The Politics of Representation in the Inanda Heritage Route: A Case Study of the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary

A dissertation submitted for a Master's Degree in History, in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape

Ayanda Siphesihle Simelane

Supervisor: Dr Marijke du Toit

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Key words

Representation

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Declaration

I, Ayanda Siphesihle Simelane, declare that *The Politics of Representation in the Inanda Heritage Route: A Case Study of the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary* is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or university. All sources that I have used have been acknowledged by complete references.

Ayanda Simelane

November 2022

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Abstract

The thesis is a case study of three main sites on the Inanda Heritage Route, namely, the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary. This is an important heritage route in post-apartheid KwaZulu-Natal, established in line with national government projects aimed at transforming the cultural landscape. As such, the route represents a particular approach to South African public history, strongly focused on a narrative of opposition to racial segregation and apartheid. The thesis provides a detailed analysis of the exhibitions found at the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary. I discuss the overall dominance of biographical narration—featuring the lives and achievements of mission-educated Africans and in which Gandhi is also presented as an important figure. I consider the implications of a biographical mode in which narratives are firstly, about male leaders from Inanda's community of mission-educated Africans, and secondly, strongly focused on the early history of the African National Congress and the 'road to democracy' in South Africa. The thesis considers the implications of this narrow focus and the histories that have been excluded from this official and public representation of the history of Inanda.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on three sites of historical significance that form part of the Inanda Heritage Route. Officially launched in 2010, the route claims to incorporate some of the most important historical sites in the greater Durban area. Inanda is located to the north of the city of Durban and forms part of the eThekwini Municipality. According to one official description, this heritage route provides '…a snapshot of critical South African history as well as, perhaps surprisingly, India's past.'[1] Advertised as a major tourist attraction, the route has come to be associated with the isiZulu phrase 'Woza eNanda' ('Come to Inanda').[2] As a case study of the route, my thesis focuses on three locations that have been incorporated into it as heritage sites: the Phoenix Settlement where the reconstructed 'Mahatma Gandhi house' is situated, the Ohlange Institute and the Inanda Seminary. The first site that visitors typically encounter along the route is the Phoenix Settlement, which celebrates Gandhi's life and includes an exhibition that introduces them to history considered relevant to other parts of Inanda. The second site is Ohlange Institute, founded by John and Nokuthela Dube as an industrial school for Africans. The third is Inanda Seminary, established by Daniel and Lucy Lindley as a school for African girls in 1869.

My interest in the public history of Inanda grew out of my studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in the Programme of Culture and Heritage Tourism, which included an Inanda Outreach Project. I got involved in this project in 2012 as part of my undergraduate studies. As a resident of Inanda and raised in the area, my motivation was further stimulated. The outreach project launched an interactive community website, eNanda Online, which

[1] 'Vibrant culture: Inanda heritage route,' SA Tourism, accessed 17 January 2022, https://www.southafrica.net/gl/en/travel/article/inanda-heritage-route.
[2] https://www.instagram.com/wozaenanda/?hl=en, accessed 9 September 2022.

served as a bilingual (isiZulu and English) digital archive. In 2013, I was recruited to work on the content of eNanda Online. My role included writing about my experiences of the cultural activities practised in Inanda. I also presented short histories of Inanda, provided translation services and represented the website on the local community radio station (Inanda FM). I was doing my internship at the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre at Inanda Seminary when I started research for this Master's thesis. The centre incorporates a museum with artefacts chosen to represent the history of the school. The centre is the only institution on the route with an archive. This archival collection includes records pertaining to the seminary's history, its staff and students, dating back to the early 1900s. It also keeps journals, research papers, newspaper cuttings and books on general Natal and Zululand history. This includes material relevant to the history of the American Board Mission (which founded Inanda Seminary) and mission stations in Inanda more generally. Inanda Seminary taught me about the fundamental roles played by women in society. It inspired me to acquire more knowledge not only about this but also the way in which education enabled women to be active in the public sphere. It also inspired me to learn more about histories that are not widely represented on the route but form part of Inanda's past.

Working on eNanda Online and at the centre, I observed a lack of available histories about women who had been community leaders in Inanda over the years, and that the public narratives presented as part of the route hardly mentioned women. Driving along the route, one observes large photographs of historical figures on banners that mark the route. These are all photographs of men. Annual commemorative events held in Inanda mostly honour men. My interest in women's history and questions of gender grew as I noted these differences between the representations of women and men. I also noticed a specific emphasis in the overall representation of the public histories of Inanda: the primary focus along the route is on the lives of male leaders associated with the African National Congress (ANC) who were

active in the early 20th century. The most famous of these is Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as tourists encounter a display about his visit on 27 April 1994, the day of South Africa's first democratic election.

An overview of Inanda

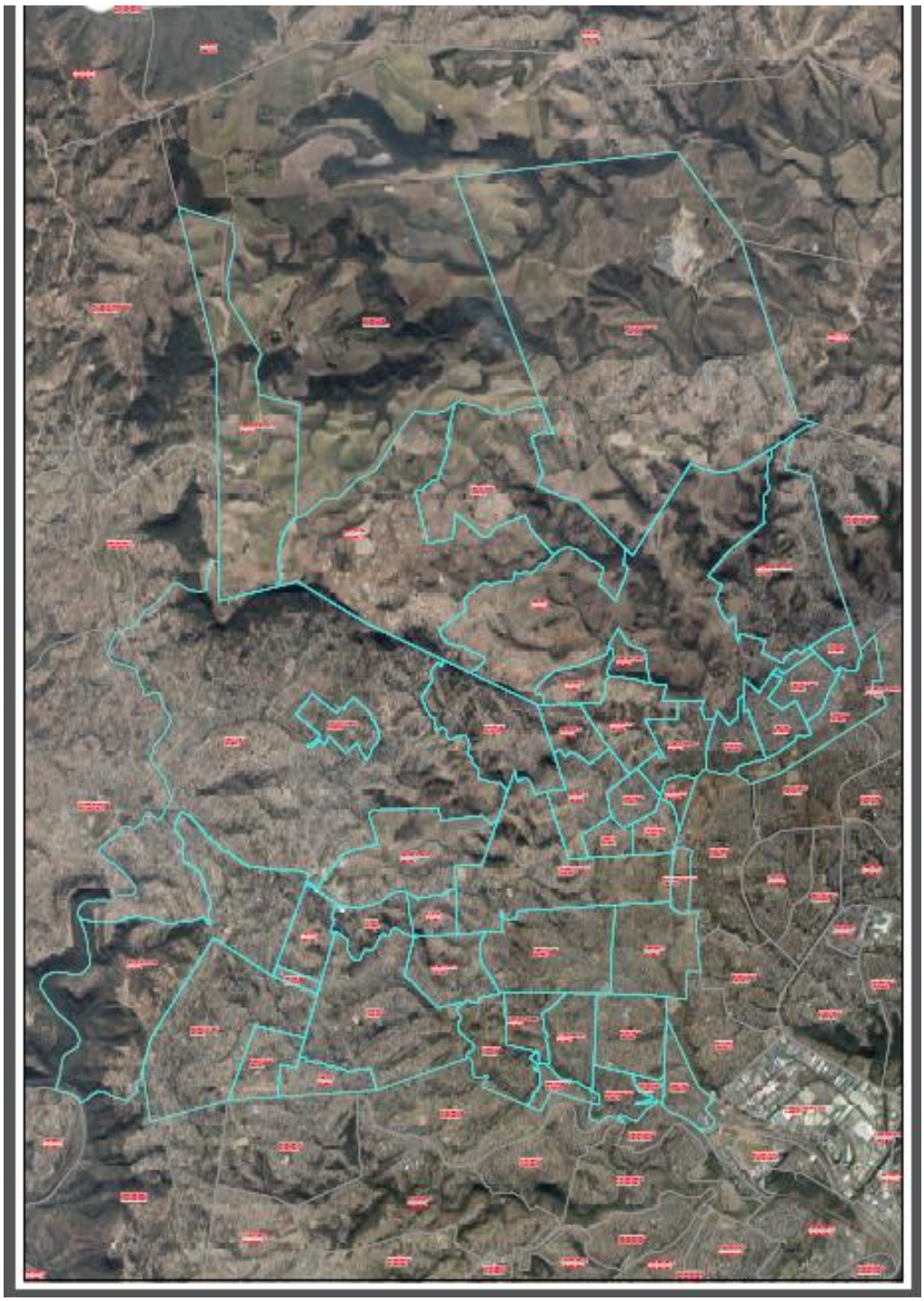

Figure 1. A map of the Inanda area provided by the municipality in April 2022. The areas

marked in blue are officially recognised as Inanda. Areas such as Matebetule, which is just outside those boundaries, use the Inanda address.

Source: eThekwini Municipality, Spatial Database, Geographic Information System Department

The Inanda Heritage Route winds its way through a section of Inanda to the north-west of Durban in the eThekwini municipality. Census 2011 estimated Inanda's population at 158 619 with approximately 39 105 households.[3] It is dominated by isiZulu-speaking Africans. For many decades, a significant number of Indians also lived in the area. That changed in 1985 when many of these residents fled to neighbouring areas such as Phoenix and Avoca due to violent conflict.[4] There are various neighbourhoods that fall under Inanda. Bester, Stop 8 and Bhambayi were previously dominated by informal settlements, but houses under the Reconstruction and Development Programme were built from the late 1990s. The townships of Inanda Newtown (sections A, B and C) were built in the 1980s. Inanda Glebe was built in the 1990s, predominately for black professionals such as teachers and nurses. Amaoti, Ohlange, Ngoqokazi, Congo and eMatikwe formerly consisted of farms, then were dominated by family homes for decades, until formal township housing was built. Namibia is also one of the areas that had farms but now also has informal housing. Phola Mission, Engcongcweni, uMzinyathi (Matabetule/Mananza), Eskhebheni, eTafuleni and eMachobeni fall under the Qadi Traditional Authority, but are located close to areas classified as townships. In these areas people obtained permission to occupy from the Qadi office and built their own houses. These areas all use the Inanda address. Inanda Dam, eBuhleni and Inanda Mountain are also located in uMzinyathi and are formally regarded as part of Inanda—and indeed as attractions on the heritage route.

[3] 'Census 2011', Adrian Frith, accessed 17 January 2022. https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/599037.
[4] The history of Indians and Africans in Inanda will be briefly discussed later in this chapter.

A brief history of Inanda: from the pre-colonial era to the present day

Tracing the history of Inanda means tapping into the history of the Qadi chiefdom of the Ngcobo. The Qadi were known as a people who could take care of their cattle and work the land. Their settlement in the uMzinyathi River valley provided security as the land was fertile so they could grow crops and own cattle.[5] It has been argued that the early Qadi people moved to the area due to conflict in the Zulu kingdom. That conflict is linked to what is known as the Mfecane—the focus of much controversy between historians.[6] Following the assassination of King Shaka Zulu, his brother Dingane became king. It is believed that King Dingane got rid of people who were allies of King Shaka as he saw them as a threat. The Qadi were indeed allied to King Shaka and their chief, Dube Ngcobo, grandfather to John Langalibalele Dube, was killed. As a result, in the late 1830s the Qadi fled to what would soon be proclaimed as the British Colony of Natal. They settled in the area that came to be known as Inanda as well as in neighbouring areas.[7]

According to Hughes it was in 1847 that the Inanda location was formally established.[8] Hughes notes that it '…shared a border with the farm Inanda…' and the land '… between the location and the sea – some 180 square miles – was known as the Inanda division of Victoria Country…' and it later became Natal's sugar industry centre.[9] In the early 20th century**,** it fell under the jurisdiction of the colonial government. It consisted of mainly dispersed tribal

[5] E. A. Jackson, 'Four Women, Four Chiefships: Case Studies in the Divergent Choices and Negotiations with Power of Amakhosikazi in Nineteenth-Century Natal' (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014), 74.
[6] See C. Hamilton and J. Wright, 'The Making of the *Amalala*: Ethnicity, Ideology and Relations of Subordination in a Precolonial Context', *South African Historical Journal*, 22 (1990), 3-23.
[7] A. Wood, *Shine Where You Are: A Centenary History of Inanda Seminary 1869-1970* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1972), 3.
[8] H. Hughes, 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13. 3 (1987), 331-354, 335.
[9] Hughes, 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 335.

homesteads and agricultural land.[10]

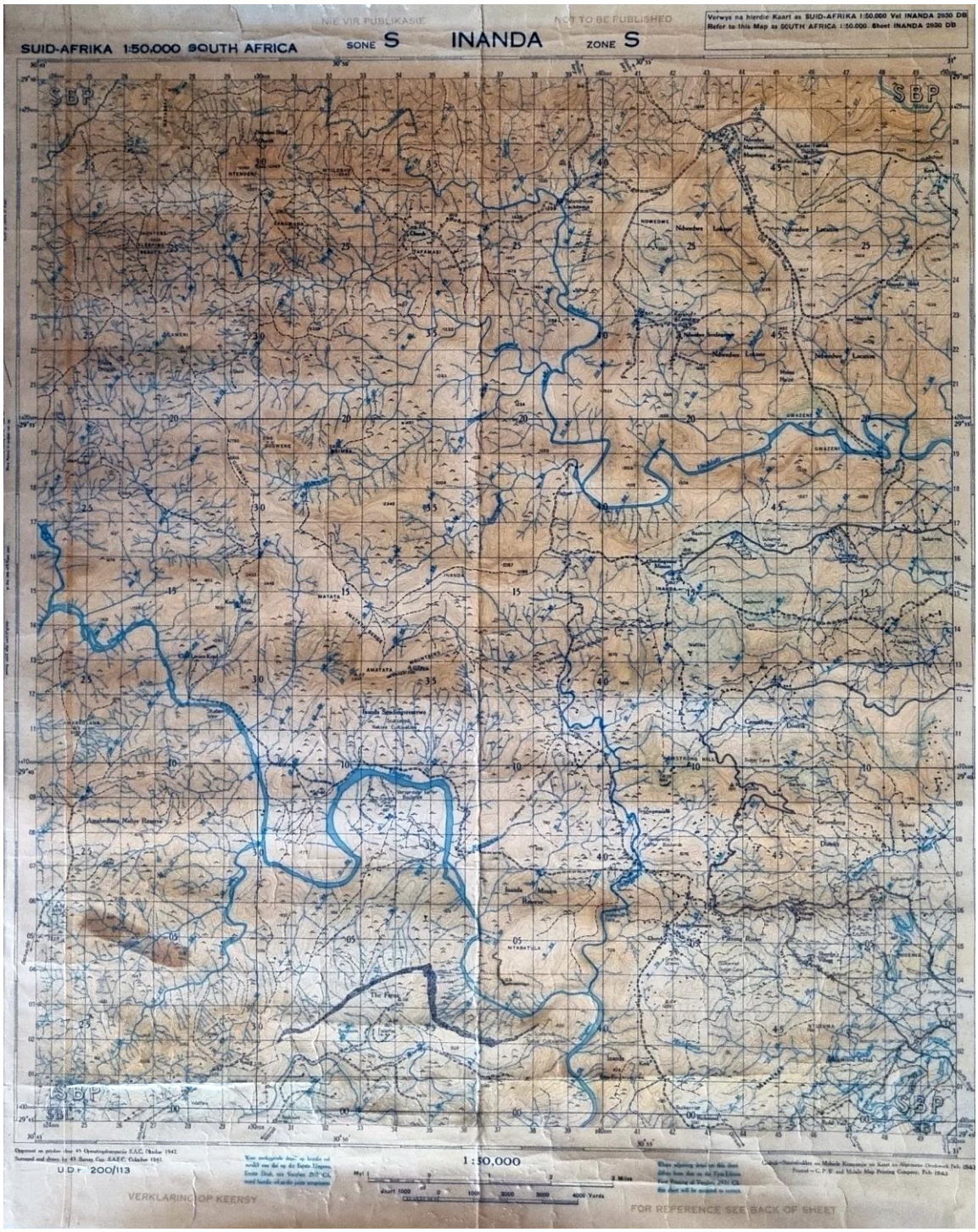

Figure 2. A map of Inanda dated February 1943 before the townships were built. Huts and sugarcane fields are evident.

[10] This is according to an undated document entitled *A Brief Historical, Religious and Cultural Background*, 28. The document is based on research commissioned by eThekwini Municipality. Sourced at eThekwini Municipality archives, City Administration Department.

Source: Durban Local History Museums; Bergtheil Museum

Hughes writes that '[t]he approximately 350 000 Africans residing in the Colony in the mid-19th century still had enough access to land not to be tempted by the wages or type of work in sugar.'[11] As a result, the colonial government looked for other means to get labour to work on sugar-cane farms and turned to its colony in Southeast Asia. The first Indians to arrive in South Africa came by ship to the colony of Natal on 16 October 1860 as indentured labourers. This was as part of an agreement between the rulers of both colonies, and it started as a five-year contract. Indians came in two main groups. Indentured labourers were recruited to work on the sugar-cane farms. As regards the second group of Indians, many were traders who paid for their own passage to the colony of Natal and were referred to as 'passengers'.[12] The arrival of Gandhi in Natal can be partly explained by the increase in Indian traders.[13]

Between 1846 and 1910, people of Southeast Asian extraction settled in Inanda after completing their period of indenture.[14] In the mid-1860s, some African residents were displaced by Indian workers.[15] Hughes writes that '[a]s early as 1866, large parts of some farms in Inanda, such as Riet Rivier and Groeneberg, were leased to small-scale Indian growers'.[16] The land was in the hands of white individuals and corporates. Hughes adds that '[i]n Inanda, and probably elsewhere on the coast, Indians were charged per acre, whereas Africans were charged per hut. It was customary to charge Africans an annually increasing amount per hut; Indians on the other hand were charged fifteen shillings to £1 per acre for a

[11] H. Hughes, 'The Coolies will Elbow us out of the Country: African Reactions to Indian Immigration in the Colony of Natal, South Africa', *Labour History Review,* 72. 2 (2007), 155-168, 156-157.
[12] G. Vahed, 'Family, Gender, and Mobility among Passenger Migrants into Colonial Natal: The Story of Moosa Hajee Cassim (c.1840s-1921)', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 42. 3 (2016), 505-522, 508.
[13] Ibid., 512.
[14] eThekwini Municipality, 'A Brief Historical, Religious and Cultural Background', 8.
[15] Hughes, 'The Coolies will Elbow us out of the Country', 158.
[16] Ibid., 159.

fixed number of years.'[17] As time progressed, Indians were able to purchase land. From the late 1890s, there were extensive purchases of land by Indians.[18] The Native Land Act of 1913 negatively affected Africans as it prohibited them from buying land in areas proclaimed as reserves. Indians were unaffected by this Act and continued to purchase land, which gave them security that Africans lacked.[19]

In the 1930s the country faced an economic depression which impacted on land use in Inanda. As a result, agricultural activities decreased and landowners in Inanda looked for other means of raising income such as leasing land and buildings to tenants, a practice that resulted in an increase in the population.[20] In 1936, ownership in the area was set to change due to the introduction of the Bantu Trust and Land Act. Inanda was declared a 'Released Area 33' for exclusive occupation by Africans, thus making it more difficult for Indians to buy land. However, '…Inanda was one of the few areas in apartheid South Africa in which Indians and Africans were able to acquire freehold land alongside one another.'[21] The 1936 Land Act reserved numerous local farms as Released Area 33 and 34 which would eventually be acquired by government. Inanda '…retained this ambiguous "released" status; the Verulam Magistrate Court being thus established as a temporary authority.'[22]

Influx control and forced removals in other parts of Durban led to an increase in settlement in Inanda. This stemmed from the Group Areas Act of 1950, which implemented racially segregated development. Loftus and Lumsden explain how '…formal dwellings in parts of Inanda were built during the apartheid-era as part of its planning for dormitory-style townships and those who could not get housing in KwaMashu moved to informal settlements

[17] Ibid., 160.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] eThekwini Municipality, 'A Brief Historical, Religious and Cultural Background', 28.
[21] A. Loftus and F. Lumsden, 'Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33. 1 (2008), 109-126, 113.
[22] Hughes, 1990, cited in Loftus and Lumsden, 'Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape', 113.

in Inanda, from 1958'.[23] A residents' association, later renamed a landowners' association, was formed by the end of the 1970s to put pressure on government to provide basic services in Inanda, with limited success.[24] In 1982 there was an outbreak of cholera due to poor living conditions and a lack of clean water. It was only in 1984 that piped water was eventually provided to parts of Inanda. This was also the period in which townships such as Inanda Newtown A where built. Initially the area had tents but later four-roomed houses were built. In 1985 violence broke out between Indians and Africans in Inanda, and Africans forced Indians to vacate the area. The violence was mainly in the Bhambayi area and directly affected the Phoenix Settlement as some of its buildings were destroyed.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, a state of emergency led to human rights violations and increased political activism in South Africa. The period was marked by the rise of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, and in February 1990, the unbanning of the ANC. Youth in Inanda, as in other townships and nearby areas, organised themselves and joined political movements. One such group was the comrades' movement, who saw themselves as '…a generation born to struggle, dedicated to building the ANC inside the country, the soldiers of the revolution.'[25] At the time the IFP had control over the townships in the area. The older generation still recalls some of the ways in which the party exercised this power. Residents needed to have Inkatha membership to receive services such as housing, and the IFP was able to influence what was taught in schools.

Hemson compares the comrades' movement of Inanda to the youth of 1976 in that neither believed in traditional methods of resistance but developed its own. The comrades' slogans 'Forward with the spirit of No Surrender' and 'No Compromise with the Freedom Charter'

[23] Loftus and Lumsden, 'Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape',113.
[24] Ibid.
[25] D. Hemson, '"For Sure You are Going to Die!": Political Participation and the Comrade Movement in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal', *Social Dynamics,* 22. 2 (1996), 74-104, 78.

demonstrated their radicalism.[26] Hemson writes that '…in Inanda, youth leadership ha[d] developed through the various phases of crystallisation of a movement, through conflict, exile, regrouping, victory, consolidation, fragmentation and opposition to the official leadership relying almost entirely on its own abilities.'[27] These youths were 'decisive in changing the political character of the area from that of Zulu traditionalism and patriarchal order to that of the liberatory aims of the Congress movement'.[28] As a result, some of the youth were exiled from Inanda after the violence in 1984.[29]

Hemson also comments on women's involvement: 'The position of women in the conflict demonstrates the complexity of gender and community relationships.'[30] Inkatha boasted a strong women's league (daughters and wives of leaders). Meanwhile, wives and girlfriends of people in other movements helped with communication by relaying information about possible attacks.[31]

Inkatha was defeated in Inanda Newtown C and Ezimangweni in 1989 and as a result some of its members moved over to the Congress movement.[32] In describing the comrades' movement, Hemson says: 'The leadership of the Inanda comrades came up with an ingenious and apparently unique solution to the problem of developing a self-defence organisation, enlarging the concept of using marshals to control mass meetings to embrace the idea of a "people's militia".'[33]

In the early 1990s, the comrades in Inanda were in conflict with the ANC leadership yet in

[26] Ibid., 79.
[27] Ibid., 80.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, 82.
[31] Ibid, 83.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

1991 it was decided that they should become an organ of the ANC.[34] After some marshals were arrested, the local ANC seemed inclined to help: 'In February 1992, a campaign to secure the release of imprisoned marshals was launched with the support of the ANC interim structure in Inanda Newtown C Extension, the ANC Youth League [ANCYL] interim structure, representatives of the families, women, marshals, and *Congress Militant*,'[35] writes Hemson. However, the ANC leadership did not support the campaign and it was left to the Congress of South African Trade Unions, other civil society groups and the ANC in other areas to get the marshals out on bail and acquitted.[36] By 1993 the marshal movement came to an end and 'ANC branches were increasingly dominated by an older generation of leadership'.[37] The Bhambayi area became the centre of ANC activities in Inanda, especially for marches and rallies. It was the first area in Inanda to be freed from Inkatha.[38] However, preparing for the 1994 elections was challenging and it was feared that the Inkatha Freedom Party would make it difficult for people to vote. It is believed that Mandela voted in Inanda to show residents that they were free to vote there.

