luthuli, Africa was experiencing a revolution - a fight against oppression to bring peace to the continent. The continent's conflict had caused economic divisions, military conquests and the lack of nationality.

Revolutions, according to him, served distinct particular functions to bring about nationality, sovereignty and equality. He states this view in the following statement, "Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man".²⁰² He used Europe as an example to illustrate his argument. He stated that its move from feudalism to industrialism led to its establishment of democracy and nationhood. His speeches made use of historical examples to convince his audience of his point of view. He compares how Europe underwent revolutions compared to how Africa experienced it, "Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the 18th century to our own, encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three-quarters of the continent in less than a decade: its final completion is within sight of our own generation".²⁰³ In this part of the lecture we see him educating his audience on the different paces under which two continents achieved a change in system. The European process to democracy through revolution was slow and dragged out in comparison to some African countries' process to democracy. For him, Africa's revolution would differ from Europe's Revolution based on it being quicker, bloodless and orderly because the main goal for all the African countries was independence. Fortunately, he did not live long enough to see how some African countries experienced bloody and chaotic transitions.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

His speech informed the international audience about what maintained the apartheid system, “They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country: for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate which is a privileged minority”.²⁰⁴ The system was also maintained because the white majority passively tolerated the oppression of Africans. His comprehension of the apartheid system allowed him to thoroughly educate the international community about South Africa’s apartheid societal complexities. *Inkosi* Luthuli argued that Africans had a long history of fighting oppression using Shaka, Moshoeshoe and Hintsa as examples to illustrate his viewpoint. “Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny. Consider some of our great names: the great warrior and nation-builder Chaka, who welded tribes into the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshoe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basutoland beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death rather than surrender his territory to white invaders. All these and other royal names, as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion”.²⁰⁵ He used South African chiefs and kings as examples to help demonstrate his African nationalist philosophy. I would argue that he deliberately used three different chiefs as examples, each from Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa cultural backgrounds, to illustrate his South Africanism philosophy. It shows he was not a Zulu nationalist by not just using Shaka as an example of fighting against oppression.

Inkosi Luthuli stated that ANC leaders were deliberate in their choice of non-violence and discouragement of hatred and resentment. “We in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic campaigns. All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength, has been given to the pursuance of this

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.216.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.217.

method”.²⁰⁶ The statement spoke to their political consciousness as a social group. Their collective consciousness allowed for the adoption of cooperation and the acceptance of the Congress of Democrats. They believed that South Africa’s revolution would happen if they pushed democratic rights, economic equality, education in non-segregational institutions and the abolishment of racial bars. For him, these were the measures to which South Africa would have to go to obtain peace.

His lecture discusses that South Africans had accepted the support from independent African countries, the United Nations and progressive entities. These encouraged their move towards the adoption of democracy. However, he stated that South Africans need not depend on international support but needed to emancipate themselves. “We South Africans, however, equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come to us as a gift from abroad. Our freedom we must make ourselves. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger”.²⁰⁷ This statement shows his internationalism philosophy believed in autonomy and independence. He did not want Africa to be dependent on the international community but welcomed the aid.

Inkosi Luthuli received prize money with the Nobel Peace Prize which he donated to the ANC. The President-General returned with MaBhengu to South Africa to another State ban, which, again, restricted him to Groutville. The ban cut off his authority from the ANC causing his authority to deteriorate during the final years of his presidency and excluding him from its decision-making process.²⁰⁸ He grew old, his vision became impaired and his writing deteriorated.²⁰⁹ In 1967,

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.218.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.221.

²⁰⁸ Ellis, “The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle”, p.121.

²⁰⁹ Scott Everett Couper, “Emasculating Agency: An Unambiguous Assessment of Albert Luthuli’s Stance on Violence”, *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 3, 2012, pp. 564-586.

inkosi Luthuli died after ‘allegedly’ being hit by a train.²¹⁰ The circumstances that surround his death have been shrouded by suspicion of foul play.