Early plans for the promotion of tourism and public heritage in Inanda

It was after the 1994 democratic elections and in the context of new efforts by different tiers of government to promote economic development in Inanda that plans for public history were initiated. The Inanda Development Forum (IDF) was launched in March 1994. This initiative brought together various pre-existing organisations, namely, the Inanda Civic Association, the Inanda Land Owners' Association, the Durban City Council (which was in the process of being transformed into the eThekwini Municipality) and the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial

[34] Ibid., 92.
[35] Ibid., 93.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 94.

Administration.[39] According to a Durban Council report, the role of the IDF was to co-ordinate various initiatives, to facilitate planning and to ensure community involvement.[40] The eThekwini Municipality was officially established in 2000.

Plans for the Inanda Heritage Route were prompted by a mandate from national government to transform tourism and public heritage in South Africa. Different structures of local government were assigned projects that would contribute to the national mandate. The Economic Development Department of eThekwini Municipality was at the forefront of this project in the initial phases. A committee headed by this department was formed in 1996. It looked at ways of encouraging tourism development in communities and of growing the local economy. It included community representatives, academics and representatives from other municipal departments. It seems that efforts to promote economic development of dormitory-style townships and black neighbourhoods in the greater Durban area soon included ideas for the development of tourism.

An Inanda Tourism Development Business Plan dated February 1999 provides useful information about how the route was constructed and what it would focus on. This document was prepared for Tourism Durban and the Inanda Development Forum by Anne Vaughan and Fikiswa Pupuma of McIntosh, Xaba and Associates, together with academics Heather Hughes, Melinda McCann and Duncan Stewart. The executive summary of the business plan states that:

> The plan represented a practical approach and specific vision for tourism development. Firstly, tourism was to be used as a means for creating 'self-sustaining local economic development'. Secondly, it was to 'empower the community to take advantage of the opportunities' that would emerge through tourism development. The third aspect of the approach was to integrate the

[39] Director, City Administration, Central Transitional Metropolitan Substructure Council. *The Inanda Development Forum (IDF): A Motivation for Local Government Support and Involvement (2/7/3)* (eThekwini, 2017).
[40] Ibid.

> Inanda Tourism Project into an overall public framework for development, and into the tourism industry.[41]

The sites listed in the business plan are the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institution, Inanda Seminary and Ebuhleni (a branch of the Nazareth Baptist Church). These sites were chosen for their historical significance, for the perception that they had produced leaders who were internationally recognised and were of interest and accessible to visitors.[42] The plan states that spatial planning for Inanda was founded on the Inanda Development Framework as completed in 1995 and the Inanda Structure Plan as drawn up in 1997. This was also the period when new heritage sites were being planned all over the country. Policy development was taking place together with the formation of various government structures that were meant to implement plans with regards to the new heritage sites being proposed.

The plan for tourism in Inanda gives details about how far the three institutions needed to be revamped for them to be ready for visitors. Besides identifying tourism as a major economic opportunity, the plan details constraints such as poor infrastructure and divisions within the community. Local economic development is emphasised throughout the plan. Inanda was said to have the potential to contribute to local economic development through local tourism development. The plan proposes ways of overcoming constraints and unlocking opportunities. Inanda is put forward as an area that should be developed as a tourism product to be launched and marketed. At the end of the document there is a detailed description of each site and information for tour guides prepared by Hughes.

As part of the initial planning for the route, an oral history project was initiated in Inanda. Oral history interviews were recorded and the local chief was one of the interviewees. However, the recordings and transcripts were not placed in a publicly available archive, and I

[41] A. Vaughan and F. Pupuma, *Inanda Tourism Development Business Plan* (McIntosh, Xaba and Associates, 1999), 56.
[42] Ibid., 57.

was not able to trace them. The history of the construction of the route was also not systematically archived and it has been a challenge to obtain it.

The IDF and an initiative called the Inanda Newtown Skills Development Project were conceptualised as vehicles for local economic empowerment. It was difficult to establish exactly when and how tourist and public heritage initiatives were incorporated into the plans because I was not able to locate relevant documents such as the minutes of meetings that specifically dealt with the establishment of the Inanda Heritage Route. However, Durban City Council/eThekwini municipal minutes from 1998, 1999 and 2004 suggest that an overall emphasis on the need to improve the local economy of townships included ideas for the introduction of tourist destinations in black residential areas. Also encouraged were initiatives for black residents to be involved in the tourist industry as a way of redressing past imbalances of heritage and dominant public history. By the time the route was formed, it fell under Durban Tourism. This remains the case, but the Durban Local History Museums division of the Department of Libraries and Heritage is also significantly involved in its operations.

The Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary were recognised and opened as heritage institutions in 1999 and the route was officially launched in 2010. The Inanda Community Tourism Board was formed around 2003, along with other community tourism organisations, to encourage and support the development of tourism in Inanda. The board included descendants of prominent ANC leaders as well as officials working at historical sites that formed part of the route and people in tourism businesses. The board reported to Durban Tourism and the municipality had an annual budget to support tourism initiatives in the area.

In the early 2000s Inanda was grouped with Ntuzuma and KwaMashu to make up the INK

area. This was designated for special development projects and investments as part of a presidential initiative. As regards eThekwini Municipality plans for development projects, the three townships have been viewed as a single administrative unit, and councillors are responsible for wards that cut across them. Under apartheid, the townships designated as residential areas for Africans were almost entirely left out of any idea of heritage, public history or tourism initiatives, particularly those funded by the state. However, when decisions were made to incorporate township tourism in the democratic dispensation, Inanda was not excluded. Township tourism routes were developed to expose black people to tourism, to recognise previously neglected heritage and to benefit black communities economically. This was guided by national legislation such as the National Heritage Act of 1999 and the 1996 *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*. Inanda was included not only because it is a township but mainly because of its history. While most township tours focus on township lifestyle and entertainment spots, the heritage route in Inanda is strongly associated with the history of liberation politics, mission education and *amakholwa*.[43]

Academic research about the Inanda Heritage Route

Almost no academic studies of the route exist apart from Sabine Marschall's journal articles and three Master's theses that focus on tourism development.[44] Marschall emphasises perceptions and attitudes of local people towards tourism and heritage conservation. She

[43] The term *amakholwa* can be directly translated as 'believers'. However, it has been used by historians to refer to a community of black Christian converts who focused on education and missionary work rather than on African traditions. This community represented the wider black community in politics and education, and negotiated for better living conditions for black people. They were in a position to do so because they had learned the colonial language and way of life so had better access to spaces where colonists operated. *Amakholwa* believed that democracy could be achieved through education and passive resistance.

[44] S. Marschall, 'Sustainable Heritage Tourism: The Inanda Heritage Route and the 2010 FIFA World Cup', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20. 5 (2012), 721-736; S. Marschall, 'Woza eNanda: Perceptions of and Attitudes towards Heritage and Tourism in a South African Township', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 83 (2013), 32-55; S. Ncube, 'Examining the Role of Community Based Tourism as a Local Economic Development Tool' (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013); S. Myeni, 'The Role of Tour Operators in Promoting Township Tourism: A Case Study of Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal' (Master's thesis, Durban University of Technology, 2018); N. Sammons, 'The Gateway to Inanda: Towards the Design of an Interpretation Centre for the Inanda Heritage Route and the Development of a Heritage Precinct' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2007).

writes that: 'The IHR development was seen as a crucial mechanism for diversifying the economy, while simultaneously enhancing social coherence and community pride.'[45] She concludes: 'By celebrating the heritage of the black majority, the IHR plays an important role in the transformation of the South African heritage sector from its long legacy of focusing on the history and achievements of the white minority.'[46] In a subsequent paper, Marschall emphasises the potential of young people to boost tourism in the area. She provides examples of how they can play a role by raising awareness about tourism.[47] Her focus is on the opportunities that heritage can provide in Inanda and how locals are responding.

Marschall did not, however, present a critical perspective on the way in which history and heritage are constructed. She does not examine the portrayal on the route of the histories of *amakholwa*, the early 20th century, mission-educated African elite. Neither does she discuss the lack of attention paid to pre-colonial and apartheid histories. Her studies do not contain a critical analysis of the representation, in terms of nationalist discourse and gender issues, of public history in the context of this route. In her study of the route, she neglects to discuss how and why nation building is encouraged through the repackaging of historical heritage sites. There is, in fact, an overall lack of academic studies that consider the question of gender, the representation of *amakholwa*, and critical analysis of the representation of public history on the route and its emphasis on nation building. My study therefore seeks to contribute a detailed critical analysis, focused on the question of gender as part of a more general analysis of how the history of Inanda is represented on the route. As part of this, I explore what histories have been 'hidden', left out or indeed suppressed.

It is also imperative to consider the politics of post-apartheid heritage initiatives in a broader

[45] Marschall, 'Sustainable Heritage Tourism, 724.
[46] Ibid., 733.
[47] Marschall, 'Woza eNanda', 33.

sense as this route is itself an important post-apartheid heritage initiative. Annie Coombes, in her book entitled *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, studied the representation of the past while aiming at highlighting developments in debates that were emerging on South African public history.[48] The book, which contains several case studies, traces the development of South African museums and the heritage sector. Special attention is paid to the way in which the past is remembered and presented to the public. Coombes also refers to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a way in which a painful past was dealt with and as a healing strategy for a troubled nation.[49] This was one way in which South Africans told stories about the past and remembered its harsh realities. Coombes argues that '…such past raises particular questions about its representation in the present and about forms of representations that can adequately act as an insurance against the amnesia of future generations…'[50] Coombes expressed that '… some of the key concerns emerging from the debates on how to effect progressive transformation of heritage sites and museum focus on redressing perceived imbalances' some of the strategies she identified '… include challenging the often exclusive focus on white settler histories… and illuminating precolonial histories, as well as later liberation struggles and conflicts.'[51]

According to Ciraj Rassool, '[c]onventional biography also entered the landscape of national heritage and symbolic topography in the form of sites or memory that seek to create ties of belonging for national subjects.'[52] These biographies are masculinist, centred on the heroism of men and their exemplary lives. This representation is also evident on the Inanda Heritage

[48] A. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 6.
[49] Ibid., 8.
[50] Ibid.,10.
[51] Ibid., 206.
[52] C. Rassool, 'The Individual and Auto/Biography and History in South Africa' (PhD thesis, University of Western Cape, 2004), 51.

Route. Rassool argues that '…the most challenging approaches to biography in the realm of public history have emerged in a number of museum exhibitions curated in the 1990s, through which issues about the relationship between biography and image making and lives as cultural productions have been explored.'[53] Colonial narratives were masculine—and in the democratic era that narrative did not completely change and was not challenged effectively. What did change was the addition of black male leaders in museums. They are appreciated for their heroism in fighting against the evils of apartheid, standing up for the nation and winning the battle. Rassool observes: 'These biographies of "great political lives", in which individual public action is abstracted, tend to follow a fairly conventional pattern of chronological narrative with a sustained focus on the public political career.'[54]

Rassool explores biographies in public memory and discusses how political leaders have been placed on a pedestal in public commemorations through various platforms. This phenomenon is not limited to South Africa; it is also found in countries where leaders who negotiated and mobilised people for political transformation have been honoured as national heroes at memorial sites. Examples are the images of Martin Luther King Jr in the United States (US) and Che Guevara in Cuba—both of whom stood for heroic resistance.[55] Guevara's image has been used to represent the face of the Cuban revolution and it appears almost everywhere in Cuba. I saw this for myself in 2016 when I toured the city of La Habana (Havana**):** Guevara is the face of the Cuban Revolution; his image is painted on public buildings; it features in museum exhibitions and is printed on clothing. In almost every street, one can find something bearing Guevara's face. Rassool argues that '…the public sphere has been an arena for the circulation of conventional methods of narration of lives as lessons on leadership, in which

[53] Ibid., 50
[54] Ibid., 54.
[55] Ibid., 85-96.

biography has featured as a discourse of power through which historical events are explained through individual causes.'[56]

Rassool has also studied the dominant representations in heritage institutions that have placed at the forefront biographies of 'exemplary' leadership and narratives relating to struggle histories and the road to democracy. Rassool, in the article 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', argues that heritage in South Africa is '…an assemblage of arenas and activities of history-making.'[57] Leaders' contribution to democracy became central, and their homes were marked as monuments and sites of historical significance. Rassool observes that in the process of reconstructing and repackaging South African heritage, there has been a focus on biographic memorials dominated by nationalist discourse. Likewise, the Inanda Heritage Route is dominated by a focus on the biographies of a few male national heroes. Heritage reconstruction in post-apartheid South Africa has also been dominated by symbolic expressions of the themes of struggle, democracy and nation building, victims of the struggle, history of the struggle, and pre-colonial history. Biography has taken lead in the public domain in terms of how the past is negotiated. It has been a central feature of stories of resistance and reconciliation, recovered as the basis for nation building in the new South Africa.

Heritage in post-apartheid South Africa has often been characterised by 'authentic' cultural experiences and the role of leaders in achieving democracy. The 'authentic' cultural experience has been used in slogans and to market tourist routes. Townships have been marketed as places of living cultures, incorporating entertainment spots. These tourism packages offer exploration of different cultures and what has been termed 'hidden heritage'.[58]

[56] Ibid., 106.
[57] C. Rassool, 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 26. 1 (2000), 1-21, 5.
[58] Ibid., 6.

The Inanda route does have an element of a cultural experience in that tourists can visit Shembe sites as well as eateries that offer a taste of township life. This aspect, however, is not of focus in this study.

Rassool concludes that '…historians who have chosen to regard "heritage" as an inferior domain have not understood the changing nature of the field.'[59] He says the reconstruction of heritage was thought about as part of making a new nation, of getting people to think of themselves as part of a multicultural nation.[60] My thesis considers the dominant representations of Inanda's past as well as how the exhibitions on the route have been designed to single out certain figures and periods of history. I discuss how the biographical approach has been configured on the route and consider alternatives to how Inanda's past could be presented. Rassool does not focus in any detail on the gender politics of the dominant biographical mode of public history in South Africa. A question that I seek to explore here is what representation of female leadership could feature as part of the alternative public histories of Inanda.

The thesis comprises three chapters. Chapter 1 is a critical analysis of the exhibitions at the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary. It offers a detailed description of the content of these museums as found in the displays. As part of this, I consider how the histories presented there compare with available historical scholarship on Inanda. The chapter questions what aspects of the past are currently represented at the three heritage institutions selected for this study and some of the contributing factors behind this representation. The chapter also examines the strategies of display that have been used to present these histories. It considers how representations can be gendered, and how male leadership is represented in

[59] Ibid, 21.
[60] Ibid.

relation to female leadership.

Chapter 2 focuses on the choices made in the depiction of Inanda's public heritage. The chapter focuses on the 'visible' histories on the route and the use of biographical histories that form part of it. The chapter offers a critical analysis of biographical approaches in public history and on the ways in which the figures represented on the route have been studied by different scholars. The use of biographic monuments is one way of representing the history and heritage of a place. Chapter 2 examines the choices made in the creation of public histories of Inanda. Scholarly research on public figures is compared to the way they are represented on the route. The chapter looks at the way in which biographies have been used and the modes of biographical research that scholars have undertaken. The chapter examines biographical research conducted in post-apartheid South Africa as well as recent debates in the field of biography. It also considers missionary heritage as it forms an important part of the route.

Chapter 3 offers a critical analysis of silences and hidden histories. Inanda's recent history includes periods of political violence that are largely absent from commemoration. When elderly people talk about Inanda's past, they often come back to the traumatic upheaval of the 1980s. However, these events are hardly mentioned on the route. There is also a gap in terms of any depiction of the way in which political violence and political activities affected the area during apartheid. To explore this, I draw on Hughes's study of the violence in Inanda in 1985. The representation of the history of ordinary people rather leadership alone can be interesting. This chapter focuses on aspects of the past that are not represented on the route and engages with literature about Inanda that has been omitted from the route. These themes include precolonial histories, female leadership and apartheid histories. I also engage with alternative ways of representing heritage. This study critically analyses how the route is represented, how men are represented in the light of a de-emphasis on women, and other

ways in which the history of Inanda could be communicated to the public. In this chapter, I consider alternatives to the biographical mode and the dominant African nationalist narrative and question the historiographic possibilities.

CHAPTER 1

A descriptive analysis of three major heritage sites on the Inanda Heritage Route

Introduction

This chapter focuses on three heritage sites that form part of the Inanda Heritage Route, namely, the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary. I provide a detailed description of exhibitions and museum content.

Sabine Marschall studied post-apartheid heritage initiatives prior to her research on Inanda. She observed how 'the role that memory and its public representation play in the processes of nation building and identity construction in post-apartheid South Africa has increasingly become the subject of academic engagement'.[61] According to Marschall, 'Many authors highlight the contradictions and tensions associated with the project of nation building through such representations of the past.'[62] Forums such as the media and public commemorative events have been used to present public memory and identity creation. Public heritage has been another one of the main forms of identity creation and a way of forging collective memory in efforts to encourage nation building. Marschall refers to Annie Coombes's argument that '…the visual and material manifestations of new public histories are both produced by and effectively inform changing definitions of "community" and "nation" during periods of political transition'.[63] Marschall adds that:

> In my observation, the visual and material manifestations of the past in public commemorative monuments are not produced primarily by 'communities' but rather by local, provincial or national government authorities on behalf of 'the people'. Even in cases where monuments and statues are initiated privately,

[61] S. Marschall, 'Commemorating "Struggle Heroes": Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 12. 2 (2006), 176-193, 181.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Coombes cited in Marschall, 'Commemorating "Struggle Heroes"', 181.

> the state often quickly comes to the party in support and sometimes appropriation of the project. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many people across the racial spectrum believe building monuments and setting up statues is really about pleasing the electorate and catching votes.[64]

Similarly, on the route under study in this thesis, projects have been initiated and led by the state. This is evident from the way in which the tour is conducted as well as the focus of the exhibitions, factors which will be discussed in this chapter. I will describe the visual and material manifestations of the past, created as part of the museums on the Inanda Heritage Route. Methodologies informing this analysis will be drawn from Corinne Kratz's study 'Rhetorics of Value' as well as her book, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition.* Scholars have studied heritage projects and features of heritage tourism in the democratic South Africa; I will make use of some of these studies to contextualise the representation of the route in this era.

Approaches to studying exhibitions

Kratz quotes MacDonald and Silverstone who say that '[s]urprisingly, there have been few systematic attempts to examine precisely how identities are shaped and produced through exhibitions and the form of visitor interactions this would imply.'[65] However, Kratz is able to outline analytical methods and approaches for studying museum exhibitions with the purpose of examining the way in which identities are shaped and the implications of this for visitors. Kratz notes the importance of describing museum content and related domains when trying to specify cultural values projected by exhibitions.[66] Kratz explains: 'While it may be hard to specify their particular contributions in terms of descriptive content, they help shape an exhibition's tone, mood, and general effect and might influence visitors' orientations and

[64] Marschall, 'Commemorating "Struggle Heroes"', 181-182.
[65] MacDonald and Silverstone, 1990, cited in C. Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value: Constituting Worth and Meaning through Cultural Display', *Visual Anthropology Review,* 27. 1 (2011), 21-48, 21-22.
[66] Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', 23.

receptivity to values and identities associated with and conveyed by an exhibition.'[67] She adds: 'Yet along with thematic, referential content, exhibitions also communicate attitudes and values, whether through features of label text and layout or such details as wall colours, style of display cases, or type of lighting.'[68] These are some of the features that will be considered as part of the detailed description in this chapter of what visitors encounter at the three heritage sites. My analysis will also seek to consider the symbolism used and the kind of message conveyed to visitors. Kratz describes ways of studying exhibitions:

> An exhibition marks a topic worth attention…But it is important to recognize that rhetorics of value thread throughout an exhibition (and even throughout a museum) conveyed in the ways objects are treated and presented, the photographs included and how are they used, through subtle textual details such as adjectival choices, tense, topics addressed, and so forth. Exhibitions present visitors with settings where they can encounter, try out, or debate particular values and ideas, so rhetorics of value also have to do with visitors' own identities, judgments, and perceptions of worth. Taken together, the texts, spatial arrangements, lighting and other design elements through which rhetorics of value are produced comprise particular perspectives and modes of address. Visitors are thus positioned in particular ways as they encounter the fields of value embedded in and presented by exhibitions, though they may not accept the stances suggested.[69]

In examining how rhetorics of value are produced in relation to the frameworks and processes of exhibition communication, the critical media that Kratz considers are lighting and texts. [70] 'Exhibition lighting and texts both have practical aspects and rhetorical aspects…'[71] They convey metacultural messages about exhibitions and contribution of the museum to the processes of exhibiting.[72] Texts pose as important considerations in understanding messages presented to the museum patrons through exhibitions. Some of the factors that play a role in the patron's understanding of an exhibition include the writing style, font and language.[73]

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[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 25.
[69] Ibid., 26.
[70] Ibid., 29-30.
[71] Ibid., 30.
[72] Ibid., 32.
[73] Ibid.

The language and style of writing may also indicate which audiences the exhibition is meant for.

I am studying these exhibitions as a researcher, familiar with the history of Inanda and South Africa as a whole. However, I do so from a particular point of view: in my interpretations of the exhibitions, I will also be looking at these as a member of the local community. According to Kratz, '[e]xhibitions are social processes through which people make cultural meaning; their work is metacultural in that exhibitions explain and comment on culture, history and society…'[74] It is also important to consider that '[w]hat was collected, selected, and exhibited constructs a framework for the representation of people, their culture, their history'[75] Kratz argues, '[r]hetorics of value, then, are simultaneously means for making culture and commenting about culture through exhibition design and representation.'[76] Furthermore, '[v]ariations in labels and font size also indicate different topics or hierarchies of importance. Particular display forms or genres of representation within exhibitions might also evoke their own histories and interpretive conventions.'[77] Kratz further stipulates that '[l]ike lighting, texts and labels help set an exhibition's tone and focus visitors' attention.'[78] In addition such elements embolden what is described as 'directed vision' in specific ways.[79] I will pay attention to what becomes the centre of attention in the exhibitions through the use of lighting and certain texts. Kratz describes the features of exhibitions and explains their roles:

> The words, themes, and narratives of exhibit texts, though, hold special potential to shape rhetorics of value presented and visitors' impressions and understandings. As they convey specific meanings and associations, texts direct the synesthesia of exhibition display toward particular emphases and interpretations. They highlight topics and features as worth attention and select

[74] Ibid., 28.
[75] Meyrs, 2001, cited in Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', 28.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., 34.
[79] Bennett, 1998, cited in Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', 34.

> stories to tell, their importance buttressed by the implicit imprimatur of institutional authority. Exhibition titles, for instance, sometimes result from delicate negotiations between curators, public relations, and marketing managers, seeking an interesting catchphrase to communicate the topic and importance to a broad audience…Section texts and labels offer frameworks and narratives that incorporate and portray a range of values. Labels aim for clarity and focus, but shifts of topic and perspective within and between labels may tellingly incorporate judgments and values.[80]

Murray and Witz, as part of their larger project on the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, examine the photographic exhibition in that museum and the way in which it represents the history of Lwandle. Photographs were collected and used for an exhibition on a national narrative of migrant labour.[81] Murray and Witz discuss how the museum uses photographs from the museum's collections to display as artefacts depicting what happened in historic events.[82] The sequences of photographs have a story to tell about identities and the people represented. In their analysis, Murray and Witz pay attention to the layout and personalised items used by migrant labourers.[83] These aspects convey certain messages and represent particular identities about the people who occupied the Lwandle area. The features noted by Murray and Witz speak to Kratz's concept of rhetorics of value.

To better understand the exhibition and its representation, Murray and Witz trace how the museum was revamped. In turn, I will trace how the heritage route was established and redeveloped. This is intended to contribute to an understanding of how the exhibitions were created and with what intentions. Murray and Witz argue that the photographic exhibition at Lwandle represents the lives of ordinary people.[84] I, too, am interested in the meanings that the exhibitions carry, also as someone who lives in Inanda and grew up there. I question who

[80] Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', 36.
[81] N. Murray and L. Witz, 'Images, Photography and Exhibition', in N. Murray and L. Witz, eds., *Hostels, Homes, Museums: Memorialising Migrant Labour Pasts in Lwandle, South Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2014), 86-117, 86-87.
[82] Ibid., 87.
[83] Ibid., 88.
[84] Ibid., 94

the exhibitions represent, how and for whom.

McGregor and Schumaker point out that:

> The controversy over public representations of the past has fostered a range of self-conscious efforts to create displays and experiences more suited to postcolonial and post-apartheid contexts. Such initiatives can provide insights into postcolonial identity politics, cultures of state power and the configuration of transnational interests and flows of ideas that have, in some contexts, allowed for innovative changes and in others have perpetuated old exclusions and divisions.[85]

They also suggest that '[t]he construction of heritage is intimately linked to identity politics and has a particularly close relationship with nation and stated building projects.'[86] Moreover, '[s]tate-led commemorations of nationalist achievements and struggle histories have been highly selective, liable to elevate ruling party histories and heroes over others, often ignoring unions, youth or women, and dealing with violence selectively or not at all.'[87] This chapter considers whether the Inanda Heritage Route follows this pattern of representing the past.

SITE 1: The Phoenix Settlement

The first heritage site that visitors to the Inanda Heritage Route typically encounter is the Phoenix Settlement. Also referred to as the Gandhi site, it was home to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, well known as Mahatma Gandhi, during most of his 22 years in South Africa. This site is designed to represent Gandhi's time in South Africa, mainly in Durban, as well as the influence he had on people and his sources of inspiration. As the visitor walks or drives up the road leading to this site, the most notable object is a building with the inscription 'International Printing Press founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903'. This building houses a tourism office and used to have a small museum shop where beadwork was

[85] J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, 'Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 32. 4 (2006), 649.
[86] Ibid., 650-651.
[87] Ibid., 655.

displayed for visitors. The museum shop has since been turned into a computer centre where local people can take courses. The signage outside features photographs of Gandhi and his wife Kasturba. The entrance gate to the hall is adjacent to this building. Upon arrival, people on tours of the Inanda Heritage Route are directed to the parking area where they are greeted by a tourism officer or site guide. Adjacent to the parking area is a plaque commemorating Arvol Looking Horse, chief of the Lakota, Nakota and Dakota of North America, who led a 2002 march on World Peace and Prayer Day when people around the world were invited to honour their local 'Sacred Sites'.[88] In South Africa, the march on that day departed from this site and continued to Mount Edgecombe in Phoenix.

The hall at the Phoenix Settlement

The Phoenix Settlement is located off the M25 Curnick Ndlovu Highway (previously the M25 KwaMashu Highway), which is the main road in Inanda and forms part of the main route to the CBD. The site is located just after the exit to the Indian township of Phoenix and due to its location, it is the first site that visitors see. The site is dedicated to the life of Gandhi so when visitors start their tour of the Inanda Heritage Route, they encounter the leader who was an important part of representation of colonial struggle against the British Empire and a proponent of Indian nationalism. This leader has also been incorporated into narratives of resistance to segregation and apartheid in South Africa.

The tourism officer starts by taking visitors to the former community hall at the Phoenix Settlement. Just outside this hall is signage detailing political activities that took place at the settlement. This includes meetings that were held to plan ways of pressurising the apartheid government to release Nelson Mandela.

[88] 'World Peace & Prayer Day,' Wolakota, accessed 17 January 2022, http://www.wolakota.org/wppd.html.

Figure 3. A sculpture of Gandhi in the hall at the Phoenix Settlement.[89]

Inside the hall is a small sculpture fashioned from white stone and surrounded by pebbles. In front of the sculpture is one large and three small candles. The sandalled figure holds a staff in one hand and a book in the other. The candles can be read as representative of religious or spiritual practices, familiar from a range of cultural contexts. Candles can be used to mark sacred spaces, and this may be the message that visitors encounter when entering the building. As the museum was founded in the late 1990s, a period in which peace and reconciliation was promoted as part of the national discourse, this display and site seem to convey a message of living in peace and harmony with one another regardless of race or religion. The colour white is associated with purity, holiness, peace, goodness and new beginnings. The candles are used for prayer and other spiritual practices. Candles have also been used to show respect for those who have passed. This sculpture makes one think of a spiritual healer or a religious leader. The symbolism arguably communicates across religious boundaries: one can picture Moses leading people to the promised land when one looks at the

[89] All photographs in this chapter were taken by Ayanda Simelane.

positioning of the stick as well as the figure's attire. Images of Gandhi dressed in this manner have been used to represent him as someone who was proud of his heritage, one who did away with Western clothing because he strongly believed in being proud of one's culture and leading a simple life.

Hyslop describes Gandhi's time in London (1888-1893) as a modest start to his transformation which included changes in his dress code, understanding of politics and the world outside of India.[90] Soon after Gandhi's arrival in London, he started wearing a white suit—colonial attire, which in India, was worn by British officials but certainly not in London.[91] 'He initially invested considerable time and money trying to dress like a modern English gentleman,' says Hyslop.[92] Gandhi adopted that dress code and continued to do so when he came to South Africa. However, even though he dressed in Western clothing, shortly after his arrival in Durban he appeared in a court session in a turban which resulted in him being removed from the court.[93] This incident is noted as one of the early examples in which he used clothing as a form of activism. That court is today known as the Old Court House Museum, and this incident forms part of the narrative that is communicated to visitors at that museum. Also communicated to visitors are certain humiliating events that affected Gandhi personally as well as events that changed him and made him grow. These include an incident in which he was thrown out of the 'whites only' coach of a train that he boarded in Pietermaritzburg. Hyslop explains how, in Tolstoy Farm ashram, the smart suits that Gandhi wore in his law officer were replaced by what was known as the European-style work clothing.[94] This was not for indigeneity but rather egalitarianism.[95] During a campaign in

[90] J. Hyslop, 'Gandhi 1869-1915: The Transnational Emergence of a Public Figure', in J. Brown and A. Parel, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 30-50, 32.
[91] Ibid., 33.
[92] Ibid., 33.
[93] Ibid., 35.
[94] Ibid, 48.
[95] Ibid.

1913, he appeared in public for the first time with a shaven head and in traditional Indian garb.[96] This is how we are used to seeing him in images. In so doing, Gandhi was making a political statement: '…instead of conceding to the colonisers' version of gendered identity, he affirmed complex indigenous forms of masculinity, femineity and ambiguity and a new form of strength, that of a *satyagrahi*.'[97] The colonisers' version of gendered identity included the wearing of suits for men; dress-like clothing is seen as female whereas this is not necessarily the case in other cultures. Hyslop writes that poor Indians could identify with Gandhi's physical self-representation and authorities appeared to be bullying the humble and vulnerable for repressing his movements.[98] The image of Gandhi presented in the statue is a popular one, and is used to describe his values, beliefs and sense of humanity.

Trivedi describes how Gandhi promoted the national community of Indians by encouraging them to do away with Western clothing and follow his traditional style of dress; the plainest cloth that is hand spun and hand woven.[99] She asserts that Gandhi thus in turn reformed their consumer behaviour.[100] Gandhi observed how Western clothing financially benefitted the British while crippling Indians financially. The *khadi* style of natural Indian cloth was ideal as it rejected Western and traditional norms of production and consumption.[101] Trivedi argues that Gandhi believed that Western industrialisation promoted productivity of the individual while in contrast Gandhi wanted his people to work for the benefit of the national community.[102] Gandhi observed and criticised [103]'…middle-class and wealthy Indians who fetishized luxury goods at the expense of national wellbeing.' He saw this as a threat to the

[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 48-49.
[99] L. Trivedi, *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 72.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

community's progress and therefore encouraged changes in consumer habits.[104] He wanted people to be productive in a way that would benefit the community as a whole. The style of dress was one strategy that he used to do so. The *khadi* dress was hand woven, and hand spun. Gandhi advocated for people to be self-sufficient rather than relying on foreign technology and foreign people. Thus, the *khadi* dress symbolised a nation defined by hand production.[105] This campaign challenged the status quo as Western clothing is considered professional and the only acceptable attire for business. Trivedi says this campaign drove the colonial regime into conflict as Western clothing was significant for its civilising project.[106] For Gandhi and his followers, the act of wearing *khadi* gained popularity in the 1921-1922 non-cooperative movement.[107] Trivedi further notes that it was banned in Indian courts, government offices and colleges.[108] 'In light of government reaction, selecting khadi became a bold act with clear signification,'[109] she writes. This sparked a political movement and proved to be another way of challenging the government. Gandhi was committed to dress code as a form of protest. It was a bold act as '[i]t was tantamount to rejecting the supremacy of the West and its imperial vision.'[110]

With Trivedi's comments in mind, one can locate the sculpture in the time of Gandhi's major campaigns in India, a time when he showed his resistance and gained popularity and support from civil society. During this period, he is presented as a selfless leader and a person who believed in unity. Those, too, are the values that have been promoted in a democratic South Africa. The use of stones in *Figure 3* links the individual in the sculpture to nature. Indeed,

[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 73.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

Gandhi has been described as a person who cared about nature.

Another way of interpreting the sculpture is to see it in the context of 'salt marches' or protests. This came to mind after I saw photographs of the peaceful salt march led by Gandhi in 1930. I realised that the sculpture may have been inspired by a photograph taken at the salt march as Gandhi and other leaders were dressed in similar garb. The march is remembered as one of the most influential protests in history. It took place in India in 1930, 16 years after Gandhi left South Africa. The Phoenix Settlement continues to hold annual salt marches every April in honour of Gandhi and his legacy. People are encouraged to participate to show their appreciation of the work he started. The march leaves from King's Park Stadium in Durban and proceeds to Inanda. It is led by officials from eThekwini Municipality.

Lelyveld points out that Gandhi was inspired by salt, viewing it as the third most important necessity after water and air.[111] For example, Gandhi went on a salt-free diet and encouraged his disciples in Tolstoy Farm, India, to do the same.[112] Lelyveld writes that salt was heavily taxed and that the colonial regime curtailed its local production.[113] He adds that 'Gandhi's inspiration was that he could march to the shore of the Arabian Sea from the Sabarmati Ashram and there, at the place called Dandi, defy the law—and simultaneously unify India by simply picking up a chunk of salt.'[114] Before marching to Dandi to harvest salt with many of his followers, Gandhi wrote a letter pleading with the colonial authorities to realise that they had wronged India.[115] The letter referred to laws such as the one controlling the harvesting of salt and the British salt monopoly in India which prevented Indians from benefitting financially. In response the British response expressed their dissatisfaction with Gandhi's

[111] J. Lelyveld, *Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and his Struggle with India* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 203.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

intention to break the law and endanger public peace.[116] Gandhi went on to harvest the salt and then march with his followers for 24 days. Lelyveld argues that the salt march was a catalyst for Indian resistance. It resulted in 90 000 arrests across India, including that of Gandhi.[117] Images from the salt march became popular all over the world. The image of Gandhi in the sculpture represents him as a cultured and spiritual leader, as a pure individual who appreciates nature, and as a peacemaker who people can look up to. He appears as a leader who crosses cultures and religious groups with the intention of uniting everyone. To Gandhi, all people are the children of one God. In photographs taken in 1930 on Dandi Beach, Gandhi is dressed in the same way as in the sculpture.

As a local of Inanda and a student of heritage tourism, I associate the sculpture with what I have been taught about Gandhi: a non-violent leader who fought for the rights of Indians and black people and was highly respected in Inanda as a righteous person. This is also the way in which he is presented to the public through local media and promotional material, and by the tourism officer at the site. In addition, this is how the South African tourism industry chooses to remember Gandhi and to project what people should learn about him.

This sculpture resembles the statue of Gandhi in Church Street in the Pietermaritzburg CBD, which is entitled ‘Statue of Hope’. It is similar in terms of the style of dress, and he is also carrying a staff. Other statues of Gandhi in KwaZulu-Natal province, in towns such as Dundee, present him in similar manner. Statues of Gandhi found in other parts of the world such as the United States, India, Britain and Ghana are similar. The Gandhi statue in Washington, D.C., is accompanied by text detailing his influence on Martin Luther King Jr. Perhaps the images of Gandhi dressed in this manner show how he defied Western ways and

[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., 205.

governments; it shows his strength. In contrast, the Johannesburg statue depicts Gandhi in a suit, representing either his time in London or shortly after his arrival in South Africa before he rejected Western dress. These statues have been controversial in some communities: a group of people in Ghana successfully demanded the removal of Gandhi's statue while in Johannesburg a Gandhi statue was vandalised. These groups maintained that Gandhi should not be recognised as a leader as they maintained that he was racist towards African people.

Inanda exhibition: an introduction to the heritage route

After viewing the Gandhi sculpture, visitors climb a flight of stairs to a tourist map of Inanda that precedes an exhibition outlining the Inanda Heritage Route as a whole. The exhibition links the different museums and heritage institutions on the route to present a narrative of a place where resistance led to the liberation of South Africa, a place where important decisions were made about freedom and uplifting the oppressed. Throughout the exhibition there is bright lightning, clearly showing up images and texts that make up its contents.

Tourist map

The tourist map at the top of the stairs is centred on a high wall. Texts on the wall explain that 'Inanda means a pleasant place' and give a brief background of the area. The map marks key sites, including those that are not established as heritage institutions but nevertheless housed prominent individuals such as Pixley kaIsaka Seme and Bertha Mkhize. For each site there is a description as well as information about its background and significance. This is the same map that is found on the tourist brochure about the Inanda Heritage Route.

After viewing the map, the visitor turns left into the first section of the exhibition which focuses on Prophet Isaiah Shembe and the Nazareth Baptist Church.

Prophet Isaiah Shembe and the Nazareth Baptist Church

Figure 4. An exhibition wall with information about Prophet Isaiah Shembe.

This Shembe section of the exhibition features texts, images and a staff. At the base of the information panel, spelt out in large capital letters, is the phrase, 'The Seeds of Democracy'. The impression created is that the visitor is meant to think that the seeds of democracy were planted in Inanda and also that Shembe, Gandhi and John Langalibalele Dube worked closely together as they had similar beliefs, values and leadership styles. The links between the leaders are also highlighted by the tourism officer. Inanda is presented as a significant area in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The exhibition shows how these leaders contributed to the liberation struggle, their views on oppressive laws, and the actions they took against the colonial regime.

This section on Shembe features a life-size, two-dimensional image of Shembe with a staff. A real staff is placed in front of this image. Shembe is positioned as if his foot is resting on top of a low stool or bench. This image of Shembe in his religious attire can be found in various publications including brochures about the route and newspaper articles about Shembe or the

route. This image depicts a leader who is claiming his space, his body face-on and the stick beside him as if he is about to hold it. His appearance commands respect. This image, like the sculpture of Gandhi discussed earlier, represents a religious leader and a biblical figure. The staff is on a stand; there are texts below it with the title 'Peace'. It is also important to note how the size of the text is used to make a statement: the word 'peace' dominates while smaller words below are not easily visible from a distance. An interpretation is that Shembe represents peace, and that this is the message he preached when he started the church.

A third panel in this section of this exhibition repeats the shape of the building at Ekuphakameni, the site of the Nazareth church where the prophet was based. Becken describes it as the largest and most famous African Independent Church. This panel features texts of hymns as well as a photograph of the congregation with Shembe washing his followers' feet. Next to this is a panel with a large image showing members of the church being baptised and a smaller image showing members of the church. The exhibition introduces the visitor to the church's rituals and beliefs. One can see the similarities with Christianity: the representation of the leader, the name 'Nazareth Baptist Church', and the manner of baptism. Similarly, Jesus was known as Jesus of Nazareth and the church is also a place of worship for Christians. These Christian influences are not surprising as Shembe was Methodist and his church attracted people from various mission stations. (Christianity was introduced in KwaZulu-Natal in the mid-1830s and the Shembe church was established in the early 1900s.)

The same panel gives more information about Shembe himself: the texts give his full names, his place of birth and the journey that led him to establish the Shembe church with its followers, known as *amanazaretha*. Next the visitor is informed about the culture of the church. The relevant texts provide a detailed description of the way in which the hymns

originated and why the dance or *umgido* is an important part of the church's culture. In my understanding, *umgido* is African dance and is common in different Southern African cultural groups, especially amaZulu. This dance is often performed at celebratory gatherings. Growing up in Inanda surrounded by neighbours who belonged to the Nazareth religion, my understanding is that keeping Zulu traditions and customs is an important part of connecting with God, and that *umgido* is one way in which this is done. The religion also accepts polygamy. I have also observed that in appearance the Shembe followers represent amaZulu. For instance, the attire that Shembe men often wear to church is the same as the traditional attire of Zulu men. The information on this panel introduces the religion to outsiders by giving descriptions that are meant for people who have little or no knowledge about Shembe or the religion.

The centre of the exhibition room

Figure 5. A symbolic arrangement of furniture in the exhibition room.

A display at the centre of the exhibition room immediately draws the attention of visitors. This is achieved by way of bright lightning that makes one move closer to objects presented

on platforms as if on a stage and that prompt questions. The display consists of two chairs facing each other, a bench and a wooden stool with *riempies* or woven leather thongs. This type of stool is associated with the colonial era. The stool is placed on a woven grass mat.

The symbolism of the furniture is explained in accompanying exhibition labels: the two chairs represent Gandhi and Dube; the bench represents Inanda Seminary principal Mary Edwards; and the stool on the grass mat represents Shembe. This device is repeated elsewhere in the museum—for example, there are two benches in the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre, and chairs are used in Ohlange to represent Gandhi and Dube. The grass or Zulu mat is known as *icansi* in isiZulu and can be found in households in KwaZulu-Natal. The *amanazaretha* sit on these mats when they pray during services. The tourism officer who guides visitors throughout the museum explains what the items of furniture represent. The platforms on which the four seats are placed are joined together in a single shape. Under each seat is a text in the form of a quote by the individual represented. The quotes relate to the main themes of the exhibition and the way in which the leaders are represented. These leaders were active during the colonial era, one which featured not only political but also socio-cultural domination. The chairs are in a Western, colonial style—not only to show colonial domination but also the emergence of hybrid cultures and the adaptation of a Western lifestyle by locals. The bench is also representative of a simple pew in a church. The arrangement of these artefacts suggests how Gandhi, Dube, Shembe and Edwards would have held a meeting. It also suggests unity, partnership, common values and a sharing of ideas—a theme first introduced in text at the beginning of the exhibition next to the tourist map of Inanda. Behind these seats, the word ‘democracy’ stands out. This seating arrangement may therefore also suggest the idea of working together to achieve democracy, and that Inanda was a place where discussions leading to democracy took place.

This section emphasises collaboration, unity and diversity, which form part of the principles of the new South Africa. The suggestion is that the leaders depicted in the exhibition envisioned these ideas and started the process of unifying the country. All these leaders have been recognised for standing up for their beliefs and for their selfless leadership. At this heritage site, a narrative is presented about the road to democracy and the way in which early 20th century leaders worked towards this on a shared journey. The ANC is presented as central to this story. This same emphasis is evident in the way the guide conducts the tour.

Mahatma Gandhi section

As the section on Shembe ends, the section on Gandhi begins on the wall behind the display in the centre of the room. It includes a focus on the *Indian Opinion*, the newspaper established by Gandhi in 1903 with its printing press at Phoenix Settlement. Gandhi's newspaper was established shortly after that of Dube, *iLanga lase Natali*. Hughes has compared the work of Dube and Gandhi, suggesting that, with reference to the newspapers, Gandhi's work was influenced by that of Dube.[118] Matsha also refers to this, citing it as one of the ways in which Dube and Gandhi followed similar ideologies and how these were linked.[119] The *Indian Opinion* has been described as a newspaper that served as a platform for people of Indian origin living in South Africa to express themselves, especially on political matters. It is often implied by tour guides that the *Indian Opinion* was to Indian people what *iLanga lase Natali* was to black people during the colonial era: it gave them a voice, something that the colonial government tried hard to limit. Both newspapers had sections published in the languages spoken by the people they represented. Matsha makes a detailed comparison of these two newspapers to illustrate their similarities and their roles in society.

[118] H. Hughes, *The First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the* ANC (Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012), 109.
[119] R. Matsha, 'Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape: Dube and Gandhi in Early 20th Century Durban, South Africa', *Journal for the Study of Religion,* 27. 2 (2014), 238-269, 238.

This section of the exhibition starts with Gandhi's life, then discusses the *Indian Opinion,* and lastly presents his philosophy of *satyagraha*. The latter has been described as the philosophy of non-violence, of fighting for democracy without the use of violence, and as having been adopted to a certain extent by leaders such as Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr.[120] *Satyagraha* is often presented as central to the way in which Gandhi is remembered. The Gandhi Development Trust, which has taken responsibility for the Phoenix Settlement and Gandhi's legacy, tried to revive the philosophy by naming its monthly publication *Satyagraha* and using the term in other projects such as the Satyagraha Awards.

This section on Gandhi discusses the infamous train incident in which officials threw him off a train reserved for white people. This incident, as well as Gandhi's decision to board a train designated for 'Europeans', has been used to show his advocacy, bravery and intolerance of racist laws. A life-size board features an image of Gandhi with an actual printing press on the left. Behind the board is a wall with texts. Ghandi's International Printing Press had been launched in 1898. This image represents Gandhi as a writer and publisher, an educated man, and as relevant to the time in which he was active in South Africa and from which the *Indian Opinion* (launched in 1903) was published.[121] Another photograph shows Gandhi at a gathering, depicting him as a man who reached different types of people. There are also quotes from writers who Gandhi admired such as John Ruskin. In this image Gandhi looks sophisticated in a suit and tie. He looks the part of a lawyer, thinker and visionary. With the exception of this image, Gandhi appears at the Phoenix Settlement site in traditional Indian clothing—a person who was not materialistic and led a simple life.

[120] See J. Hyslop, *Gandhi, Mandela, and the African Modern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); S. Bhana, 'Gandhi in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, 18. 1 (1986), 229-234; and Matsha, 'Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape', 2014.

[121] Hofmeyr, Ghandi's Printing Press (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 46 - 49.

Gandhi's influence on others is emphasised in this part of the exhibition. The section on *satyagraha* is followed by a panel with texts highlighting the values shared by Shembe, Gandhi and Dube. This suggests that their ideologies were closely related. On the same panel are texts under the heading 'Social Justice'. The concept of social justice is a powerful one. It is what freedom fighters in South Africa wanted to achieve in their struggle for liberation. In this section Inanda is placed against the backdrop of broader South African struggles. The displays suggest that activism in Inanda and by its leaders was not limited to that area but was in line with what many others in South Africa were aiming to achieve. Years later in a democratic South Africa, this route has been designed to meet several national objectives: inclusivity, multiculturalism, and nation building. Presenting these leaders in one place adds value to what the government aims to achieve. It serves as an example of the approach followed by the new heritage sector.

In conclusion, this section of the display focuses on Gandhi as a writer, his philosophy, and his influence on other leaders as an educated and visionary man. The visitor also follows a narrative about how, in South Africa, Gandhi went back to his roots by rejecting 'Western' suits and returning to traditional clothing. The printing press and its symbolism are also part of this section.

The panel that follows is titled 'Influences', and indeed Gandhi is presented as influential and there is great emphasis placed on this throughout the museum.