5.8. Conclusion

Inkosi Luthuli’s hybrid intellectual activity moved him into the political space not by chance but by his belief in active Christianity. This philosophy exists throughout his speeches and his autobiography. No historian or scholar can deny the considerable impact this had on his decision-making and actions. His political philosophy included African nationalism, which aligned him with the Youth League who propelled him into the national spotlight of the organisation, liberation movement and the government. His intellectual thinking was not rigid or fixed but allowed him to view ANC policies and strategies within their social context. This meant that he was adaptable in a way that his fellow *Kholwa* intellectuals were not. His ability to view historical events within their context allowed him to make way for MK’s formation rather than rejecting it. His adaptability made him more acceptable to and a necessary leader of the Youth League’s agenda.

Inkosi Luthuli did not create the ANC’s co-operation policy. However, he continued the policy because he believed in inclusive African nationalism and believed it to be an appropriate moral strategy for the liberation movement’s survival. The policy became one of the pillars of the ANC’s ideology that continued under his leadership, allowing the organisation to gain international attention and grow the ANC from a group of political elites to a mass-based movement. *Inkosi* Luthuli’s role within the Defiance Campaign gained him the ANC’s attention at a national level after the government deposed him for his part in the Campaign. His delivery of the “We Go to Action” speech acted as a rallying call to bring his social group, the Africans of Natal, to participate in the

²¹⁰ The family maintains that there is suspicion around *inkosi* Luthuli’s death.

Campaign. It served its purposes given the State's reaction to *inkosi* Luthuli's involvement. It also illustrated his influence over his society in creating a new democratic society. His speeches like "We Go to Action" and "The Road to Freedom is via the Cross" illustrate his developed conceptualisation of a multi-racial democratic South African society. He improved the ANC's co-operation policy and spoke publicly about it in his speeches, for example "Let Us March Together to Freedom". His intellectual activity brought unity across various racial groups and political organisations and fostered this policy throughout his presidency.

His hybrid intellectual thinking allowed him the ability to challenge and criticise the dominant group, but also to critique his own social group. He did not withhold his critique of his organisation, but expressed it openly and deliberately. The intention of critiquing his organisation was to improve society as a whole and not just remove the dominant social group. *Inkosi* Luthuli fits Gramsci's conditions for intellectuals to help non-intellectuals understand the world better. He did this through his "Freedom in our Life Time!" speech. Through his speeches, he expressed the various facets of society's functions, how the apartheid state used different legislation to maintain power and how the oppressed class could achieve freedom. These speeches were delivered to fellow intellectuals and non-intellectuals.

Inkosi Luthuli had a large following of black and white South Africans. His delivery of "Our Vision is a Democratic Society" speech was a testament to his acknowledgement of the white South African following. His intellectual activity did not limit him to convince only his social group of equality but allowed him to try to convince the dominant social class members to abandon their apartheid system. There was unity among the different races despite the divide among the Africans. The divide was demonstrated through the PAC's launch occurring under his presidency. The thesis does not seek to paint his presidency without

flaws but attempts to show the challenges his intellectual activity had to navigate and resolve. His intellectual activity uplifted the position of women within the resistance movement. He believed in gender equality and believed women play an equal role to men within society.

Inkosi Luthuli believed that the African continent and the international community had roles to play within the liberation of Africans and of South Africa. All of this fell under his internationalist philosophy and came through in his “Africa and Freedom” and “The Liberation Struggle is on in Earnest” speeches. *Inkosi* Luthuli, being the first African-born to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, opened the door wide for the ANC to gain international allies. The ANC grew in its membership whilst under his leadership and gained further international support. His philosophy of non-violent resistance kept the organisation on the path of non-violent resistance for much longer than might have been the case if he was not president. Through the analysis of his autobiography and his speeches that he delivered as President-General, I illustrate that he possessed a hybrid intellectual thinking that he used to move South Africa within the cultural and social arena in a historical fashion. He used his hybrid intellectual thinking to advocated for marginalized groups within South Africa and brought political arena into the public space. He used his intellect to set the moral tone for the liberation movement and advocated for oppressed Africans and opened South Africa’s liberation movement to the continent and the world.

6. Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis has conducted a biographical study on *inkosi* Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli as an African intellectual within South Africa's history. South Africa's political history since 1994 has focused on selected individuals that were part of the Liberation Movement. The thesis has shone a light on an underplayed figure in South African liberation literature. In contemporary political history discourse, his name is often raised only when discussing *Umkhonto weSizwe*. *Inkosi* Luthuli belonged to a class of South African intellectuals that contributed to the founding of the modern democratic South Africa. The thesis' introduction defined the term 'intellectual' using Gramsci's work and set out the conditions needed to be met to qualify an individual as an intellectual. Biographies on *inkosi* Luthuli do exist but have focused on his political career. The study has added a new perspective to the existing biographical discourse on *inkosi* Luthuli through studying the individual as an intellectual using critical analysis of his speeches. The study has mirrored *inkosi* Luthuli's autobiography by following a chronological sequence of events in his life to trace the source of his intellectual thinking.

The study placed *inkosi* Luthuli within his historical South African context. The context included discussion around the rapid formation of South Africa's economy with the mineral discoveries during the late 1800s and the creation of the African peasantry class. It was significant to discuss South Africa's economic condition because Gramsci's work on intellectuals had an economic criterion. The knock-on effect of the mineral discoveries of the 19th century resulted in the establishment of the white capitalist economy which exploited the African peasantry class. *Inkosi* Luthuli and his family belonged to the *amaKholwa*, a class of African converts, and the study has explored their history. It explored the arrival of missionaries from the early 1800s, the setup of Mission Reserves, and African converts being allowed to own land. The class were

educated and had to abandon their Traditionalist identity. There were social implications to their conversion; their education created the conditions for the rise of political thought among Africans. It inspired the adoption of African nationalism, which caused the rise of African funded education institutions, the African Press and African independent churches. The adoption of African nationalism as their philosophy, combined with similar education and professional careers, brought them together as a class. The study identified *amaKholwa* as a class of traditional intellectuals. It also discussed the racial tensions that existed in Natal at the time of the emergence of *amaKholwa* because the Indian community became significant members of the cooperation policy that the ANC adopted as part of its resistance strategy.

Inkosi Luthuli was born into a traditional class of intellectuals and a Congregationalist family with connections to the Zulu royal clan. The social condition he was born into carried the influences of two identities, the African convert identity and the traditionalist identity. Intellectuals that were born into the *amaKholwa* class had to navigate the balancing act of these two worlds. *Inkosi* Luthuli was aware of this dual identity dilemma, and he successfully married these two worlds. He was a proud Zulu man that embraced his Traditionalist background, which is apparent in his autobiography, acknowledging the family's Zulu royal heritage and his wife's heritage. His autobiography, as a primary source, is an expression of his African nationalist thinking. *Inkosi* Luthuli was a devout Christian man; therefore, the thesis traced the Luthuli family's Christian background to help the reader understand that his faith contained values that informed his intellectual thinking. Congregationalists valued education and the principles of democracy. These were carried by the American Board missionaries and were passed onto the converts. It is why *inkosi* Luthuli's family were educated individuals and why the Groutville community incorporated democratic principles into their chief's electoral system.

MaGumede, *inkosi* Luthuli's mother, came from the *Nkosi* Cetshwayo's Royal Kraal. She was a single parent - after John Alberts death during the late 1890s, she raised young Albert by herself in Grouville. In doing so, she became the source of discipline and the breadwinner of the family through her successful farming practices. She had farming skills that were used to fund her son's education by selling her farm produce. *Inkosi* Luthuli experienced a Zulu matriarchal household with strict discipline values. MaGumede's role is identified as one of the two sources that inspired *inkosi* Luthuli's feminist-like thinking. Young Albert grew up, for a period in his childhood, in his uncle's household. Martin Luthuli was a successful *Kholwa* and appointed chief of Groutville. He was involved in politics through the Natal Native Congress formed in 1900 and advocated for African people's education. Young Albert witnessed his uncle perform duties as chief. Martin Luthuli also became the secretary to the Zulu King, thus strengthening the connection between *amaKholwa* and Traditionalists. Martin's role as chief of Groutville exposed *inkosi* Luthuli to chieftaincy. These two individuals, MaGumede and Martin, believed in education and pushed young Albert in Adams College's direction. The thesis briefly studied the institution's history, curriculum, and the lessons *inkosi* Luthuli picked up while at the College. His time at the College exposed him to the ideas of multiracialism, and, most importantly, this is where he obtained his belief in active Christianity. His speeches referred to Christian values, principles and biblical examples, and these can be traced back to his Congregationalist upbringing and mission school education.