The John Langalibalele Dube section

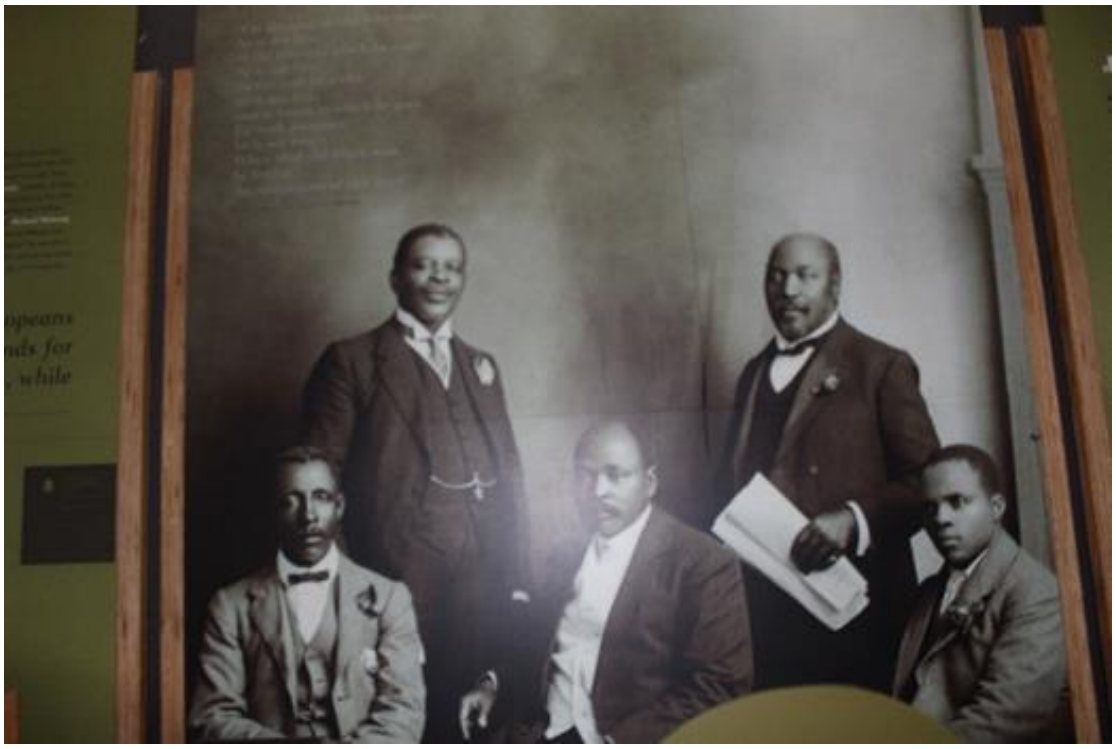

Figure 6. Rev John Dube at the centre of a photograph of the 1914 delegation to England.

The section on Dube is introduced with a large photograph of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) delegation to London in 1914. As explained in the accompanying text, Dube was a member of the group that went to London to tell the British government that black South Africans were unwilling to accept the Native Land Act of 1913 and to get them to reverse it. As mentioned in the display, the delegation consisted of Dube, Saul Msane, Solomon Plaatje, Walter Rubusana and Thomas Mapikela. Dube and Plaatje had written about the Act to explain how difficult it had made black people's lives and to demand its reversal. In the photographs on display, the members of the delegation are wearing suits The leaders are therefore recognisable as mission-educated *amakholwa* who spoke the language understood by the British. This photograph is also found at Ohlange Institute as part of a separate but related exhibition that visitors will encounter there. It has been used by local

history museums including in an exhibition at KwaMuhle Museum on the 1913 Native Land Act. That exhibition was staged in 2013 to mark 100 years since the passing of the Act and to highlight the problematic long-term effects of the Act. The photograph has been used as a symbol of activism against the 1913 Native Land Act. The way the delegation posed for the photograph suggests that they were confident, learned men. The exhibition includes an artefact of a typewriter, which represents Dube and Plaatje as writers and/or educationalists.

Below the typewriter are texts entitled ‘Liberation’. This title speaks to Dube’s reputation as someone who stood up for the liberation of the oppressed. He was educated by the American Board Church or congregationalism, also known for this stance. The texts on display present biographical information and discuss Dube’s achievements. His involvement in the SANNC is depicted as an important part of his life and is linked to his willingness to fight for the land rights of black South Africans. He is presented as a man dedicated to the advancement of the oppressed, and as a literate person who emphasised the importance of education.

The last panel in this part of the exhibition features the writings of leaders in the struggle against segregation and apartheid. The focus is on what they wrote about each other. A quote attributed to Albert Luthuli about Gandhi and Dube is included. Dube comments on Shembe, and Mandela on Gandhi. Herbert Isaac Ernest Dhlomo praises Dube in one of his poems that forms part of the exhibition.

The panel shows how these leaders were perceived by and influenced other leaders. It suggests that their legacies lived on as people such as Gandhi, Dube and Shembe are quoted by those who came later. Their values and views remain relevant and inspirational to people today.

Inanda Seminary section

Figure 7. A panel lists key figures in the establishment of the Inanda Seminary for Girls.

This section is on the other side of the wall with the tourist map and opposite the Gandhi section. It is entitled 'The Inanda Seminary for Girls' and consists of photographs of Lucy Lindley, Daniel Lindley, Mary Edwards, James Dube, school buildings and a class photograph. Lucy and Daniel were missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions who started a mission school in uMzinyathi and moved to what is presently known as Inanda Glebe. They were the founders of Inanda Seminary. Edwards was the first principal of Inanda Seminary. James Dube was the first black pastor at Inanda ordained by the American Board. He was the son of Inkosi Dube Ngcobo, amaQadi chief and father of John Dube.

There are texts on Lucy and Daniel Lindley, Edwards and James Dube. In the photographs, Lucy Lindley and Edwards are wearing long, Victorian dresses. As Christian women of their time, they are well covered. The shots of Daniel Lindley and James Dube are closely framed professional photographs, their faces in focus. This may also be due to the type of camera used at the time. The story of Lucy and Daniel Lindley is told jointly while those of Edwards and Dube are told individually. There is a brief history of the school. On a video screen,

alumnae and former staff talk about their understanding of the seminary and their affiliation with the school. This section demonstrates the role of missionaries in educating black people and the roots of education for black girls in South Africa. It also shows the strong links between the Dube family and the missionaries, suggesting good relations and partnerships. This section differs from the others in this exhibition which focus on one male leader and in the manner described by Rassool: 'A biographic character has been given to the cultural landscape, with the life of leaders a central focus.'[122]

On the same wall is another screen showing videos about the Nazareth church including *umgido* dancers and examples of church culture. The Inanda Seminary exhibition also looks at the power dynamics between the missionaries and the local women and men. The missionaries are presented as saviours. There is no examination of problematic elements of missionary work such as its effect on African religion; and the relationships between the chieftaincy, colonial authorities and missionaries are not presented. This is also the case in other heritage sites in KwaZulu-Natal where the history of missionaries is prominent and laudatory. Women are presented as supporting the work started by men and not as people who worked at the same level as men.

[122] C. Rassool, 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 26. 1 (2000), 1-21, 13.

The Kasturba Gandhi exhibition

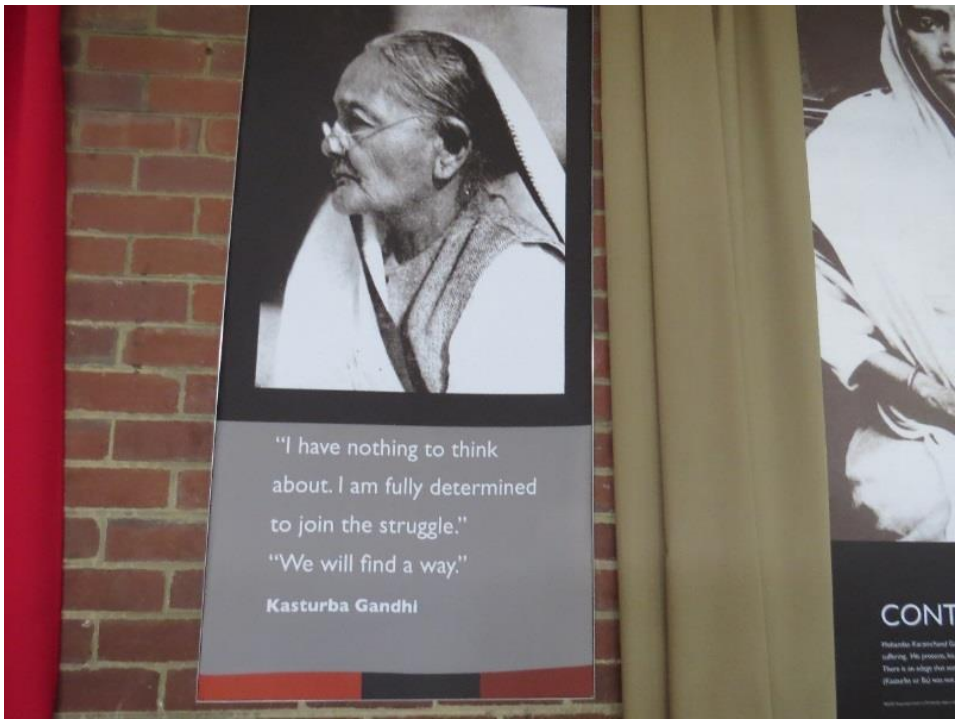

Figure 8. A panel commemorates Kasturba Gandhi and her commitment to freedom.

After completing the Inanda exhibition, visitors walk down the stairs to the Kasturba Gandhi exhibition. Kasturba was Gandhi's wife and not much is known about her. The school next to the Phoenix Settlement was named after her, apparently by her son. The school is not well known. This exhibition was previously located in the hall.[123] It was opened in 2014, 15 years after the Phoenix Settlement became a museum site and about four years after the official launch of the revamped route. Before 2014, the museum did not mention Kasturba Gandhi; neither was she recognised in commemorative events.

The current exhibition features bright colours such as orange in contrast to other exhibitions at the museum which are in institutional colours, mostly beige, grey and white. The panels include two of Kasturba's quotations: 'I have nothing to think about. I am fully determined to join the struggle' and 'We will find a way'. Her commitment to the struggle for liberation is

[123] A section of this exhibition has been taken down and replaced by an exhibition on Gandhi and Mandela.

clear. These powerful statements present her as a brave woman and a political activist. They express her determination in the struggle for liberation and her support for the liberation movement.

The panels that follow provide detailed information about Kasturba in the context of her husband—their similarities, shared values and characteristics. Mahatma Gandhi and his work and beliefs are discussed; Kasturba Gandhi is introduced as someone who worked beside him. During the period that this exhibition was put together, there was a shift away from representing women as submissive partners to their husbands. Yet the displays about Kasturba Gandhi include significant detail about Mahatma Gandhi. In contrast, the exhibitions about Mahatma Gandhi do not discuss Kasturba Gandhi. She is represented as a mother and a wife who took care of the home and ensured that there were finances to enable her husband to study. Texts suggest that Kasturba, just like her husband, underwent a personal transformation away from Western influences and that she, too, was respected. For example, she was referred to as Ba, meaning the 'mother of the nation'. The texts provide a chronology of her life. Overall, the exhibition presents Kasturba Gandhi as a strong woman who worked besides her husband.

The Kasturba exhibition includes a large photograph of Mahatma with a stick; he is walking on shapes that could represent grass or fire. There are photographs of Mahatma and Kasturba Gandhi in most parts of the exhibition, as a couple and individually. There are also images of some of the movements of which Kasturba was part. There are more texts about *satyagraha* and its origins).[124] There is an image of Albert Einstein with the quote 'Generations to come will…scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood ever walked upon this Earth'. The suggestion may be that Einstein was one of the great thinkers who inspired

[124] This section on s*atyagraha* existed before the new exhibition about Kasturba was staged.

Gandhi; or it may also suggest that Einstein's way of thinking can be compared to that of Gandhi. There is no direct link pointed out in this exhibition space or by the tourism officer at the site as to the relevance of the Einstein quote.

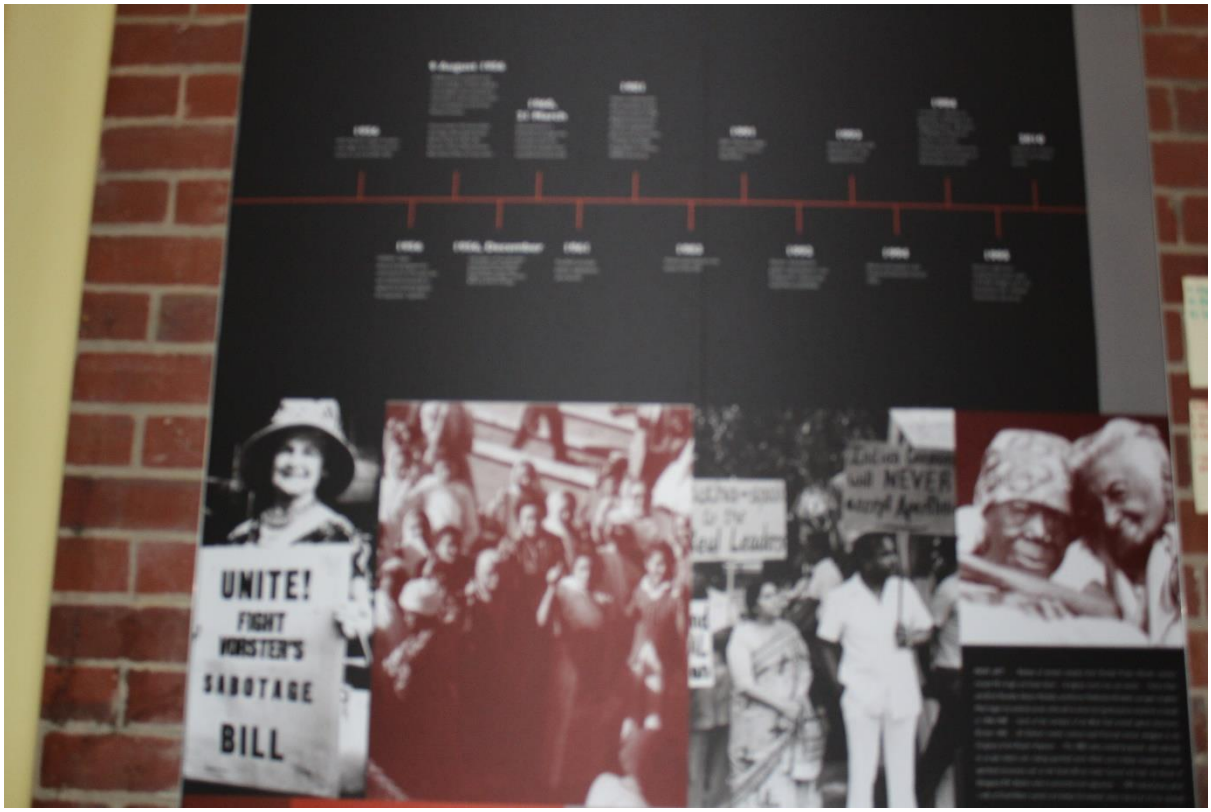

Figure 9. Timeline showing women's struggles in South Africa from the 1800s until 1995.

Another wall features panels about women's activism in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Small photographs depict a range of women activists and events. A timeline marks major movements led by women from the late 1800s to 1995, including the 9 August 1956 march to the Union Buildings against the extension of the pass laws. There are descriptions of organisations and historic events led by South African women, including the formation of organisations such as the Bantu Women's League and the Federation for South African Women. This timeline marks events that have not received prominence in the heritage sector, apart from the 1956 women's march. The timeline thus recognises women's part in the

struggle.[125] However, the texts on this panel are small and the panel is not placed at the centre of attention, understandably, as this exhibition is mainly about Kasturba Gandhi. The display consists of small individual images with IQ codes; if one scans the codes, they link to articles about Mahatma Gandhi or Mandela. Kasturba's role in some of the events is included.

Figure 10. Timeline of historic events in the life of Kasturba Gandhi.

A timeline entitled 'Historic Milestones of Kasturba's life' features a large image of her dressed in a sari. Images, mostly family photographs, are arranged in a collage. The panel includes a quote: 'What a heavy price one must pay to be regarded as civilised.' This suggests that Kasturba did not believe in sacrificing oneself to be socially acceptable, and that the price one may have to pay could be too high. It suggests that she was steadfast and a woman of integrity. Women have been seen as preservers of culture; she is dressed in a sari in all the images in this exhibition and some of her quotes demonstrate how she strongly believed in preserving one's culture and opposed the system of white supremacy. Her attitude towards the struggle for liberation is also presented. This exhibition differs from others at this

[125] Since this description was written, the timeline has been removed and replaced with a display about Mandela and Gandhi.

site and from those at Ohlange: it sends a positive message about the work of women during colonisation and apartheid. Towards the end of the exhibition, there are some artefacts such as antique spinning wheel, drawing instruments and books. There is also a display of publications on the Mahatma.

Sarvodaya House

Figure 11. The site of the Gandhi home at Phoenix Settlement.

After a short walk from the hall, visitors arrive outside Sarvodaya House, the site of the Gandhi home at the Phoenix Settlement. Outside is a timeline of Mahatma Gandhi's life: it includes his birth in 1869, his activism after his departure from South Africa to India, his arrest in 1913 after leading a march, and his death in 1948. A second panel outside Sarvodaya House features the Kasturba Gandhi Primary School next door. The house is painted green with white trim and is made from corrugated metal sheets. Although this is the site of the Gandhi home, the original house was burned down in 1985 during violence in Inanda. This

violence between Africans and Indians forced Indians out of the area. The tourism officer notes that the first letter requesting Mandela's release from jail was written here.

After viewing the timeline, visitors enter the house where they are exposed to Gandhi's thinking, his views of other writers, and the influence of his beliefs on other leaders.

Figure 12. The first room of the house documents a range of people influenced by Gandhi.

The first room consist of faces made of words. The faces are of people who were influenced by Gandhi and adopted his philosophy of *satyagraha*. These include Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr. Gandhi's face is included in the exhibition. The contents of the room evoke the idea that Gandhi influenced people across racial, cultural, religious and physical boundaries. Mandela and King were from different countries and grew up within different cultural institutions, yet Christianity was a common factor. Writings of each of the leaders are on display. This section suggests that King and Mandela regarded Gandhi as a hero, and that they admired *satyagraha*.

After entering the room and observing the leaders' faces, the guide directs visitors to turn to see the display above a door. It features Gandhi's social seven sins: pleasure without conscience, wealth without work, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, worship without sacrifice, and politics without principle. Gandhi is presented as an inspirational person who strongly opposed evil and tried his best to live a holy life. This is evident from his quotes: the tone and language are consistent throughout the exhibitions as that of faith, unity, strong will, non-violence and perseverance. This exhibition also suggests that Gandhi's ideologies were powerful and influenced people from all walks of life.

Figure 13. The salt march of 1930 printed on a sheet.

The second room features a sheet bearing an image of the 1930 salt march with the Mahatma at the front. This sheet is the most prominent item in the room and represents Gandhi's approach to the struggle for liberation. On one side of the sheet is the image of the march, with Gandhi carrying a staff and dressed in plain white robe, as he is in the sculpture in the

hall. There is also a section on *satyagraha* with large texts providing the visitor with an understanding of this philosophy. On the other side of the sheet are photographs with texts about global historic events that represent political resistance and non-violent approaches to fighting for liberation. These events date from 1908 to the 1980s and include the 1976 Soweto Uprising. Organisations such as the United Democratic Front are included. A panel on the Defiance Campaign reveals that it was inspired by the philosophy of *satyagraha* and was conducted in line with its principles. This section represents the power of resistance and the Mahatma's approach and response to unjust colonial governments. It also suggests that his approach was used worldwide and links it to events that are regularly commemorated. Although the links between Gandhi and some of the events are not direct, the marches that he led are comparable.

Figure 14. The reconstructed sitting room with the quote, 'It was after I went to South Africa that I became who I am now.'

The third room is the sitting room, as reconstructed after the fire that gutted the house. The room includes an alcove that once served as a fireplace. Just above the fireplace is a quote indicating that Gandhi cherished and appreciated his time in South Africa and believed that it gave him several important life lessons. This is captured by the quote: 'It was after I went to South Africa that I became who I am now.' The indication is that Gandhi's experiences in South Africa changed him, perhaps for the better. Researchers and the tourism officer at the Phoenix Settlement often say that he became a Mahatma when he left South Africa. This is expressed in the following quotation in the exhibition text: 'India gave South Africa Gandhi and South Africa gave India a Mahatma.' Mahatma means 'the one with a great soul'.

This exhibition has a strong focus on the Bambatha Rebellion by way of display boards in the room. The Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 was led by the Zondi clan; it was a call for action against the hut tax imposed on black men by the colonial government. It sparked a war between the British and the Zulus. Hughes writes that the Qadi chief Mqhawe felt strongly against the tax and took this up with the colonial authorities but with no success.[126] This exhibition gives the background to the rebellion and shows Gandhi's involvement. There are texts, photographs and a large two-dimensional figure in the shape of Gandhi's shadow. Texts about the rebellion and Gandhi's involvement are written over the figure. A quote by Gandhi reveals that he nursed Zulu men injured during the war. It also indicates his stance against the cruelty of white colonists towards the Zulus and expresses his thoughts on the morals of the colonists.

[126] H, Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda, Natal: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1906' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1995).

Figure 15. A panel in the sitting room highlights Gandhi's non-violent philosophy.

Also in the room is a panel that includes images from two gatherings as well as images of Gandhi. One is a black-and-white image of the Mahatma, possibly taken at the rebellion, and on the left of that is a medal presented to Gandhi for his service in the Anglo-Boer War. On the same wall is an image showing soldiers being addressed at a gathering as well as the old South African flag. On the right, written in large letters is '*satyagraha*' with more texts and images below that. The effect of all this is to emphasise Gandhi's philosophy and beliefs, and claiming that he did not turn to violence in difficult circumstances.

Figure 16. Gandhi, the intellectual, is the theme of the fourth room.

The entrance to the fourth and final room faces the entrance of the sitting room. The visitor enters to see a large copy of a letter signed by Gandhi. This room represents him as a reader and a writer, an intellectual. It contains texts from and structures representing books that are believed to have been read by Gandhi, including the Bible. The latter suggests that he was not discriminatory; he welcomed and accepted different religions as he was Hindu yet kept a Christian holy book. The tourism officer explains to visitors that Gandhi was interested in other religions and accepted them. The books represented in this room are believed to have been kept by Gandhi but destroyed during the violence of 1985. Also in this room are images of philosophers and authors whose work Gandhi is believed to have read, and who influenced his ideologies and the way he looked at the world. Pages of the *Indian Opinion* are included to represent his writing. There are also texts about his departure from South Africa back to India. These show how those left behind were saddened and felt the loss of his departure. This indicates the impact that he had on South Africans while he was there, and how the country impacted on him and his life.

This room marks the end of the tour of Sardovaya House and visitors are given the opportunity to explore the outside of the settlement. Many are drawn to the bust of Gandhi, discussed next. Outside the house is a panel with quotes from Gandhi's writings. Texts briefly mention that the house was burnt down during the riots and was rebuilt. There is also some information about the original house.

The bust of Gandhi

Figure 17. A bust of Gandhi unveiled by the vice-president of India in 2004.

This bust is positioned just outside Sardovaya House and not far from the house of Manilal, the son of Mahatma and Kasturba Gandhi. It is protected by a thatched roof and rests on a brick plinth. A plaque states that the bust was unveiled on 28 April 2004 by Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, then vice-president of India. The bust depicts Gandhi wearing glasses and a beaded necklace. It inspired by a popular photograph. This marks the end of the Gandhi tour and visitors like to take self-portraits here.

In some cases, visitors go to Manilal's house, which is now used as a boardroom for meetings. On the walls of the passages and around the boardroom table hang framed photographs of the Mahatma. Visitors can also go up the stairs outside the house to the roof. There they get to view other parts of Inanda and the area of Phoenix which was designed by the apartheid government for housing Indians. Visitors are fascinated by the way in which the apartheid government designed townships and routes leading to and within townships.

Throughout this museum, exhibition texts have small fonts unless dealing with the main themes. The language used is English except for one caption in the Shembe section of the Inanda exhibition. The captions are visible, and they repeatedly include words such as 'peace', 'democracy', 'spirituality', 'knowledge', 'influences' and 'liberation'. The leaders featured are depicted as intellectuals. They are linked spiritually or by way of religion. They are presented as individuals who saw the importance of leading a purposeful life which uplifted humanity. Their early lives are traced, demonstrating the way in which their upbringing shaped their leadership qualities. They are portrayed as friends who inspired each other and thought highly of each other. Fighting for liberation was seen as part of their duty, part of fulfilling God's will as God wanted them to be united. Shared spirituality was something that bound them. The colours used are black, brown, white, and lime/light green. In the Inanda exhibition, there is an emphasis on how people can learn from Gandhi, Dube and Shembe. However, there is not much about Mary Edwards or the commonalities between her and the other leaders mentioned.

SITE 2: Commemorative spaces and historical exhibits at the Ohlange Institute

Tours leave the Phoenix Settlement for the Ohlange Institute. They pass Dube Village Mall, a shopping centre named after John Dube which is situated on the main road. Further along the road are banners with information about the route, images of leaders, and images and text

about sites such as Inanda Seminary and Inanda Dam. On the way to Ohlange, one passes the Shembe site of Ekuphakameni, beautifully marked by white stones on the side of the pavement. As one turns into the small road leading to Ohlange, there are stones painted in black-and-white stripes representing a zebra as *idube* is the isiZulu word for "zebra". Even the school uniform of the Ohlange High School located at the site is black and white. At the gate, a sign reads 'Ohlange High School founded 1900 by Dr J. L. Dube (Mafukuzela)'. Mafukuzela was a nickname given to Dube by people praising him as a tireless leader. The word means 'one who works tirelessly', including work that requires physical strength, especially if the person does not receive any compensation for their hard work. Theologist Simangaliso Kumalo of the University of KwaZulu-Natal has said that people often wondered, *Ufukuza wenzani* uDube? (what is Dube doing ?) as black people had, according to this narrative, never built schools previously.[127]

The Dube Monument

[127] S. Kumalo in 'Oberlin-Inanda: The Life and Times of John L. Dube', a documentary film by Cherif Keita, 2005.

Figure 18. Graves of the Dube family with that of John Dube most prominent.

The first memorial site that visitors are taken to is the Dube Monument which consists of the graves of Dube, his second wife Angelina (MaKhumalo) Dube, and three of their children (one, Lulu Dube, was buried in 2016—the space had been reserved for her). Dube's grave is in the centre and is the most notable in terms of design. It also has an inscription. At the gravesides, the tourism officer invites visitors to sit and proceeds to tell them about the history of Dube and Ohlange. The significance of the memorial is emphasised: respectable, prominent people have visited and Dube is regarded as an important ancestor of the ANC. Oliver Tambo visited this memorial in 1990 to report to Dube at his graveside that the ANC had been unbanned, emphasising that the struggle for liberation continues. Mandela, after casting his first democratic vote at the school chapel in 1994, also visited the grave to report to Dube that the country was free. The tour emphasises that Dube was highly regarded and respected by ANC leaders and by the Inanda community. Mandela's visit was well documented by the media, and the photograph of him voting at Inanda appears in brochures and newspaper articles and is easily found on the internet.[128] The tourism officer also explains the significance of 11 February, the date of Dube's birth in 1871 and his death in 1946. He explains that Mandela was deliberately released on 11 February 1990 in Dube's honour. Dube founded the Ohlange Institute as a school for industrial training and promoted the triple H philosophy (Heart, Head and Hand), in other words, Christianity, academics and dignified manual labour. This, and his specific connection to the school as the founding principal, presents him as a visionary who strongly believed in the education of black people.

[128] See the Inanda Heritage Route brochure, the banners on the main road M25 Curnick Ndlovu (KwaMashu) Highway, and the eThekwini Municipality newspaper, *eZasegagasini*.

The Dube house

Figure 19. The seated figure of Dube on the veranda of his house.

After the monument, Dube's house is the next stop for visitors. Just outside the house, on the side facing the monument, is Dube's timeline: it starts with his birth, documents his activism and political activities, and ends with his death. Moving towards the front door of the house, one sees a statue of Dube seated on a chair. Below the chair is a circle with the engraving, 'John Langalibalele Dube ka Ngcobo 1871-1946'. The tourism officer explains that Dube's original surname was Ngcobo. However, when James Dube was training to be a pastor, the Americans could not pronounce Ngcobo so he started using Dube, his father's first name, as his surname. This name was passed on to John Dube and the generations that followed. The family still uses the Ngcobo clan names. The statue represents John Dube in his old age, dressed in a suit and tie with formal shoes. He looks like he is observing something or is deep in thought.

The three-roomed house is painted cream inside and outside. One enters the house into a

central room with other rooms leading off it. On the left of the central room is a panel titled ‘Origins’ with texts and images. The images are of John Dube, James Dube and an ox-wagon at Inanda Seminary. The tour guide speaks briefly about Dube’s links to and close relationship with Inanda Seminary. Part of the wall facing the door reveals the original brick, showing that the house is the original Dube house, that it has not been destroyed and rebuilt. The next panel is a continuation of the first ‘Origins’ panel and features images and texts, a photograph of scenery, and a middle-aged Dube.

Figure 20. Dube as a man of God.

The next panel section, titled ‘Man of God’, gives information about Dube’s religious life. There is an image of American Board missionaries and an image showing Chief Mqhawe of

the amaQadi dressed traditionally, as well as James Dube and induna Cele, who served the amaQadi chieftaincy under Chief Mqhawe, dressed in suits and seated. This exhibition space has texts about the Qadi chiefdom as well as educational institutions with which Dube was affiliated. One is Adams College where Dube attended school. Not much is said about the Qadi chiefdom as that part of history does not receive attention on this route; missionary education and the influence of Christianity is more of a focus. There is information about Dube's relationship with the chief and other prominent black men of his time. The men are dressed in suits, 'civilised' and educated. They also received missionary education. Additional information is given about the opening of the Ohlange Institute and the printing press used for *Ilanga*.

The last section in this exhibition space features texts entitled 'Man of the People' as well as various images: an old Ohlange yearbook, a popular image of a middle-aged Dube in a suit and tie, the printing press, the same image of the SANNC delegation that is displayed at the Phoenix Settlement, and Dube with other mission-educated men, namely, Albert Luthuli and Posselt Gumede. Missionary education is presented as being at the centre of Dube's life and work, as the only life he experienced and in which he believed.

The room on the left has a piano which introduces the idea of Dube as someone who loved music, and his home as one of music lovers. Music is also described as a fundamental part of the school: through music concerts, Dube and Nokuthela (MaMdima) Dube were able to raise funds to start the school.[129] They also compiled a song book which was discovered by Malian researcher Cherif Keita in the US. According to Keita, MaMdima popularised *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* which became the country's national anthem. She changed certain words to

[129] I will at times refer to Nokuthela Dube as MaMdima and Angelina Dube as MaKhumalo. It is a common practice in the Nguni cultures to refer to women by their maiden name and add *ma* at the beginning.

make it relevant to Ohlange and Dube, as the leader of the school. The song is included in the song book that the couple compiled.

Figure 21. Dube and an inconspicuous panel about his wives, MaMdima and MaKhumalo.

In the right corner is a panel with texts and an image of Dube seated, wearing a black suit and white shirt. Below is an empty bookshelf. Again, he is presented as an educated and sophisticated man. The texts are written in a small font and thus are not a focal point. However, Dube's name is written in a large font and in capital letters.

On the right of Dube's photograph are three panels featuring his wives, MaMdima and MaKhumalo. There is a small photograph of each, accompanied by texts. This information is in a corner and can easily be missed; I only noticed it on my third visit. The texts are written in a small font but the text for the women's names is large and the most visible in this space. Little is known about these two women and not much research has been done about them. MaMdima co-founded the school while MaKhumalo played a role in maintaining it, especially after the death of John Dube. She was also president of the Daughters of Africa, a

women's organisation that strived to uplift communities. Only in recent years have the two women been mentioned at the site. MaMdima received much attention when, in 2014, Keita discovered her grave in Brixton, Johannesburg, which had been forgotten. In the same year, the ANC Women's League hosted a lecture in her honour and a documentary about her life was aired there. Newspaper articles have featured MaMdima. Keita and Hughes are writing a biography about her. It is challenging to find information about these two women as women have not received prominence in history. At this site, they are not presented in the most prominent space and have not been the centre of focus. Dube's life is the most important story presented to visitors to this museum.

On the other side of the room are three panels about people who influenced Dube. There are small faces of each and texts about how they knew and influenced him. All are Americans linked to the American Board. One of these was Booker T. Washington whom Hughes presents in Dube's biography as someone who Dube looked up to and who greatly influenced Dube's work at Ohlange. Washington was an African American who was invested in practical education for black people. He advocated for social equality in the US by way of various platforms.[130] These panels are also not in the most noticeable space in this museum. However, in other parts of the museum the American Board is mentioned. The size of these panels and images is the same as that of MaMdima and MaKhumalo. The focus of this section is on the people who shaped Dube's mindset and encouraged him to start the school as well as those with whom he shared his plans.

[130] Hughes, *The First President*, 69.

Figure 22. A room depicting Dube the writer.

The third room on the right is the last room in the house. In black and white, it presents Dube as a writer and includes an artefact in the form of a desk. It is believed to have belonged to Dube and was kept in his study. On one wall is a large image of Dube and a caption reading, 'New African Movement and images of Seme and Sol Plaatje'. They were, together with Dube, the founding members of the SANNC. This space suggests that the three are the faces of the New African Movement. On the walls are pages of *iLanga lase Natali*, the newspaper founded by Dube and which served as a platform for black people to express their views and publish critiques on oppressive laws. There is a caption which reads 'Political Commander'.

Scholars such as Matsha have suggested that Dube's work in the press indicates that Dube and Gandhi influenced each other, had similar ideologies and values, and a good working relationship.[131] In this room Dube's view that black people should not be subordinated is presented. There is an image of the Bambatha Rebellion as well as writings in which Dube

[131] R. Matsha, 'Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape', 238-269.

expressed his views on the 1913 Native Land Act and other issues. His support for King Dinizulu is also presented.[132] On the wall are pages of the Shembe biography written by Dube, and of his novel *Jeqe: Insila ka Shaka,* which is presented as the first Zulu novel.

This exhibition focuses on Dube as an academic and writer, demonstrating how he expressed himself as such and his socio-political views. The walls in this exhibition represent pages of books and newspapers.

On the grass outside the house is signage with an image of Chief Mqhawe dressed in *ibheshu,* a hide apron that is considered to be traditional clothing for men in KwaZulu-Natal. Also included is a quote from the Head, Heart, Hand philosophy: 'To teach the brain to work, heart to understand and hand to serve.' The school was established to serve this purpose.

The Chapel Hall (The J. L. Dube Renaissance Centre)

Figure 23. The chapel hall where Mandela voted in the 1994 elections.

This building was used as the school chapel at Ohlange. It has been renamed the J. L. Dube

[132] His support for others will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Renaissance Centre but is still widely referred to as the chapel hall. The outside of the hall was inspired by Parliament in Cape Town, and this is used by guides to explain that Dube was a visionary as he was imagining his party leading Parliament. The hall houses a tourism office that includes a corner with tourist brochures and an open space with exhibitions on the sides. It served as a voting station in 1994 when South Africa held its first democratic elections. On the path outside leading to the hall, there is signage with an image of Mandela voting in 1994. As narrated by the tourism officer, Mandela chose to vote here as it was the home of Dube, and Inanda is home to ANC founder Pixley Seme. According to the guide, there was violence in the local townships at the time and Inkatha Freedom Party members boycotted elections. Residents were therefore scared to vote. Mandela came to Inanda to allay these fears, to show people that they should vote, and to restore hope. The lighting in this exhibition space makes every corner noticeable; there is no specific focus. However, the statue of Mandela is large and does not pass unnoticed. His story is thus the dominant one in this space.

On the right are walls with panels, not far from the window; in my view they look like those at the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg which are also shaped like books, portraying the place as a learning institution. On these panels are texts about the founding of the ANC and about composing songs, which brings back the element of Dube as a music lover. There are screens and speakers that play music linked to Ohlange. Music and Christianity are presented as important elements of the school in its founding years. The suggestion is that the school was more than an industrial institution, but that Dube instilled Christian values and gospel music there too. Smaller panels were included here shortly after the passing of Mandela to give people the opportunity to write messages about him. These panels have space for writing as well as blurred images of Mandela.

Inside the building and on the left is a panel with a screen and a speaker. Nearby is a large statue of Mandela and a box representing a ballot box. Behind it are texts explaining why Mandela voted at Ohlange. This section marks symbolically with footprints the last steps that Mandela took to vote for democracy. The tourism officer describes this day, from Mandela's arrival at Ohlange to the moment that he went to Dube's gravesite to say, 'Mr President, I have come to report to you that South Africa is now free.' Mandela has thus played a part in the history of this space, one that has been presented as encouraging democracy and where the values of a democratic nation can be learned. The 1994 vote was the most significant in South Africa's history and for Mandela to have chosen Ohlange as his voting site is presented as the most memorable event in its recent history.

Also displayed in the chapel hall is a musical instrument that belonged to MaMdima. As already mentioned, it was found by Keita in the US and in 2016 he donated to the museum. She used it while travelling there to raise funds for the school. It was a condition of the donation that the instrument would be displayed in the chapel hall. Next to it is a small photograph of MaMdima and some short texts.

Against the wall, not far from the musical instrument, are banners relating to commemorations hosted by the provincial government for leaders such as Albert Luthuli who is often viewed as a Dube of his generation and, like Dube, was a student at Ohlange. On the stage are banners made by the municipality, the most notable featuring a large image of Mandela voting in 1994 with the title, in capitals, 'Celebrate Madiba'. There are banners on either side of it relevant to Durban Tourism.

The museum has a strong emphasis on Dube as an educated man with a vision for his community and a selfless leader determined to stand up for his people in the fight for liberation. Liberation for him also encompassed independence so he established an industrial

school in his community. The representation of the school history emphasises the importance of music and introduces Dube as a lover of music. The roles of MaMdima and MaKhumalo are not effectively represented. This museum is a representation of the 'Great Man' style of museums in post-apartheid South Africa. The work of women is undermined and Ohlange is represented as the work of only one man: Dube. He is at the forefront of the establishment and success of the school. The story of Mandela also receives attention with Ohlange presented as the last step on Mandela's road to democracy. The tour at Ohlange ends at the chapel hall. The next stop is Inanda Seminary.

SITE 3: Inanda Seminary as a heritage institution

Figure 24. A bust of Mary Edwards, the first principal of Inanda Seminary.

Inanda Seminary is a Christian boarding school founded by American Board missionaries for African girls. It opened its doors on 1 March 1869, the first school of its kind in Southern Africa. All tours at Inanda Seminary are guided. The tour starts at the circle in *Figure 24*; a

bust of Mary Edwards in Victorian clothing is mounted in the middle of the circle and on the perimeter are benches for visitors. Edwards was the first principal of the school and was sent out by the then newly formed Women's Board of the American Board for Foreign Missions. The circle is enclosed by a low brick wall with several entrances. This space is in the middle of some of the oldest school buildings. From here, almost all sides of the school can be viewed. The guide meets visitors in this space, tells them the history of the school and points out the Mission House, which was the first building of the school. The institution is more than just a school; it is an attraction or museum. To some the school is a heritage site representing missionary heritage and the heritage of black women. To some it is a home as the pupils live on site. They refer to the female staff members as 'ma' which means mother, an indication that they see them as part of the Inanda Seminary family. On the school premises are staff cottages for those who live on campus with their families. The main buildings are like that of other Victorian-era schools. This indicates the strong influence and presence of the Western world in South Africa, as with the many Victorian buildings throughout the country. This is also how a great number of international visitors have described the school. Some express surprise to see a school in a township with such buildings. The setting is very green due to all the grass and plants, while the main buildings have green roofs and white walls. The same theme is maintained throughout the school. Even new buildings are painted with these colours.

Figure 25. Stanwood Cottage.

The bust faces the direction of another old building, Stanwood. Adjacent to this is Ayavuna block A which was built in 2013 with donations from the Ayavuna Trust led by alumnae of the seminary. Ayavuna is an investment company established by black women for the benefit of black women. It has made several donations to the school. Stanwood was built in 1906 as a staff cottage for single female teachers. It was named after Harriet Stanwood, who was secretary of the Women's Board under the American Board, which played a vital role in starting the school. The building houses the principal's office, staff room, boardroom and accommodation for visitors. In the boardroom are large, framed photographs of all the principals from 1869, except for the current principal. There are also aerial photographs of the school. There is a framed photograph of the Power of 10, the alumnae who saved the school from closure in 1997. The school was faced with major financial problems in the 1990s. The school board decided that it was no longer affordable to keep it running. The problems started in the 1950s due to the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which ensured that the education of black people was limited and provided minimal training. According to Couper,

'In 1954, Bantu Education financially asphyxiated the Seminary by gradually decreasing state subsidy, ending it completely in 1957. In addition, the state prohibited the school from charging tuition.'[133] Maintaining the school became difficult from the 1960s onwards, and in the 1990s the board decided to close it. The alumnae could not allow that, and they rallied for support from various institutions. In 1998, the school re-opened under a new entity, a Board of Governors composed of alumnae who volunteered selflessly to manage the school.[134] This board consisted of working- and middle-class women as well as retired educators and nurses.

One of the large, framed photographs displayed is of Rev Mdima, who served the school in the early 1900s as chaplain. He is believed to be the paternal uncle of MaMdima.[135] There is a large, framed painting of Daniel Lindley; a large, framed photograph of Mandela; and a framed photograph of Prince Mshiyeni, Dube and MaKhumalo together. This space also displays school awards and a list of chairpersons of the school boards.

[133] S. E. Couper, '"Let's Do Things on Our Own…": Gender and Class Dynamics during the Quest to Restore Inanda Seminary's Financial Integrity, 1999-2001', *New Contree,* 77 (December 2016), 100-122, 102.
[134] S.E. Couper, '"Where Men Fail, Women Take Over": Inanda Seminary's Rescue by its Own', *South African Historical Journal*, 67. 1 (2015), 1-31, 2.
[135] H. Hughes, 'Recovering the Lives of African Women Leaders in South Africa: The Case of Nokutela Dube', in D. Robert, ed., *African Christian Biography* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 2018). Also available at https://dacb.org/stories/southafrica/dube-nokutela/, accessed 30 September 2022.

The Mission House

Figure 26. The mission house where Daniel Lindley lived with his family is now an administration block.

The Mission House was built in 1867 and is a national monument, according to information in isiZulu, English and Afrikaans. It was built by Daniel Lindley who lived there with his family a few years before the school was opened. According to Wood, Lucy Lindley hosted classes here for local girls on home making, prior to the opening of the school.[136] The family left for the US a few years after the school was up and running, leaving the school under the care of Edwards. The guide explains that the building is now used as the administration block and is referred to as the general office. There is a signage panel with an image of Lindley and texts with information about this building. Visitors are then taken to the chapel. On their way they pass the Mobil Student Centre which was opened in 1972. This building and the secretarial building were built with donations from the Mobil Oil Corporation. The centre

[136] A. Wood, *Shine Where You Are: A Centenary History of Inanda Seminary, 1869-1969* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1972), 5.

houses the school dining hall and kitchen, some staff offices, the school tuckshop and computer lab. Opposite it is Phelps Hall.

Phelps Hall

Figure 27. Phelps Hall, named after the school's second principal.

Phelps Hall is the oldest dormitory and is named after the second principal, Fidelia Phelps. The cornerstone of Phelps Hall was laid in 1919 and it was officially opened in 1922. In 2012, a new dormitory was added when the old dining hall was divided to form a dormitory with donations from the Victor Daitz Foundation. As a result the Victor Daitz Dormitory now exists within Phelps Hall. There is a signage panel with information about the building; texts and images show the inside and outside, and there is a staff photograph of the early teachers with Phelps. The next stop is the chapel.

Lavinia Scott Chapel

Figure 28. The Lavinia Scott Chapel is named after the longest serving principal.

This chapel caught fire in 2021. The walls remain but the interior was destroyed. Outside, opposite the plaque of Phelps Hall, is another plaque about the chapel, with texts and photographs about the building and its opening. The chapel was named after Lavinia Scott who was the longest serving principal of the school: from 1939 to 1969, a difficult period because of apartheid laws. Prior to the fire the chapel was an important place of gathering and communal life, central to the school's mission of spiritual upliftment. It was used for school assemblies, worship and special events. The chapel, its presence, and its use as part of the school activities also made the school distinct from others. Tour guides tell visitors about Scott's term and they often ask how the school was kept running during the time of Bantu Education and how apartheid negatively affected the school. They also ask about the proceedings, the chapel services and the chaplain, who is an American missionary and resident of the seminary. Behind the chapel is the garden of remembrance in honour of all

who have been part of the seminary. On the other side of the chapel are staff cottages.

Next visitors walk down to the museum and archive, back past Phelps Hall and the other dormitories, Agnes Wood Dormitory and Margaret Nduna Dormitory, which were built in the 1980s, and past Clarke Memorial.

Clarke Memorial

Figure 29. This building was originally a library named after principal Evelyn Clarke.

The building in *Figure 29* was officially opened in 1942 as the school library. It was named after the third principal of the school, Evelyn Clarke. It was one of the first libraries in South Africa to cater for black people. The signage outside the building displays photographs from the time when it was still a library, taken from the inside, and texts about the importance of the library and of Clarke. Today the building serves as classrooms and staff offices. The library was moved to Edwards Hall, which is the next building.

Edwards Hall

Figure 30. Edwards Hall, named after the school's first principal.

This building was named after Mary Edwards, the first principal of the school and referred to by many as the founder. Tour guides speak about her as the most important person in the history of the school and she is remembered at various occasions, especially at the annual school birthday celebration when her grave is visited by all present. The signage outside this building has an image of Edwards as well as texts about her and the building. It was built in 1888, was damaged by fire in 1993, and was only restored in 2009. Visitors often ask what caused the fire and if it had anything to do with political violence. The fire was caused by an electrical fault and there were no deaths. At the time there was a dormitory on the top floor and classrooms at the bottom. Now it has classrooms, a seminar room and a library for the pupils. Meetings also take place in this building. Next to it is the Lucy Lindley Hall, which is the main area of interest for visitors.

The Lucy Lindley Hall

Figure 31. The Lucy Lindley Hall where the school's heritage is preserved.

At the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre tourists learn about the persistence required to establish the Inanda Seminary. The Lucy Lindley Hall houses the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre as well as the school museum (ground floor) and archive (first floor).[137] Some visitors only come to the centre although the whole school is of great interest. Visitors, including those who are not at Inanda Seminary as tourists, are taken to the centre. The building was constructed in 1897 and initially used for classrooms and dormitories. It was named after the woman whom I consider to be the founder of the school. With the help of her husband Daniel and other women, the school was opened for the first time in 1869 as an educational institution for black girls. Tour guides talk about Daniel and Lucy Lindley as the founders of the school. Wood, in *Shine Where You Are*, describes the Maternal Association,[138] its

[137] It is also commonly referred to as the Inanda Seminary Museum or just 'the archives'.

[138] The Maternal Association consisted of missionary wives who discussed problems faced by women and families.

formation, and how this led to the establishment of the school.[139] Lucy Lindley appears to be the main agitator, through the association, for a school for girls since Adams College was already educating young black men to be priests and teachers. It appears that her persistence led to the founding of the school, not an easy task considering that at the time only men could vote at American Board committee meetings. The challenges that women faced under the guardianship of the men meant that other women gave up on the idea of a girls' school, leaving Lucy Lindley to fight on, thus becoming the founder of the school. Wood's book is the most detailed work about the role played by Lucy Lindley. In brochures and other general histories, her role is not highlighted. However, when one visits the school, her history is spoken about and she is recognised as a co-founder. In the school, Edwards gets more recognition: on the school's birthday people visit her grave; there is also a song in her honour and the yearbook carries her name. The school is the first of its kind in Southern Africa, described in banners along the main road of Inanda as the 'School of African Legends'.

[139] Wood, *Shine Where You Are*, 5-12.

Figure 32. Domestic objects reflect the types of classes offered to girls in the mid-20th century when the school opened.

As visitors enter through the double doors, they encounter in the centre of the room a display of domestic items, beautifully and interestingly organised. This display represents the early curriculum of the school and other schools that offered classes for girls. In the early decades of the school, the central objective was to cultivate wives of the African clergy.[140] In the 1880s, the curriculum was expanded to include lessons in Geography and History, with an emphasis on Europe. Pupils were also taught English, Scripture and Arithmetic at primary school level.[141] This space is clear and bright; it catches one's attention and cannot be missed. The items displayed include Singer sewing machines and kitchen utensils. These demonstrate what was taught to women from the time the school was opened to the mid-20th century, that is, home making. These skills were taught by missionaries and were representative of

[140] M. Healy-Clancy, *A World of their Own: A Social History of South African Women's Education* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013).
[141] Ibid., 41.

women's work. Women were taught to be good wives to the priests educated at institutions such as Adams College, good mothers to their children and to contribute to the community. This area symbolises women's work and shows visitors that they are entering a space about women. On the wall that divides this space from the other sections of the museum is an arch bearing the school motto, in capitals, 'Shine Where You Are', in gold on the white wall. It faces the entrance and is easily visible. This motto was taken from the Bible; it is a representation of how Christianity is an important part of the school. It demonstrates that the school was established on Christian grounds. On the right of this motto is a framed, black-and-white portrait of Lucy Lindley. Below it is a short inscription stating the year and place of her death.