While at the College, he married MaBengu in 1927, and she departed to Groutville shortly after to establish their home. He continued at the College for 15 years, and this was a significant amount of time that led to study making the assessment that *inkosi* Luthuli was a traditional intellectual. Teaching was his passion, and he had a better wage than a rural chief. The title of traditional

intellectual was applicable to *inkosi* Luthuli because he was a teacher at the College, had received a formal education, produced journal material for Natal's *African Teachers Journal*. He distributed his intellect through different mediums so to grow his social class and educate the African population. The publication of his work in the teachers' journal showed that *inkosi* Luthuli was willing to engage with other African intellectuals and engage with them intellectually. The study found that *inkosi* Luthuli fits Gramsci's foundational principles of a traditional intellectual.

The study progressed to include *inkosi* Luthuli's time as chief of Groutville. His chieftaincy is often overlooked within literature and needed to be discussed as it added another element to his intellectual thinking. His time as the chief of Groutville was significant and vital for this study because it was at Groutville, where he became fully aware of his intellectual function. He moved into the countryside as a traditional intellectual into an African peasantry community. The thesis further refined the type of intellectual he became and identified him as a rural intellectual. What qualified him as this intellectual was based on Gramsci's definition of a rural intellectual. He was a traditional intellectual who had moved to the countryside. His status elevated the community's standard, and the peasantry class looked up to him. Groutville was a peasantry community, and *inkosi* Luthuli was a teacher that assumed the role of chief.

The thesis explored the history of the chieftaincy system. The reader needed to know the Zulu governance structure and the impact of colonialism on the system. The impact of colonialism through the Shepstone system and the colonial governments allowed the Secretary of Native Affairs to have the authority to strip *inkosi* Luthuli of his chieftaincy despite being democratically elected by the community. The study described the duties he had performed as chief and showed that *inkosi* Luthuli was involved in the African peasantry class's daily lives. He made revolutionary changes by including women in leadership spaces of the

community. The study attributed this change to his marriage to MaBhengu. She played a significant role within their household as she was the family's breadwinner, and she was his sounding board for his speeches. The thesis argued that MaBhengu and MaGumede were *inkosi* Luthuli's sources of feminist-like thinking. His actions and decisions show he believed in women's equality and encouraged their participation in society.

The study continued to look at different means that *inkosi* Luthuli used to elevate his community's status. His belief in women's equality motivated him to support the African women's fight against white-owned beer halls that threatened African women's livelihood and their households' living conditions. He represented African peasant farmers with the state through Groutville Cane Growers Association and the Natal and Zululand Bantu Cane Growers Association. He was also part of the revived Mission Reserve Association in 1935. In 1935, he also established the Zulu Language and Cultural Society, which encouraged Zulu culture and culture progression. While a chief, *inkosi* Luthuli went to India in 1938 and the US in 1948: these visits were significant for they opened his eyes to the world's hardships and social injustices, which informed his internationalism philosophy.

The concluding chapter of the thesis focused on *inkosi* Luthuli exercising his hybrid intellectual thought within the political realm. In the previous chapters, the study looked at him exercising his intellectual thought over a small region. However, his political journey saw his area of influence grow. He was unexpectedly elected to serve on the executive of the ANC's Natal branch, which officially launched his political career and continued his function of connecting his peasantry class with the state. The Youth League played a significant role in the ANC leadership direction and supported *inkosi* Luthuli at the provincial and national levels. The ANC's adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action aligned *inkosi* Luthuli's inclusive nature with the ANC's cooperation policy. Their