Figure 32 also shows two large reproductions of archival photographs, divided in two, and in a prominent position. These photographs show the girls doing their laundry in the 1890s. In one photograph they are on the school premises and are using a drying press. The other photograph shows the girls doing their laundry at Umzinyathi River, watched over by two white women, possibly Edwards and a teacher at Inanda Seminary. There are small descriptions written in white on black paper, not clearly visible. In front of these photographs is a drying press believed to have been used at the school. This is a fascinating machine and visitors often ask questions about how it works.

Against the walls of the first section of the museum hang cloth banners featuring women educated at Inanda Seminary from the early years until the 1980s and who became pioneers in fields dominated by white people or men. On one side of the room a banner reads, in capitals, 'Inanda Seminary Pioneers' in beige type on a black background. Each banner has a portrait of one of the women, a heading and a long biographical text. The colours are tones of grey and light blue with texts written in black. The text on the banners is not clearly visible

from a distance, perhaps due to the large amount of information they contain. These same colours and font are used throughout this section. Starting from the left, the first banner is about Nokutela Dube, a pioneer in music education. The image used here is the same as the one at Ohlange: she is wearing a dress that comes up to her chin, the same style as that worn by Mary Edwards and other female missionaries of the time. She is presented as a Christian woman and a sophisticated woman. Next are Lucy and Dalita (Issac) Seme, African missionary pioneers. Lucy is also wearing the type of dress typically worn by early female missionaries in photographs, but it is in a different pattern. Dalita has a head wrap and seems to be wearing a long dress although it is not clearly visible. Her head wrap indicates in African and some other cultures that she is either married or engaged. Next is Sibusisiwe Violet Makhanya, a social work pioneer. She is dressed according to Southern African tradition: she is wearing Southern African-styled beads and looks like a Nguni woman. She comes across as confident. After her comes Constance Nokupana Makhanya, pioneer in nursing. She is dressed in a nurse's uniform of the early 1900s. The banner that follows features Winnie Emoung, pioneer in psychology. She is wearing glasses and what one assumes is a dress although it is not clearly visible. In all these images the women have 'serious looks', that is, they look as if they are seated upright and they are not smiling. Most, if not all, come from families of early Zulu Christian converts. This manner of posing is related to a specific era. It may also be due to the quality of cameras at the time which forced people to sit up or stand up straight and look at the camera without blinking.

The wall on the other side of the room starts with the banner of Barbara Masekela, pioneer in international relations. She is wearing glasses and a head wrap, although in a different manner to Dalita as it appears to be more modern. Next is Baleka Mbete, pioneer of politics, wearing glasses and a head wrap in the style of those worn by West African women. Her dress also looks West African. After this comes Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, pioneer in

government. Her dress is not easily visible. This banner is followed by that of Thembalihle Hixonia Nyasula, pioneer in business. She has an 'afro' and appears to be wearing a shirt and jersey. The last banner is that of Noluthando (Thandi) Orleyn, pioneer in law, with long dreadlocks that cover her clothes. In all the images, the women are smiling and look relaxed, an indication that the photographs were taken in modern times.

The banners present women of Inanda Seminary as high achievers. This motivates the current pupils and shows that their achievements need not be confined to the initial aim of the school, that is, to produce wives for the clergy at Adams College. It shows that the school curriculum has transformed and that Inanda Seminary has often been ahead of its times and has prepared its girls for the future. The women in the banners appear to have high self-esteem and confidence, important qualities for anyone who dares to tackle fields that are out of the norm or believed to be impossible to attain. They appear to be women with good leadership skills and who are ready to take over the world. These women are not featured anywhere else on the route, with the exception of Nokutela MaMdima Dube; neither do they appear on the large banners on the side of roads.

Below these banners are display cases with yearbooks (from 1933 to 2012). From 1933 to 1945, the yearbooks were produced jointly with Ohlange and were known as the *Torchbearer*. This shows the close relationship between the seminary and Ohlange and their common goals. From 1946 onwards, Inanda Seminary started producing its own yearbook known as *Ezakwamahedwards*.[142] As previously mentioned, 'ma' is the term pupils use to refer to all female staff because they assume the role of a mother to the boarders who spend most of their time at the school. Everyone is part of the Inanda family where mothers play a

[142] *Ezakwamahedwards* means 'of or belonging to ma Edwards', the first principal of Inanda Seminary. These yearbooks were named in her honour.

vital role. It is also common in Zulu/African culture to call an older female person ‘ma’ whether one is related to them or not. It is part of *ukuhlonipha*, that is, respecting a person in a way that you would respect your mother. Also in the display cases are coins engraved with the face of Edwards. In the same section are panels with quotations showing people’s impressions of Inanda Seminary.

In the centre of the room are two display cases, a visitors’ book, flyers of Meghan Healy’s book *A World of their Own*, and 1980s yearbooks for sale. In one display case is a large US flag dating from the Anglo-Boer War. At the time there were rumours that the Boers would invade Natal and so women got together to make this flag to be flown at the seminary. This would show that the seminary was with neither the British nor the Boers, but with the US and thus not involved in the conflicts. The strategy was intended to save the school. However, the invasion turned out to be no more than rumour as the Boers did not come as far as Port Natal. The flag was thus never flown for its originally intended purpose. The other display case contains items that belonged to the Lindley family: a large Bible written in High Dutch, a hairpin with a photograph, and a photograph of American Board members inserted in the cover of a book. A Bible has been covered with fabric and used as a doorstop in the principal’s office; it was discovered by an acting principal of the early 1920s.

Moving to the right there is a grinding stone with information about the slogan ‘Wath’ Abafazi, Wathint’ Imbokodo’ (you strike a woman, you strike a rock). The slogan has been used in different spaces to symbolise the courage and strength of South African women, especially the 1956 women’s march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria against the extension of the pass laws. Beside the grinding stone is a bowl-shaped basket made from colourful beads and on the floor is a large beer pot. These artefacts represent African women and their work: beadwork is done by women and is common in African culture; women also make

African beer.

In this space there are also panels, the first entitled ‘Natal in the 1800s’ with beige type on a black background. The text that follows the heading is in small print. After this is a beige panel with a map of the Colony of Natal. Texts on this panel end with the sentence, ‘It is here that the American Board missionaries, Daniel and Lucy Lindley, decided to in 1847 found a mission to spread Christianity among the local Zulu people.’ This sentence is in bold and enlarged. At the corner are two panels that continue on from this one. On the first the following words are highlighted: ‘They were motivated by a desire to bring about changes that would improve (as they saw it) the lives of indigenous people, both materially and spiritually.’ This is a common way of representing the work of missionaries in different historic schools, mission stations and museums. The missionaries are presented as saviours, saints who came to change the lives of indigenous people for the better. The disputes that took place between the local leaders and missionaries are not presented; the attitudes and misconceptions that missionaries carried about the local cultures are not debated. Hughes has discussed how tension arose between Chief Mqhawe and Daniel Lindley because Lindley was taking control of certain land, prohibiting local people from settling in areas close to the mission station. The relationship between the colonial government and the missionaries is also not discussed. The local people appear to be subordinates of the missionaries and in need of saving. The panel that follows has a drawing of an ox-wagon and is titled ‘Christian missionaries in South Africa’. It includes some information about other missionary work outside Inanda as well as links between the Inanda mission station and other mission stations around the country.

As visitors move around the room, they encounter a trunk that belonged to a former teacher, Dr Helmut Weigert, as well as a banner with information about him. He died on Inanda

Seminary's beach day while trying to save two pupils; only one of the three survived. He is honoured for his selflessness and heroism in trying to save others. Next to the trunk is a piano and a chair. The piano was used in the school chapel. Music has for years been an important part of school culture, especially for worship as it is a Christian school. On the piano is a cover of the Choralairs' record. They were a music and dance group in the 1970s and sang at the wedding of a chief. Above is a screen and speaker which is used to play music by pupils, two songs by the Choralairs and two by other pupils from recent years. These songs were taken from the hymn book of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa.

In the left corner from there is an antique chair and wardrobe that belonged to Edwards. She arrived in Inanda with these and other items in November 1868. Above these items are panels about the founding years of the school. There is an image of the avenue leading to the school. The image is in black and white, and the avenue is dusty. Another image is of a small dam not far from the school. The items that follow as one continues are a postman's bag and a trunk belonging to Daniel Lindley. He used it on his travels, including his journey to Inanda. The much-travelled trunk was inherited by his daughter who left it to her children and grandchildren. It finally made its way back to the seminary by way of a descendant who is also an American missionary and shares Lindley's first name. Above the trunk is a small panel giving its history. Next is a bench that was used in the school. Above it is a panel about the Lindleys and the early years of the school. There are images arranged in the form of a collage of early staff, Lucy and Daniel Lindley, and the couple with their 11 children. All the images are labelled and the bodies of the people in these images are covered by their clothing, reflecting people with Christian morals. These images are black and white and reflective of photographs of the late 19th and early 20th century. There is also an image of the old school building showing the first block of classrooms, which was destroyed in the 1920s.

The bench is followed by two large pots on coal stoves. Between them is *isithebe*, a wooden platter. There is minimal presence of Zulu culture and no mention of other indigenous cultures of which the pupils were part. Above *isithebe* is a bright and colourful banner with the words 'Make Joyful Noise'. This banner also features musical instruments and two learners, one black, one white. It may mean that music brings people together or that in music people are able to rejoice as a collective. It also has a celebratory message. After the second pot and stove there is a panel about Bantu Education. It discusses how Inanda Seminary was affected, and includes images arranged in a collage. These images date from the period of Bantu Education, and show Lavinia Scott, who was principal at the time, and other members of the seminary. The discussion is continued on the panel in the corner, black and not easily visible, as well as in narratives shown on the screen, not far from the panel. Other narratives are about the culture and the overall history of the school. These are told by former pupils and staff members, and the current principal of the school. They are told in English with isiZulu subtitles. In this section there is a pipe bender as well as a coal iron stove which was used in the school before electricity.

Figure 33. Displays show pupils visiting a hospital, using a microscope and learning to type.

Large images of girls doing their laundry are mounted on glass dividers. On the reverse side are images showing the girls learning. First from the left is a quotation from a journal article, 'A Lighthouse for African Womanhood: Inanda Seminary, 1869-1945', written by Hughes about the history of the school.. Next is an image of seated pupils in their classroom and a teacher standing. The second image shows pupils at King Edward VIII Hospital observing a human skeleton with a woman who appears to be a nurse. The third image shows a young black woman using a microscope. The fourth and last image shows pupils in their secretarial class using typewriters and a teacher standing at the back of the classroom. Below these images are a range of artefacts: a chair that Edwards brought to South Africa, a desk with books and a bag. There are also microscopes, other equipment for science classes, typewriters and a large telephone. These artefacts represent the old curriculum of the school, possibly showing its diversity and evolution.

The last part of the exhibition has a panel with texts and an image showing learners marching on 16 June 1976. One of the learners is carrying a poster which reads 'To hell with Afrikaans.' The same image is displayed at the Phoenix Settlement. Visitors often ask about the atmosphere at the seminary during this time. Pupils, although politicised, were in a protected space. They did not engage in any major activism and neither were they exposed to or victimised by the police. During this time one of the pupils wrote a poem entitled 'A World of Their Own', describing how the seminary was separate from the political unrest that was happening in townships at the time.

Figure 34. The archives feature books and displays on topics ranging from the American Board to traditional leaders.

On the first floor are the archives, divided into three rooms and an open space. The open space has panels that tell the story of the American Board, from its establishment in 1810 and including that of the Women's Board, the seminary and bodies such as the United Church of Christ and Global Ministries. The headings of these panels include 'Of Faith and Courage', 'Controversy: Rethinking the Mission's Task', 'Education as Mission' and 'When Women Discovered the World'. These panels feature historic images showing boats, the early congregations and the key ministers in the founding years. The panel about the seminary has images of Albert Luthuli as he had served the board, and an image of Edwards. In these spaces there are also images of early Xhosa and Zulu clans and some chiefs, all dressed traditionally. There is also a banner made when the seminary turned 140 years old; it features the school colours and logo. Below it is a noticeboard on which periodicals and other information are attached. There is also a shelf with rare books on topics such as biographies of prominent individuals (mainly South African), Christian history, women, general African and South African histories, and KwaZulu-Natal (mainly politics). School photographs are

also kept in the archives. The main room is the office of the archivist, and it is surrounded by cabinets with historical records mainly relating to the school, women, education and Inanda.

In sum, the museum introduces the seminary as an institution for women, showing how they were taught to be homemakers but also that there was a later transformation of that mentality. The museum represents the seminary as an institution that teaches women the self-confidence that is needed to break away from the norm. It is also presented as an institution that produced female leaders who contributed to the larger South African community. The missionaries are presented as the people behind this success: their courage, determination and willingness to help as important factors behind the education of the nation. Negative aspects of the missionaries' involvement are left out. The efforts of people who were not missionaries but were part of the running of the seminary are neglected or not well presented. The conflict between Qadi Chief Mqhawe and Lindley, as presented by Hughes in her dissertation, is omitted. The museum serves as a place that presents the heritage of the school and its inspirational stories.

Opposite the Lucy Lindley Hall is the First Centenary Building which was originally built as the school health centre. It now serves as staff cottages. Outside it is a signage panel about the building as well as images of pupils. Next to this hall is Nichols Memorial, named after a former staff member, Virginia Nichols. It was originally used as a kitchen and has since been divided into two classrooms and a storeroom. Outside it is a signage panel with information and an image of Nichols.

The Industrial Building

Figure 35. The last structure built when Edwards was still alive was originally used for sewing classes.

The Industrial Building is a historic building that is large and easily visible to visitors, who find it interesting. It was originally given the name Edwards Industrial Building. The building was used for industrial classes such as sewing. Today it is still used for classrooms, but industrial lessons are no longer offered. It was the last building built while Edwards was still alive. The signage panel outside it has texts about the building with images of Edwards and the building. A time capsule buried 100 years ago was recently discovered in this building. A new time capsule has been buried with the hope that future generations will find it and learn about the school at this current time. This is the last building on the tour.

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Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed analysis of the exhibitions at the main sites of the route on which visitors are taken. The analysis was guided by Kratz's analytic method 'rhetorics of values', which looks at the specific meanings represented in exhibitions, the different elements used and the purposes they serve. The first site on the route, the Phoenix Settlement, which was Gandhi's home during his time in South Africa, provides an introduction to the route. Visitors encounter a huge map of the route that marks sites of historical significance, including some that are not established heritage institutions. The route represents the history of Inanda driven by a specific narrative, that is, Inanda as an important area in the story of the country's road to democracy. There is an emphasis on Inanda's history of producing leaders who were bound by their willingness to liberate the oppressed by challenging colonial authorities using non-violent methods. Similar themes feature in the various exhibitions of the route: the importance of education, spirituality and independence. The role that Gandhi and Dube played in the struggle for liberation ensured that Inanda was an important place for significant discussions and plans to liberate the oppressed. The importance of Inanda is also demonstrated on the route by material about Mandela's decision to cast his vote there in the country's first democratic elections, which resulted in him becoming the country's first black and democratically elected president. The focus of the route is on male leadership. However, Inanda Seminary offers a slightly different narrative, one in which women were able to take up space in society. The chapter considered the meanings that the exhibitions portray and the histories that they place at the centre of focus as well as the elements used to do this. The different elements and exhibitions encourage visitors to understand Inanda's histories in specific ways and forge certain narratives.

Chapter 2 discusses historiography that may assist us to critically consider the specific choices made with regards to the narratives incorporated into the Inanda Heritage Route.

CHAPTER 2

Biographical configuration of the Inanda Heritage Route

Introduction

As described in Chapter 1, on entering the Phoenix Settlement, visitors encounter a large map of Inanda. It consists of the heritage route superimposed on an aerial photograph and it identifies places of significance on the journey. The map thus introduces visitors to the route and its purpose. A route can be understood as a road, a path with different stops along the way, leading to a destination. Encountered on the first stop of the route, the map immediately alerts visitors to places that are presented as historically significant and worthy of public commemoration and preservation. Eighteen such sites are marked on the aerial photograph. The established heritage sites and museums are circled and there are texts with more information on these places. The Inanda Heritage Route is represented as being at the heart of South Africa's democracy. This is achieved by emphasising how leaders in Inanda paved the way to democracy, and by highlighting events where possibilities for the country's future were discussed. The narrative traces some of the roots of the democratic order back to Inanda.

Maps are representational and choices are made in terms of what is marked, what is included and why. Maps raise issues of power and control, and in this way are related to the politics of knowledge. The introductory display at the Phoenix Settlement initiates visitors into the whole of the Inanda Heritage Route, making prominent use of terms such as the 'seeds of democracy', implying that the journey to South Africa's democracy started in Inanda and that Mandela's symbolic vote there entailed reaping the seeds planted by leaders such as John Langalibalele Dube. Moreover, the sites that feature on the map are linked to male *amakholwa* leaders from the early ANC to communities of *amakholwa* and to the

missionaries associated with their history as Christians. The map thus immediately introduces visitors to Inanda's heritage. It guides them and points them to a specific period (from the mid-1800s to early 1900s) and to a specific date (27 April 1994), that of South Africa's first democratic elections. It is significant that most of the places marked as heritage sites on the map are the homes of leaders or of institutions established by these leaders. Each institution marked on the map is named after a prominent person; their biographical information and significance to the resistance is included. The information provided also reveals the links between individuals and neighbouring institutions and emphasises good working relations between them. These leaders are presented as people who worked together, influenced each other and were good friends.

This chapter draws on the scholarship of public history and biography in South Africa in order to provide a more detailed analysis of this biographic approach.

The configuration of the biographical approach in South African political biography and public history

In his article 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', Ciraj Rassool argues that the '…fields of resistance history and political biography in South Africa have seemed largely set against the consideration of theoretical issues of the relationship between biography and history, and individual and society and issues of narrative, subjectivity and discourse.'[143] Moreover, '…the history of a life tended to be approached as a linear human career, formed by an ordered sequence of acts, events and works, with individuals characterised by stability, autonomy, self-determination and rational choice.'[144] This approach does not consider elements of a person's life that are part of building their

[143] C. Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41. 1 (2010), 28-55, 29.
[144] Ibid.

character and make them human. In this article, Rassool focuses on political biography and on what he calls the 'documentary' approach. He asserts that '…these linear biographical constructions, born out of realist projects where subjects were thought to have lived lives in chronological narratives, served to perpetuate a modernist fantasy about society and selfhood'.[145] This is a 'biographical illusion' in which the main challenges of the historian are deemed to be empirical.[146]

At the centre of Rassool's research are South African resistance histories, and he looks at biographies as a way of approaching these. He draws on documentary history in relation to biographies. This article is the published version of an argument he made in his PhD thesis on the life of Isaac Bangani Tabata, biographical research and resistance history in South Africa. The focus on Tabata in the thesis was preceded by extensive discussions on and critiques of approaches to biography.[147] Rassool sets out to examine the career of biography as a method of research and field of enquiry in the social sciences, history and literature. He says that '…biographical narratives have been produced inside and outside the academy through written and spoken words, through images and exhibitions, through archival collections and memorials and through funeral practices and commemorative occasions.'[148] He adds that '[i]t is important to open up alternative approaches to biography that challenge history's resistance to theory, and pose questions about narration and self-narration, gender and biography's relationship with autobiography.'[149] Rassool's thesis is one of the most detailed critical discussions about biography in South African historiography and is particularly valuable for the way in which it considers different ways of approaching biographies, together with its

[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] C. Rassool, 'The Individual and Auto/Biography and History in South Africa' (PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2004), 1.
[148] Ibid., 6.
[149] Ibid, 12.

strong focus on the biographical configuration of public history, particularly in post-apartheid South Africa. For these reasons I will continue to refer to the thesis in the discussion that follows.

Rassool is critical of the way in which resistance histories and political biographies have been approached. He identifies patterns in the work of various scholars and shows that many political biographers have failed to think critically about the way in which biography relates to history.[150] As a result, the approach to political biography has tended to focus on the history of a life as a linear human career, as noted above, in which events are presented as an 'ordered sequence'. In turn, this pattern has been dominant in public history, especially in museum exhibitions. Archives and museums have been treated as spaces of unquestionable facts. They hold 'evidence' and 'truths' about those who lived before us as well as lessons from the past. Rassool, throughout his research, presents the need to look at resistance history differently.

Rassool argues that 'documentary, positivist approaches' simply focus on 'establishing the chronological narrative of a life' to 'recover' it 'for the historical record'.[151] He asserts that the approach to narrating history has been simplistic in that people are thought of as 'individuals and how they present what happened in the past as forming a "linear" story, one event leading to another in a coherent and orderly way'.[152] Rassool traces

> ...the evolution of documentary approaches to South African resistance history, produced almost entirely by American and American-trained scholars. With their origins in the efforts of Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter and their colleagues to document and narrate African nationalism and resistance politics in South Africa, this approach has proven to be enduring. The methods and concerns of this approach continue to form the basis of a great deal of research on South African political history.[153]

[150] Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History', 29.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

He says that it is through resistance history and the manner in which biographies are presented that leaders are modelled to speak as national subjects and that this is aimed at constructing national histories.[154] Even though biographies have not been limited to this approach, it has been the dominant one in biographical research. Rassool suggest that in the production of the past and the construction of lives, narratives should be taken more seriously.[155] He asserts that it is possible to approach political biography and resistance history '…in new ways through a focus on biographical production, biographical relations, the cultural politics of lives and institutions, and the idea of biographic contestation'.[156] Approaching resistance history in this manner moves away from presenting the history of a people through the lives of certain leaders.

The article led to a debate with Jonathan Hyslop that usefully highlights some aspects of Rassool's argument. Writing in the *South African Review of Sociology,* Rassool presents the argument first made in his thesis—that '…political history can be approached outside the limited frameworks of documentary history' and that it can '…emerge as a study of reciprocal constructions and ways in which people can narrate each other in relationships, especially ones that are ongoing, regular and formative.'[157] Political biography does not have to reproduce the 'biographical illusion'.

Hyslop starts by quoting Guha, an Indian writer, and joking that Rassool could have titled his article 'Why South Africans Write Bad Biographies and Why They Should Not Write Biography at All'. According to Hyslop, Rassool '…makes a fundamental challenge to the practice of biographical writing in the field of southern African history and social science'.[158]

[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid., 47.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid., 46.
[158] J. Hyslop, 'On Biography: A Response to Ciraj Rassool', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41. 2 (2010), 104-115, 104.

In fact, he '… goes further than this casting doubt on the validity and value of biography, as conventionally understood as a genre'.[159] Hyslop characterises the purpose of his own article as '…to defend the worth of the biographical enterprise against his criticisms'.[160] He sees biography as a '…unique combination of art, industry, scholarship and literature'[161] and that it has '…enormous potential for the historian and social scientist alike'.[162] In as much as Hyslop extensively critiques Rassool's approach and arguments, he admits that Rassool makes some valuable points. Hyslop asserts:

> In my view, the whole historical enterprise in South Africa is threatened by attempts to impose an official narrative of the liberation struggle, centred on the ANC and its leadership, into which the entire history of modern South Africa is subsumed.[163]

Rassool also draws attention to this in his article and in the thesis. He notes that this is one of the dominant discourses in biographical research and resistance history.

Hyslop questions Rassool's critiques on conventional biography and claims that Rassool sees it as 'positivist' and 'realist'. Hyslop says that Rassool attempts to explain why 'these purported intrinsic features of biography are bad' but relies on 'a sort of contemporary academic common sense, in which the well-brought-up scholar knows that he or she should never be associated with anything that smacks of such crimes and errors…'[164] This understanding of Rassool's work does not do justice to his contribution to the scholarship of biographical research. Rassool clearly points out that he aims to show possibilities of approaching biography in a more theoretically informed way.

Hyslop says Rassool's indictment of the documentary method is overblown, and claims that

[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Guha, cited in Hyslop, 'On Biography', 104.
[162] Hyslop, 'On Biography', 104.
[163] Ibid., 105.
[164] Ibid., 105.

Rassool discounts the value of all work in paper archives and that this seems to be unwarranted.[165] He also says that 'Rassool's scepticism about treating the individual life as the object of historical informed analysis is by no means a necessary inference from a complex and theoretically informed view of the constitution of the self'.[166] Hyslop notes his concern about Rassool's 'dismissal of conventional biographies'.[167] Hyslop claims that Rassool largely ignores the enormous production of biography and resistance history by scholars in South Africa, the United Kingdom and elsewhere who were not influenced by Carter and Karis.[168] Hyslop further claims that South African and international scholarship from the 1960s owes much to the new Africanist historiography, British social historians and French structuralist Marxists, and that he does not see that Carter and Karis played a similar role in forming the literature.[169] He gives examples of political biographies produced before Carter and Karis. Hylsop adds: 'As I have made clear, I do in fact agree with Rassool that there is a dangerously teleological and hero-worshipping trend in South African political history, and that it is centred on a kind of theodicy of the rise of the ANC.'[170] However, Hyslop also notes that, in turn, there are many biographies that do not conform to this trend. It appears as if Hyslop believes that Rassool has made exaggerated claims about the state of biographies and resistance histories in South Africa.

Rassool wrote a response to Hyslop, highlighting the way in which his arguments had been misunderstood. Rassool emphasises that he does not seek to doubt the validity of biographies. His project is an engagement with the field of history, and biography has been key to understanding resistance history.[171] Rassool explains how he aimed in his PhD thesis to

[165] Ibid., 107.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid
[168] Ibid., 109.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., 110.
[171] C. Rassool, 'The Challenges of Rethinking South African Political Biography: A Reply to Jonathan Hyslop', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41. 2 (2010), 117-119, 117.

recover '…Tabata as a means of addressing the serious shortcomings in historiography and resistance that paid little attention to the Unity Movement.'[172] Defending the position in his research, he asserts that his study was necessary to address the way in which histories of secular modernist politics could be reconceptualised in cultural terms beyond framings of documentary and social history.[173] In my view, Hyslop appears to have misunderstood Rassool's main arguments and to have misinterpreted his critiques of resistance histories and dominant approaches to biographies. Rassool did not intend to demean or disregard what had been done in the field. His thesis is an in-depth analysis of the subject and he provides examples of biographies that were able to offer a different perspective in place of the dominant discourse.

Rassool's reflections on South African political biography offer a useful basis for more detailed interrogation of the choices made in the design of the Inanda Heritage Route and the configuration of biographies that, as shown in Chapter 1, dominate the historical narratives presented on the route. Rassool critiques the narrow approach to the history of resistance characterised by a focus on organised bodies led by 'great men' whose leadership has been taken as a given; this, too, can be applied to the approach taken on the Inanda Heritage Route.[174] There is a lack of recognition that leadership has the ability to change over time, that experiences and surroundings influence leadership, and that there is constant learning and growth. The approach critiqued by Rassool takes away the human element of these leaders; they were not exempt from mistakes or human faults. National histories have been constructed in which leaders have been made to speak, through resistance history, as national subjects.[175] Leaders' political careers remain central to histories of resistance.[176] Rassool

[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid., 119.
[174] Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History', 29.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

places significant emphasis on this in his research projects, as will be discussed next.

In Chapter 3 of his thesis, Rassool moves away from his analysis of the dominant discourse and discusses other forms of biographies. In his earlier work, he discusses post-apartheid museums and the focus on struggle heroes. He has also examined post-apartheid heritage initiatives. The study of biography extends to the heritage sector as South African heritage focuses on biographic memorials. Rassool has asserted that there is a strong focus on the role of leaders,[177] and this is also emphasised on the Inanda Heritage Route. Rassool writes that the homes of leaders have been significant sites as their contribution was central to South Africa's legacy of democracy.[178] Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela were some of the leaders singled out for special focus.[179] They are a significant focus of the route, too, and their faces and names are featured on promotional material. Rassool notes that the footsteps of Mandela are marked in various parts of the country.[180] Inanda marks his last footstep on the road to democracy, the site where he cast his first democratic vote in 1994. The route, a flagship heritage project that involved both national and regional government, exemplifies the dominant approach characterised by biographical history. In addition, this approach emphasises the history of ANC leaders, the history of the ANC on the road to democracy, and the lives of great leaders.

In his thesis Rassool also considers more complex research and arguments by social historians. This is useful for my review of relevant historiography as I can then compare in more detail how *kholwa* history and biography is constructed on the route in comparison to the range of available historical research. Rassool points out that Shula Marks, Brian Willan

[177] C. Rassool, 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 26. 1 (2000), 1-21, 11.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid, 12.

and Paul la Hausse approached biographies differently in that they attempted to draw attention to the fractured nature of the African middle class and the contradictions of nationalism.[181] Marks was among the first scholars to write about John Dube[182] and important writings by others have followed. In this way she paved the way for further research. Rassool commends these academics for approaching biography in a less conventional manner. He says the picture represented by Marks sought to identify complexities and contradictions.[183] Her approach moves away from biographic images of consistency in leadership and public achievements.[184] He says she took studies of class and nationalism further in a biographic study in which metaphor of mask and notion of ambiguity were central.[185] She identified contradictions and ambiguities in African protest politics. I will engage with Marks's research in the sections that follow.

Willan studied the life of Sol Plaatje as a prism for understanding nationalism and for expressing class-based attitudes and aspirations of the African petty bourgeoisie.[186] La Hausse's study of Elias Kuzwayo falls under the same type of scholarship as that of Marks with its focus on understanding the composition and dynamics of the *kholwa*, their self-interests and self-advancements.[187] Rassool was therefore able to recognise some interesting approaches to biographies that moved beyond the dominant approaches.

Rassool has also looked at gender analysis as a way of approaching biographies. This contrasts with a patriarchal perspective that focuses on the great lives of extraordinary men who assumed leadership roles. Rassool explains that: 'Conventional biography consisted of

[181] Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/Biography and History in South Africa', 146.
[182] See S. Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 1. 2 (1975), 162-180.
[183] Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/Biography and History in South Africa', 147.
[184] Ibid., 147-148.
[185] Ibid., 148.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., 149.

identification with and celebration of achievement, and sought to plot the growth and development of the awareness and power of the 'biographee', celebrating the assumed consistency and coherence of character and selfhood.'[188] Rassool also draws on the work of Mary Evans who was concerned with issues of gender relations to biography: 'Mary Evans has gone further to argue that the pattern of the conventional, traditional biography was also a masculinist one.'[189] She says male biographies are presented in a strict chronological order—from family to the period when the individual goes out into the world as an adult, followed by his achievements, as if his upbringing has prepared him for this.[190]

A 2019 article by Nancy Jacobs and Andrew Bank also offers useful discussion about post-apartheid biographical research. They argue that, shortly after the end of apartheid, there was a 'cohort of readers'

> driven primarily by the curiosity about diversity, a desire for individuals to read the life stories that could not be told during the apartheid years, as well as the need to engage in some process of inner reckoning, of coming to terms with the pain and suffering of apartheid as narrated in accounts of the life paths of others.[191]

It is in this era that scholarship about black leadership emerged as an area of interest to historians, notably, the stories of 'heroes' whose lives could not be celebrated and whose stories could not be told during apartheid. Jacobs and Bank note that biographies in South Africa were initially those of white men, suggesting racial and gender bias.[192] Like Rassool, Jacobs and Bank point out an overwhelming focus on male leaders in post-apartheid biographies—more than 100 of these celebrate male leaders of resistance movements who became post-apartheid politicians; only 15 percent of such biographies are of women.[193]

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[188] Ibid., 27.
[189] Ibid., 28.
[190] Ibid., 29.
[191] N. Jacobs and A. Bank, 'Biography in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Call for Awkwardness', *African Studies,* 78. 2 (March 2019), 165-182, 166.
[192] Ibid., 168.
[193] Ibid.

Those that do exist are mostly of activists' wives and not women activists in their own right.[194] Citing Hughes, they comment that there is a tendency to underrepresent the public leadership of women and to mislead history by depicting women in supporting roles.[195]

Jacobs and Bank also discuss more complex approaches to biography and what they term 'awkwardness'. According to Jacobs and Bank 'The most discomforting form of awkwardness in political biography of men and women lies in areas where the subject's personal life complicates, or even contradicts, public understandings'.[196] As they suggest that some biographers, '…have shown it is possible to write, in particular, of male political figures without allowing their leadership to serve as an explanation for itself and without assuming any simple correlation between leader, dominant political tradition and social change.'[197]

Debates about dominant configurations of biography provide a basis for careful consideration about the way in which the Inanda Heritage Route presents leaders and institutions. The route was planned soon after the democratic transition, a time when the ANC pursued the politics of reconciliation and national unity. This was done by various tiers of government and included working on projects aimed at developing previously disadvantaged areas in heritage as well as the wider heritage sector. The trend in heritage institutions was therefore to represent progressive histories, to promote peace between different groups and to instil empathy among citizens. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, the reconstruction of heritage in South Africa formed part of rebuilding the nation and encouraging citizens to see themselves as part of a multicultural nation.[198] Rassool argues that tourism became the

[194] Ibid.
[195] Hughes, 2012, cited in Jacobs and Bank, 'Biography in Post-Apartheid South Africa', 169.
[196] Jacobs and Bank, 'Biography in Post-Apartheid South Africa'.
[197] Ibid., 170.
[198] Rassool, 'The Rise and Reconstitution of Heritage in South Africa', 7.

redemptive route to nation building and that reconciliation became a feature of reimaging and planning new tourism routes.[199]

Representation on the Inanda Heritage Route

As part of the trend discussed above, the history of Inanda is represented through the lives of great men associated with the ANC. They are portrayed as men worth celebrating because they lived devout lives, strived for the upliftment of their communities, and worked together regardless of race and cultural differences. An imaginary community of Inanda was thus forged through narrative representation of the lives of Gandhi, Shembe and Dube—along with Mary Edwards. For example, the first exhibition at the Phoenix Settlement focuses on the interconnected lives of Gandhi, Shembe, Dube and Edwards. The display on the first site represents how they sat together in meetings and started discussions about the future of the country. To my knowledge, there are no records of such meetings taking place. Suggestions that these leaders worked together in this way can be contested; there is not enough evidence that they often worked together and no evidence that Gandhi and Dube were friends.

On the route, Dube's story is introduced with the photograph of the SANNC delegation that went to London in response to the Native Land Act of 1913. The congress was an important part of his political life, which in turn is portrayed as the most important aspect of his life in general. The route emphasises how hard Dube worked for the ANC and how hard he worked to fight against the colonial government. This representation of Dube takes the form of a political biography, that of a man who led a heroic life.

At Ohlange, too, the emphasis is on the way in which the school fitted in with Dube's political life. Dube is represented as a man who lived a devout life with the *kholwa*

[199] Ibid., 12.

upbringing at the centre of his existence. Interactions with other families of *amakholwa* such as the Cele and Gumede families are also featured in the Dube House exhibition. A small section of the exhibit features Dube's literary biography. The newspaper *iLanga lase Natali* is seen as one of his great achievements. Articles from *iLanga lase Natali* are presented in the exhibition to show how vocal he was about discriminatory laws, segregation and the injustices that came with colonisation and the practices of the colonial government. The most notable are Dube's views on the Native Land Act of 1913, the Bambatha Rebellion, and the arrest of King Dinuzulu. In the chapel hall, the story of his political career continues with the ANC at the centre. This approach to the narration of Dube's life can be found in the work of academics such as Hughes and Marks. However, it misses the complexities of an African *kholwa* under British rule. Academic scholarship also offers analysis of other aspects of his life; the focus is not only on his political career.

Biographies of *amakholwa*: examples from KwaZulu-Natal

The history of KwaZulu-Natal, especially from the mid-1800s, is incomplete without a consideration of the history of *amakholwa.* The Inanda Heritage Route focuses strongly on this aspect of history, as noted in the Introduction to this thesis. The biographies of *amakholwa* illustrate the region's contribution to the politics of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is also evident how, through missionary education, a community was born. However, what is omitted on the route is a portrayal of the way in which missionaries impacted on local traditions and the power of churches among communities.

Biographical studies of John Dube

Marks and Hughes have contributed to the scholarship of *amakholwa* in KwaZulu-Natal. The have provided a basis on which to start when looking into the history of *amakholwa* and important figures in this community. Writing in the discipline of historical biography, Marks

and Hughes have relied on archival documents as a method of analysis.

Marks has shown great interest in the areas of race, politics and class in colonial Natal. Some of her research projects have concentrated on colonial Natal, Zulu leaders, and Africans' encounters with the colonial government. She has also shown interest in the effects of patriarchy, gender politics and social change during this period of industrialisation and colonisation. In the process, Marks became interested in Dube and produced a journal article about him with a focus on his political career. She also looked at the complexities he faced as an African leader who was part of the *amakholwa* community and in relation to traditional chieftaincy. It is interesting how her interest in the politics of colonial Natal led her to Dube and later to gender issues. Marks observes that Dube's life reflected some of the complexities of leadership in Natal.[200] She describes Dube's involvement in attempts to establish racial harmony between black and white people.[201] Marks asserts that Dube was not popular with the colonial government and that some black people, including Tabata, felt that his leadership took the Zulus back to tribalism.[202] On the other hand, people like Edgar Brooke, the principal of Adams College, spoke highly of Dube.[203] Marks pays attention to the way in which Dube was part of the *amakholwa* elite but was also influenced by black Americans, and how he was drawn to education and the philosophy of self-help.

The complexities of *kholwa* leadership in early 20th century Natal are not presented on the Inanda Heritage Route. The focus is on Dube's achievements, as a man who led a devout life and advocated for justice for black men. *Amakholwa*, including Dube, made immense efforts to master the values and techniques of white people, but were nevertheless rejected and

[200] Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence', 163.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid., 164.
[203] Ibid.

subjected to even greater humiliation and impoverishment than traditionalists.[204] Being Christian and *ikholwa* was not enough for Africans to attain racial equality and access to the rights given to white people. However, at that time, they had the impression that it would.

Marks argues that '…Dube's assertion of racial equality, demand for justice, and his striving for African unity, was revolutionary, in the sense that it directly challenged the basis of white power in the colony; this he was to retain to the end of his life.'[205] She then compares Dube to Allison Wessels George Champion and argues that although they both believed in self-help and were influenced by black American thought, they had different approaches.[206] On the heritage route, Dube is compared to Gandhi. What becomes clear is that both used print media to advocate for justice for their people, both took religion very seriously, and both were political leaders. Marks points out that Dube encountered the ideas of self-help and industrial education at Adams College in KwaZulu-Natal. Self-help and industrial education were introduced to black people as a result of pressure from the colonial government to teach them every kind of labour. This also became a valuable feature of missionary work.[207] This was a time where certain African church leaders broke away from missionaries and started independent churches. Dube maintained relations with the leaders of independent churches even though he remained close to the missionaries. He declined an invitation from independent churches to lead them but sympathised with them.[208]

Marks suggests that perhaps Dube wanted to retain American connections and that staying with the American Zulu Mission was a way of doing so.[209] Dube criticised missionaries for their decisions relating to land allotment on reserves, their general social aloofness, lack of

[204] Ibid., 170.
[205] Ibid, 165.
[206] Ibid., 167
[207] Ibid., 168.
[208] Ibid., 172.
[209] Ibid.

trust for converts, mission reserve rent, inadequate selection of African officers and failure to defend the interests of Africans.[210] Perhaps such issues motivated him to start a *kholwa* community elsewhere. Marks argues that his resignation from the pastorage was a relief to American missionaries.[211] Dube is portrayed as a person who was not afraid to confront issues that hindered Africans' progress or promoted racial divisions. Despite his strong feelings about missionaries' unfair treatment of Africans, he still praised them for spreading the gospel and he accepted missionary ideology.[212] Marks demonstrates that Dube believed difficulties should be solved in collaboration with others. He had problems with American missionaries, especially Stephen Pixley, but did not believe that moving away from missionaries solved these problems. It seems that he had a way of sifting out what might be beneficial and using it to advance the lives of Africans. He believed that liberation '…would come through education, working with sympathetic white people, adoption of Christian values and political organisation along the Western mode.'[213]

Marks writes that 'Dube used his paper to stress the need for African unity and African representation and to air more specific grievances, and it may well be that he was encouraged in this by Wilcox.'[214] Wilcox has been described as Dube's mentor and the person who helped him get to the US. Brief information about Wilcox can be found at the Dube house, in a short panel entitled 'Influences', which also covers Edward Bruce and Booker T. Washington. The newspaper also encouraged people to seek education. Dube was warned by the government, and white people who 'worked' with him such as Marshall Campbell, about his tone in the newspaper. As presented in the Dube house, Dube opposed the arrest of King Dinuzulu in connection with the 1906 rebellion and actively assisted in raising funds for his

[210] Ibid., 173.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid., 180.
[214] Ibid., 174.

defence.[215] Marks demonstrates the extent to which Dube valued education, even above politics.[216] However, she also shows how important he considered the issue of land for Africans.[217] Marks, throughout her paper, analyses how steadfast he remained in what he believed, but also how conditions that he faced posed challenges. These included supporting missionary work while remaining closely tied to traditional leadership.

Marks argues that '[a]mbiguity was the essence of survival. Dube's mask slipped more often than his mentor's, but he learnt early the constraints of dependency.'[218] Dube held some contradictory views and values. He entered into an alliance with a segregationist, Heaton Nicholls, and they supported a Land Settlement Bill to provide allocation of seven million morgen to be added to scheduled land for Africans.[219] The Bill included the provision of an adequate development fund and the removal of colour bar restrictions as applied to the Senate and African representation there.[220] This aspect of Dube's story is not included in the Inanda Heritage Route, nor has it been a focus for historians. Dube's alliance with whites in colonial Natal is not represented and neither are his views on segregation. There is a strong focus on the route on the way in which he emphasised unity between Indians and Africans. Marks's research analyses Dube's public life, his political views and alliances. But there is room for other ways of researching Dube. What Marks does not cover is the way in which Dube is remembered as a public figure and his image as a modern African man. However, her work was published before planning of the route started.

Hughes has sought to build on what Marks started and has praised her for forming a basis for understanding Dube's life. Hughes has shown great interest in Inanda, its politics, leadership

[215] Ibid., 175.
[216] Ibid., 175.
[217] Ibid., 177-178.
[218] Ibid., 180.
[219] Ibid., 178.
[220] Ibid.

and missionary work. She produced a PhD thesis on the Qadi leadership.[221] I believe that her interest in Dube's life can be traced back to that research and that, in addition, she developed an interest in gender politics in African nationalism as a result. In the 1980s, Hughes stayed at Inanda Seminary with her then husband who was a teacher there and she was exposed to its then abandoned archives. I believe that in this period her interest in Inanda Seminary's contribution to the *kholwa* community grew. It was during this time that she produced the article on the Inanda Seminary.[222] She was also involved in an oral history project about Inanda and was later consulted when the route was developed. Throughout her work, in every mention of Dube, Hughes does not fail to mention his Qadi ties. She considers this to be an important part of understanding him. Her work on Dube and Inanda Seminary encouraged her to dig deeper into the position of women in the *kholwa* communities and the life of women such as MaMdima. In a journal article published in 2001, Hughes seeks to take Marks's research further. Hughes argues '…that Dube's distinctive contribution to public life was based on a dual life-long access to elite politics, as a leading member of the African Christian elite and *simultaneously* as an active member of the inner circle of one of the most successful chiefdoms in colonial Natal.'[223] Hughes offers a brief distinction between history and heritage: history claims to be about verifying evidence as well as revealing and explaining complexity; heritage aims to secure the past and to make it palatable, sifting out the rough bits and forgetting the embarrassing bits.[224] Hughes says that this process is evident at Inanda, for example, with the story that Dube loved his Indian neighbours.[225] She says it is hard to find evidence to support this claim.[226] It is also hard to gainsay such comforting 'facts'

[221] This will be discussed in Chapter 3.
[222] H. Hughes, 'A Lighthouse for African Womanhood': Inanda Seminary, 1869-1945', in C. Walker, ed., *Women and Gender in Southern African to 1945* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1990), 197-220.
[223] H. Hughes, 'Doubly Elite: Exploring the Life of John Langalibalele Dube', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27. 3 (2001), 445-458, 446.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid., 447.
[226] Ibid.

considering the symbolic importance of Gandhi and Dube in the making of the 'rainbow nation' and the need for improved African-Indian relations in KwaZulu-Natal.[227]

Although nationalist leaders had their differences with Chief Mqhawe, Dube allegedly maintained good relations and partnerships with him. Christian converts practised a devout Christianity of 'head', 'hand' and 'heart', living morally upright lives and labouring hard in the kitchen, field, classroom and chapel to improve their chances in this world as well as the next.[228] Ohlange, in its initial years, was known for the HHH philosophy that originated there. Pupils were taught the importance of this approach and of working together. Even now, tourism officers explain this philosophy to visitors. Hughes discusses the dynamics between traditionalists and Christian converts, explaining that the cultural transition was enormous, that converts struggled to create a new identity and felt isolated in the process.[229] The traditionalists, often referred to as 'outside natives', often looked upon converts as a separate people (this was reported by Jacobus Matiwane of the Verulam Wesleyan Mission Station to the 1881 Commission).[230]

> The very notion of traditionalists being the outsiders (rather than themselves) indicated a certain confidence in their new-found 'inside' sanctuary, a belief shared by the lowliest as well as a loftiest members of convert society that their status had been, or would be, much improved by identification with the Christian mission.[231]

The converts had an elevated social status. They had achieved educational advancements and had access to resources such as farming land, and through that an entrepreneurial class of farmers grew.[232]

Hughes writes that John Dube's grandmother, Mayembe, was the first convert of the Inanda

[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid., 446.
[229] Ibid., 448.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid., 448.
[232] Ibid.

Mission Station, which had had no converts for its first two years. She was a widow of Inkosi uDube Ngcobo of amaQadi and had escaped an arranged *ukungenwa*[233] marriage.[234] She went to the mission station with her children and cattle.[235] What Hughes does not discuss is the value of this cattle and that it potentially contributed to the wealth of the mission station. John Dube was the grandson of Inkosi uDube, whose last name was Ngcobo. As explained in Chapter 1, James Dube and his family started using Dube instead of Ngcobo as their surname after their mission education because the Americans could not pronounce Ngcobo. In other words, James Dube's generation was the first to use Dube as their surname. However, they still identified with the Ngcobo clan name and even today the descendants of John Dube refer to themselves as the Ngcobos and use Ngcobo clan names.