cooperation policy set the tone for the Defiance Campaign. *Inkosi* Luthuli delivered his “We Go to Action” speech and demonstrated his formal conceptualised idea of democracy, multiracialism and his Christian view of the cooperation policy. The speech reached across decades of racial tensions to unite a divide between Africans and Indians. He moved Natal towards accepting the ANC’s cooperation policy. *Inkosi* Luthuli was deposed for his administrator role in the Defiance Campaign. The previous chapter explored how this was possible, and instead of diminishing his stature in society, it bolstered his reputation within the ANC. He delivered his “The Road to Freedom is via the Cross” speech. It is seen as providing a coherent layout of his political thought, his position on nonviolent passive resistance and an expression of his active Christianity principle. He encouraged unity across different racial groups, and the study used “Let us March Together to Freedom” speech to illustrate this view. He believed that his social group, the African peasantry, had to work with other society members to improve their living condition. Through his “Freedom in our Life Time!” speech, the study showed that *inkosi* Luthuli educated his audience about society’s problematic aspects, like the impact of oppressive legislation and provided them with ideas on achieving freedom.

His speech “Our vision is a Democratic Society” illustrated his vision of a multiracial society, and he used his influence to convince the white population, the dominant social group, to join the liberation movement. *Inkosi* Luthuli consciously mediated between different racial groups, which set him apart from his African intellectual counterparts. He encouraged women to be part of society and men to support women in their endeavours that contributed to the liberation movement. *Inkosi* Luthuli was a progressive traditional rural intellectual. Rather than keep the status quo, he challenged the norms that were created by the apartheid state. He did not accept the minimal role that the segregatory state had

created for African women and called on African men to reject this narrative. He requested that the ANC support the ANC Women's League.

Inkosi Luthuli gained Africa and the world's attention through his leadership of the liberation movement. There were parts of his speeches that spoke directly to the African continent's leadership and international organisation like the United Nations. He was aware of the importance of using the international community as leverage to create pressure on the apartheid state. He opened the gateway for future sanctions imposed on apartheid South Africa and the setup of ANC exile offices across the globe. The international community noticed the deposed chief, and in 1961 the Nobel Peace Prize committee informed *inkosi* Luthuli that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the first African born to receive the prize and the first recipient in the Human Rights category. He delivered his acceptance speech and a lecture on the 10th of December 1961 at Oslo City Hall. The acceptance speech titled "An Honour to Africa" demonstrated his liberation movement's commitment to nonviolent resistance strategy and creating a non-racial South Africa. The lecture titled "Africa and Freedom" illustrated *inkosi* Luthuli's active Christianity principle and how he used it to navigate his fight against human oppression. He believed Christians and the Church had to play an active role in fighting the oppression of people living in the world rather than focus on the afterlife. His lecture had expressed the need for South Africa to experience a revolution to change the dominant social group and believed that had to happen through nonviolent resistance strategy. South Africa's revolution would bring about democratic rights, economic equality, education and the abolishment of racism. *Inkosi* Luthuli's hybrid intellectual thinking contributed to the journey that resulted in a democratic South Africa. The oppressed African peasantry class successfully obtained dominance over the oppressive dominant class, and this was through the democratic elections of 1994.

The biographical study explored inkosi Luthuli's life, the development of his hybrid intellectual thought, and how he used his speeches to exercise his thinking to educate society. It explored intellectual thought within the South African context through Gramsci's work and the *amaKholwa* class's emergence. The study investigated the existence of a strand of African nationalism philosophy that was infused with Christian values. The *amaKholwa* class had traditional intellectuals, and *inkosi* Luthuli emerged from this class. His intellectual thought helped him mediate between different African economic groups, social groups, racial groups and other African intellectuals. He convinced oppressed racial groups to adopt nonviolent resistance strategies and cooperate with each other. He convinced Africans to adopt a multiracial approach to be incorporated into the movement. His inclusive nature and willingness to accept other racial groups' support caused a further divide within the ANC. It resulted in the PAC's formation, but he remained resolute in his decision. He advocated for better economic conditions for African peasantry farmers, African women and better socio-political conditions for all oppressed groups. His intellectual thought contributed extensively to South Africa's journey towards becoming a multiracial democratic state. For these reasons, *inkosi* Luthuli must be rightfully recognised as a hybrid African intellectual.

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