The Dubes were the most prominent converts in KwaZulu-Natal. John's father became the head of the mission's day school in 1860 and later was closely involved in the founding of Inanda Seminary. James Dube was ordained and appointed pastor of the Inanda church in 1873. Hughes describes how James was respected by both Christians and traditionalists and played a central role in thawing relations between missionaries and Inkosi uMqhawe.[236] Hughes details the background of the Qadi chiefdom, how it came to present day Inanda, and how it valued suitable land on which to build its polity and seize cattle.[237] The Qadis were known for the value they placed on cattle and farming. Hughes describes Inkosi uMqhawe as a progressive and able leader whose qualities accounted for much of the Qadi success.[238] James Dube had good working relations with Inkosi uMqhawe, who helped him establish a

[233] *Ukungenwa* is a practice whereby if a married man dies, his wife takes his brother as her new husband. It was common in KwaZulu-Natal but this is not the case today. In a patriarchal society, this means that children born into the new marriage will be raised by a man from their paternal family. In addition, the new husband would be safeguarding his possessions and family. The parents decide which brother assumes the role.
[234] Hughes, 'Doubly Elite', 449.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid., 450.
[237] Ibid., 450-451.
[238] Ibid., 451.

transport riding business.[239] Hughes also describes the family's relationship with Lindley, who helped them to acquire farm implements and horses, and acted as the inkosi's scribe together with other missionaries in his dealings with the government.[240] Inkosi yamaQadi tried to secure tangible benefits for his followers and managed to accommodate missionaries without damage to his chiefly status.[241] During this period, there were disputes between traditional authorities and missionaries, and between converts and traditionalists. In the area of the amaQadi, converts kept up relations with traditionalists but did not change some of their ways of life.[242]

Hughes wrote a biography of Dube titled *First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC*, which was published in 2012. It is the most detailed work to date on Dube. Hughes first gives a background of Dube's family, going back to the Qadi's arrival in Inanda and outlining how this family fitted into the Qadi clan. Hughes pays careful attention to Dube's paternal grandmother, Mayembe, and her decision to join the Inanda mission led by Daniel Lindley.[243] Hughes explains that the Qadi broke away from the Nyuswa, and as a result only use Ngcobo and not Nyuswa to the present day.[244] (As someone from a Qadi family, I dispute this as I can confirm the use of Nyuswa among the Qadi. It is widely known and used as a clan name to refer to the Ngcobos, even today.) Mayembe is shown to have taken a decision that positively shaped the lives of James and John Dube as well as John's way of viewing life. Hughes then chronicles Dube's life, showing the great influence that the Lindleys had on his upbringing and the role they played in his life.[245] In doing so, Hughes looks at the relations between the American Board (mainly the Lindleys) and the Qadi

[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid., 452.
[242] Ibid.
[243] H. Hughes, *The First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC* (Sunnyside: Jacana, 2012), 1.
[244] Ibid., 2.
[245] Ibid., 1-19.

chiefdom, and how Dube and Klass Goba, a prominent *kholwa*, were affected by these relations. Hughes describes Champion as Dube's political rival and briefly discusses some of his political ideologies.[246] Hughes briefly discusses the African-Indian relations in Inanda and the education of local people.[247]

Hughes describes Dube's visits to the US, how he found his feet there and worked hard to educate himself and made decisions about his education.[248] The people who influenced him as a young adult included missionary William Wilcox. Hughes makes extensive use of the word 'heathen' to refer to Zulu people who had not adopted Christianity. Hughes introduces MaMdima, explaining the connections between the couple's families and the similarities in their upbringing.[249] They shared common beliefs, goals and work ethic, and viewed the world around them in a similar way. They moved to Incwadi, established a school and taught women. They travelled to the US and worked together to raise funds for their studies and for missionary work. They are portrayed as a solid partnership whose common interests impacted positively on others. They pushed for independence and progress.

Hughes describes hard-working black Americans such as Edward Bruce and the way in which they inspired Dube to make a difference to the lives of Africans.[250] This was also a time when Dube wrote for public consumption and expressed his ideologies and views about the world around him. Hughes says Dube always remembered that he was Zulu and African; he expressed this when he was in the US by telling people about his background.[251] African nationalism became part of Dube's political ideology, and this was largely demonstrated during the time he worked closely with black Americans. Hughes describes how Dube

[246] Ibid., 12.
[247] Ibid., 230.
[248] Ibid, 41-64.
[249] Ibid., 41-64.
[250] Ibid., 65-88.
[251] Ibid.

planned for Ohlange, and that this was also the vision of MaMdima. Hughes chronicles the journey leading to Ohlange.[252] This is where difficulties were encountered as there was not enough support or funds to establish the institution. The name, Ohlange, 'where all nations come together', had deep meaning for Dube and shows how strongly he felt about his race.[253] Dube believed that independence was liberating and that was of great importance to him. His nickname 'Mafukuzela', 'one who works tirelessly', came from the hard work that Hughes illustrates in her book.

After much hard work, perseverance and determination, Ohlange was opened as a school in 1900. At the time that Dube was searching for support for the school, his requests were rejected by the Natal government. He had to go back to the US to raise funds to maintain the school.[254] Hughes emphasises the importance of Dube's relationship with Chief Mqhawe, one that continued throughout their lives.[255] Hughes draws attention to the effects of colonial policies on Inanda, for example, the government transferred land to missionary bodies.[256] As land was classified as mission reserve, Africans living there were forced to pay tax.[257] In *iLanga lase Natali*, Dube expresses his views on this, saying that black people did not take enough action against the suffering caused by taxes.[258] He wanted people to rebel against the government and for legislators to consider the views of Africans.[259] Like other politically active Africans of his time, Dube wanted Africans to be represented in government and to be part of decision-making processes.

Hughes discusses Dube's role in the Bambatha Rebellion. She also discusses his emphasis on

[252] Ibid., 89-113.
[253] Ibid., 93.
[254] Ibid., 114.
[255] Ibid., 114-140.
[256] Ibid., 121-123.
[257] Ibid., 121.
[258] Ibid., 127.
[259] Ibid.

unity among Africans.[260] His first act of leadership was seen in his opposition to the Natal Native Administration Bill of 1908.[261] He was warned about his writing in *iLanga lase Natali*; he was told to be selective about what he said about white people.[262] These issues are reflected at the Dube house. On the walls are images of articles from *iLanga lase Natali* about Dube's role in the Bambatha Rebellion. The relationship between Dube and Gandhi is unclear, but Dube is viewed as someone who admired Gandhi's philosophy of *satyagraha* yet did not adopt it. On the other hand, MaMdima actively supported passive resistance.[263] In Hughes's book, one can follow the sequence of events that led to the establishment of the SANNC (renamed the ANC in 1923). It is unclear what kind of relationship Dube and Gandhi had or how much contact there was between them. When the SANNC was formed, Dube accepted the presidency but did not abandon or disregard Ohlange. In fact, he spoke about Ohlange throughout his presidency.[264] During his time as president, he encouraged Africans to unite and pushed for parliamentary representation for them.[265]

In her book, Hughes writes about aspects of Dube's life that are not usually revealed, for example, that he impregnated a pupil at Ohlange.[266] He admitted to this and assumed full responsibility. The child did not live. This took place at a time when Dube was showing great concern about children's education. Dube and MaMdima did not have a child of their own[267] and this was an issue for them. A few years later, it was rumoured that Dube impregnated a local girl and after this, MaMdima left for the Transvaal.[268] Their marriage was never the same again and that had repercussions for Ohlange as it had been their joint vision. As a

[260] Ibid., 141-165.
[261] Ibid., 141.
[262] Ibid., 144.
[263] Ibid., 154.
[264] Ibid., 171.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid., 181.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid., 182.

result, Dube left for Johannesburg. Members of the SANNC were unhappy with him and Saul Msane, a member of the congress with whom he worked closely, was unable to forgive him.[269] However, he was still able to work closely with Pixley kaIsaka Seme. MaMdima died as the result of a kidney infection at a house that Dube purchased in Sophiatown.[270] Her grave was unknown until it was discovered by Cherif Keita.

Dube married again, this time to MaKhumalo, who became active in uplifting Ohlange as it was not in a good state. She travelled with Dube on fundraising tours for Ohlange.[271] The two worked closely with Sibusisiwe Makhanya in her Bantu Purity League and the Association of Bantu Parents.[272] These organisations seemed to be an attempt to mentor African people, encourage them to take responsible decisions about their lives and issues that affected other people. They were generally concerned with the well-being of the African community. Extraordinarily little is discussed about MaKhumalo.

Dube's love of writing and his willingness to support other writers through *iLanga lase Natali* is discussed in Hughes's book extensively. She argues that Dube's upbringing, his education, travels, financial support and moral guidance derived from his life in the US and was inspired by black Americans.[273] Overall, the book shows how his contact with American Board missionaries and his experiences in the US shaped the decisions he made as a leader, but that he also maintained a healthy relationship with the local leader of the Qadi.

Biographical studies of Albert Luthuli

Historian Scott Couper, an ordained minister of Global Ministries, served under the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. During this time, he researched the American

[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid., 183.
[271] Ibid., 219.
[272] Ibid., 237.
[273] Ibid., 256.

Board of Missions which led to his histories of *amakholwa*. In his biography of Albert Luthuli, Couper briefly discusses John Dube. The biography, entitled *Bound by Faith*, highlights Luthuli's belief that Christian values were the answer to the liberation of Africans. Luthuli lived his life according to these values and they influenced his decisions as a leader. Couper says Luthuli's faith was steadfast, even in situations that tested him. For example, when the ANC launched *uMkhonto weSizwe,* he did not show support for it even though he was the leader of the organisation because MK went against his beliefs in non-violence. The book was not well received by the ANC, the Luthuli family or the Luthuli Museum as some of what Couper argues is against the dominant narratives of resistance histories. Couper sees Dube as a man greatly influenced by mission education and feels that this prevailed in his leadership style and public activities.[274] Couper thinks Luthuli was likely to look up to Dube. Their upbringing and style of handling political affairs was also comparable. The discussion of Dube considers his dedication to the struggle for liberation and Christian influence.

In a review of Couper's biography, Nicholas Southey states that Couper is at pains to point out how Luthuli's contribution has been distorted by the dominant nationalist narrative of the struggle.[275] This includes two separate narratives, firstly, that Luthuli supported *uMkhonto weSizwe,* and secondly that he was murdered. Couper argues that Luthuli was not murdered and provides medical reports to support his argument. Couper says the dominant nationalist narrative of the struggle also misinterpreted Luthuli in such a way that it violated his principled commitment to non-violence throughout his career.[276] He became the first African to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, a recognition that was influenced by his style of leadership and non-violent approach.

[274] S. Couper, *Bound by Faith* (Scottville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010).
[275] N. Southey, 'Couper S. Bound by Faith' [Book Review]', *New Contree,* 62 (November 2011), 179-181, 179.
[276] Ibid.

The evidence produced by Couper suggests that there is little doubt about the driving Christian impulses of Luthuli's life.[277] Couper's biography focuses on Luthuli as a product of Christian mission education and influence. His involvement in public life, his commitment to living life as a Christian and his commitment to politics all flow from this. Luthuli is portrayed as a person who negotiated between the concerns of white liberals and radical and communist positions.[278] 'Luthuli is shown to be careful, considered and consistent in his political decisions, always guided by his Christian principles. His ability to shape events became increasingly restricted during this period, given that state suffocation of opposition through its range of resources proved increasingly effective.' The biography also shows conflicts between different sections of the ANC and defies some of the popular narratives of public history. Southey argues that the book is provocative and directly engages with conventional and convenient wisdom and is thus an important study.[279] Couper has been criticised by the ruling party and the Luthuli family, mostly for his conclusion about the way in which Luthuli died. However, Southey argues that the book is an important contribution to the writing of the 1950s and 1960s, that Couper deserves much more credit for his empathetic portrait of a fine individual, and that the book should be read widely.[280]

Biographical studies of Magema Fuze

Hlonipha Mokoena produced an interesting biography of Magema Fuze entitled *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* and based on her PhD thesis. Mokoena is interested in Fuze's transition as a writer, considering that he was born into an oral culture. Fuze authored the first book to be written in isiZulu by an African. The book, entitled *Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa Bavela Ngakona* (*The Black People and Whence They Came*) also became

[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ibid., 181-182.
[280] Ibid., 182.

available in English.[281]

Mokoena analyses Fuze's book and considers its position and purpose as regards telling the story of black people.[282] Mokoena focuses on Fuze as a writer as a way of understanding his identity and character. She argues that Fuze's story is one of profound shifts in the discursive conditions and aspirations of local intellectual life.[283] Mokoena's view differs slightly from the dominant discourse in public commemoration and the study of biographies in South Africa. However, there is an exhibition at Ohlange that represents Dube as a writer, with enlarged articles that were written by him on display. Mokoena argues that Fuze was a member of pioneer elites. Another member on the list is Dube, who moved from being 'native informant' to author and *kholwa* intellectual.[284] In this biography, Mokoena offers discussions of meanings of *amakholwa* in colonial Natal. She traces how Fuze became a *kholwa* and the life he led as a *kholwa* intellectual. She approaches his life through an analysis of his writings and interactions with readers.

Biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme

The biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the founder of the SANNC (later the ANC), is another in the genre that reveals issues that made the ruling party uncomfortable. Entitled *The Man Who Founded the ANC: A Biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme*, Bongani Ngqulunga's book is a recent contribution to *amakholwa* biographies. Ngqulunga starts by looking at Seme's legacy of African nationalism, quoting the *Bantu World* newspaper which describes him as the person who laid the foundation of African nationalism.[285] The author says that at Seme's funeral, prominent speakers agreed that he was a great inspiration behind African

[281] H. Mokoena, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Scottville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005), 1.
[282] Ibid., 2.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.
[285] B. Ngqulunga, *The Man who Founded the ANC: A Biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme* (Cape Town: Penguin Random House, 2017), 2.

nationalism and unity. Newspaper articles from *iLanga lase Natali*, *Inkundla ya Bantu* and *Bantu World* also praised Seme for his role in African Nationalism.[286] Ngqulunga lists Seme's greatest achievements, the organisations and newspapers that he founded, and his role as a pioneering lawyer.

However, Ngqulunga adds that the speakers at the funeral left out Seme's flaws as a leader and that he was not active at the time of his death mainly because of his shortfalls as a leader.[287] Seme is described as a person who let down the very organisation that he founded. His years as ANC president have been described as tough ones, mainly because of the lack of proper leadership. Ngqulunga says there are a number of contradictory 'facts' about Seme's life, that information about him has been distorted and that there is great confusion about a number of areas of his life.[288] Ngqulunga reveals that Seme did not obtain some of the degrees that he is said to have held, for example, there is no evidence that he had a PhD.[289] He is widely known as Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme or, incorrectly, Dr Pixley ka Seme; buildings and streets are named after him and bear his name with the title of 'Dr'. These revelations in the biography came as a shock to many; some were filled with disappointment, and some questioned what was to happen to all the signs on streets and buildings. This book left people questioning how Seme came to be known as 'Dr' in the first place. There were also questions about why this was only coming out in 2017 and in light of this how Seme should be remembered. The book is a comprehensive account of a man who lived an unusual and interesting life.[290]

Seme is not presented in the main exhibitions of the Inanda Heritage Route. However, his

[286] Ibid., 2-3.
[287] Ibid., 5-6.
[288] Ibid., 6.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid., 7.

name appears on the large signs on the streets of Inanda and in recent years his statue was erected outside his family home with a short inscription about him. One of the longest and most popular streets in the Durban CBD is named after him. Linda Mbonambi[291] acknowledges that the omission of Seme in the Inanda Heritage Route was an oversight and that when this was realised, a decision was made to name the first hospital in the INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) area after him.[292] Mbonambi says this was an attempt to do justice to Seme's memory and honour him in the way that he deserved.[293]

Amakholwa and complexity

The Inanda Heritage Route lacks any discussion about *amakholwa* as intermediaries between Africans and the colonial authorities or the complexities encountered by the *amakholwa* during British rule. Limb has analysed the role of intermediaries under colonial rule and outlined the complexities they faced as leaders.[294] He focuses on the late 1800s and early 1900s, a period of colonial expansion in South Africa, but also a time when black men entered formal education run by missionaries. The era also marked shifts in the social life of Africans as well as changes in culture, politics and economy. The late 1800s and early 1900s were a period of nation building and saw the first wave of industrialisation and mining as well as the formation of new identities and social forces.[295] The indigenous elite interacted with colonialism to absorb, adapt and recast new ideas and social formations. New social, ethnic and political identities and viable social forces were forged through networking with ordinary people.[296] This was also a period in which *amakholwa* entered the political arena

[291] Linda Mbonambi was a project manager at the eThekwini Municipality who worked on the development of township tourism routes in Durban. The Inanda Heritage Route was one such project. I interviewed him on 28 January 2020 about his role and the aims of the route.
[292] Mbonambi, interview by author, January 2020, Durban.
[293] Ibid.
[294] P. Limb, 'Intermediaries of Class, Nation and Gender in the African Response to Colonialism in South Africa, 1890s to 1920s', in P. Limb, N. A. Etherington and P. Midgely, eds., *Grappling with the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840-1930* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 47-87.
[295] Ibid., 47.
[296] Ibid.

and organised themselves to negotiate with colonial authorities. They acted as intermediaries between the state and their people; they saw themselves as spokesmen of their people.[297] An example of their work includes the SANNC's trip to London to speak out against the 1913 Native Land Act. Their aim was to have the Act repealed and to represent people who were severely affected by it. There were also men who mediated the rights of African working women; the men were activists and partisans of Africans' national rights.[298] Limb argues that understanding the role of intermediaries can assist in deepening our understanding of social biography, agency and socio-economic relations.[299] On the Inanda Heritage Route and in the heritage sector in general, there is little focus or presentation of these leaders as intermediaries.

According to Limb, the scarcity of sources and limitations placed on women's involvement before 1920 resulted in the significant absence of women from the early history of black politics and industrial organisation.[300] 'Evidence left by intermediaries may help to fill in some of this hidden history,'[301] he says. The role of intermediaries is not discussed in public history. Data demonstrates the role of African intermediaries in interactions in different social strata and in black politics.[302] Limb gives a detailed description of the working conditions of black people and the challenges they faced. He says unions did not exist at the beginning of the early industrialisation period so black workers lacked representation. Intermediaries played the role of unionists and attempted to negotiate better working conditions for Africans who were greatly exploited. Intermediaries who publicly testified about the poor working conditions endured by black people recognised the need for consultation with and

[297] Ibid., 49.
[298] Ibid., 50.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid., 53.
[302] Ibid.

representation of Africans.[303] Individuals such as Dube and Plaatje extended their role as intermediaries by using print media to talk about issues facing Africans and the challenges they encountered under colonial rule. Limb gives examples of intermediaries who were in touch with workers, representing them in labour disputes, offering legal representation and challenging Acts such as the Glen Grey Act.[304] In the 1890s, the voices of black women wage earners were largely absent in historical records except in criminal cases.[305] Their intermediaries were mainly mission personnel or their families. In the analysis of complexities of intermediates, Limb says theirs was not an easy task as the intermediaries were also subjected to racism. On the whole, the colonial authorities did not take intermediaries seriously or accept their proposals. However, their work did pave the way for activism that was visible during the apartheid years. In the 1910s, African politics was male-led and oriented, but some black women emerged to represent female workers as intermediaries.[306]

The role of African women

African women, with the help of intermediaries and missionaries, formed self-help bodies. Limb argues that women were not directly involved in politics but that through these bodies, they could express pro-nationalist protest.[307] They also used culture in political ways, and it was through these groups that they organised themselves and acted against oppressive systems. Women were involved in a range of supportive acts.[308] Intermediaries were also important in a situation of disjuncture between male politics and women's protests; they mediated conditions and injustices facing women.[309] It has been argued that the participation

[303] Ibid., 65.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid., 69.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid., 70.
[309] Ibid., 70-71.

of African women in politics was limited in the early 1900s. However, women presented petitions, joined marches and formed the Bantu Women's League as early as 1918. That was more than 100 years ago, but the movements for gender equality are still relevant today. Limb argues that Charlotte Maxeke (widely remembered for her work in social welfare and public politics) was a key intermediary of missionary and political inclination.[310] Her work and legacy can be compared to that of Dube and Plaatje. She was the most prominent African female activist of her time. Intermediaries helped to improve the harsh conditions created by colonialisation and endured by black women, who were far from quiescent in this period.[311]

Political biographies and the Inanda Heritage Route

The route represents the story of Inanda in the form of political biographies dominated by the public lives of men. Male leaders are at the forefront and women aided where needed. The route focuses on the early 20th century, a period where women did not have a voice in the public space and political leadership belonged to men. It was unheard of for women to lead male-dominated political parties. The membership of the ANC was only open to men. This period was also defined by the growing number of Africans converting to Christianity and receiving missionary education. Men led everything and women could not do much without their consent.

To a certain degree, Inanda Seminary was ahead of its time. White missionary wives believed in the need for a school for African women, but the American Board only allowed this to happen after Daniel Lindley showed support for this idea. When the agreement was reached for the school to be opened, its aim was to mould good Christian women who would become suitable partners for the men who were being trained for the priesthood at Adams College. When it comes to this period, the route's presentation of the public heritage of Inanda is

[310] Ibid., 72.
[311] Ibid., 78.

limited to male leadership, missionary work and the lives of *amakholwa*. I argue that the public history of Inanda could be expanded to include voices silenced by colonisation and apartheid. It could also include the voices of pre-colonial communities: the history of KwaZulu-Natal and South Africa did not start with the arrival of Europeans and Indians, as is the possible implication of the Phoenix Settlement museum. I argue that it is not enough to ignore contested and difficult histories; they can be open public discussions. Opening museums for different interpretations is crucial in a democratic country. The idea is not to build on patterns of colonial ideologies or to respond directly to them—but there is room to open up new discussions and different interpretations.

Linking *amakholwa,* Dube and Gandhi

Marks and Hughes both started out with an interest in the politics of colonial Natal and in this way were led to Dube as a public figure. It is interesting that both went on to consider gender issues in late 19th and 20th century communities and that their focus has been on KwaZulu-Natal. They agree that Dube is an important public figure in the politics of colonial Natal and in the community of *amakholwa* and the Qadi elite. Scholars agree that the *amkholwa* community was central to African nationalism and to understanding struggle histories of South Africa. These biographies show how, through mission education, a community was born. Scholars have compared some of the most important *kholwa* men to Gandhi in terms of principles and tactics. This is also the case on the route. Dube is one such leader. The next section starts with a discussion of a journal article that compares Dube to Gandhi.

The great Mahatma: the life of Mohandas Gandhi and the Gandhi legacy

There have been numerous studies about Gandhi and a great number of published works. This section looks at the way in which Gandhi has been studied by various scholars. It will not present all such work due to the limitations of this study. However, it will note some of

the most important articles and books about him. It will start with an examination of the way in which Gandhi is compared to leaders that are represented on the route as national heroes. The Gandhi legacy includes the continued influence of his principles and methods on others, even after he had long left South Africa. I will then discuss academic work that is focused on Gandhi.

Gandhi's experiences in South Africa were central to building his character, shaping his thoughts and turning him into a mahatma. On the route, his influences and those whom he influenced, his *satyagraha* philosophy and *Indian Opinion* are central. There are aspects of Gandhi's life that are not presented, mentioned or opened for discussion on the route.

There is a great range of literature on Gandhi's life, especially about his time in South Africa. Dube and Gandhi have been portrayed as men with similar goals; the upliftment of their communities was imperative; and they appear to have admired each other's work even though they were in opposition initially. As detailed in Chapter 1 and the introduction to Chapter 2, the two have been portrayed as leaders who shared ideas and looked up to each other. Gandhi's mentor, Gopal Gokhale, visited Ohlange in 1912. Dube recorded this visit in *iLanga.*[312] This showed that Gandhi admired and respected Dube's work. Matsha suggests that there was mutual consultation between Dube and Gandhi and shows that there were similarities in their work; however, it is difficult to ascertain the degree of personal interaction between them.[313] Hughes, when asked about their relationship, said she did not think they were friends but that they were pushing the boundaries of apartheid.[314] The two leaders have been seen as people who were able to join different worlds and who concerned themselves with uplifting the people they served. They have been presented as men who did

[312] R. Matsha, 'Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape: Dube and Gandhi in Early 20th Century Durban, South Africa', *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 27. 2 (2014), 238-269, 262.
[313] Ibid., 263.
[314] Ibid.

not forget their roots but tried to equip themselves to function effectively within the Empire. They have been depicted as leaders who shared visions, ideas and leadership styles and looked up to each other. Reference is made to the use of print media by both these leaders to advance their ideas. *iLanga lase Natal* and the *Indian Opinion* have been studied to reflect on the effects of colonisation on Africans and Indians. In these newspapers, Dube and Gandhi expressed their views and showed how greatly their people were disadvantaged as a result of government actions and policies. They also used these newspapers to reach people and communicate information about their campaigns.

Hyslop studied Mandela and Gandhi as leaders of nationalist movements and discusses their similarities.[315] On the route and in other heritage institutions of post-apartheid South Africa, there is a tendency to compare leaders, how they influenced each other and how they collaborated—as implied in the case of Gandhi and Dube. Mandela appears to be one of the people who admired Gandhi and believed in his teaching of non-violent resistance against oppression. Hyslop argues that Mandela and Gandhi were practitioners of forms of modernist politics which Johannesburg made possible.[316]

> They are admired internationally for the way that they created national visions that were inclusive, rising above the cleavages of race, religions and status, and for the way in which their moral stances appealed to humanistic values which had international relevance beyond the immediate concerns of their own political constituencies.[317]

The approach taken by Hyslop focuses on their position as symbols of unity and how being exposed to Johannesburg assisted them in building networks that crossed boundaries. Hyslop argues that these leaders heroically tried to create inclusive nationalism founded on universalist values.[318] This approach is in line with the way in which they have been

[315] J. Hyslop, *Gandhi, Mandela, and the African Modern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
[316] Ibid., 3.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid., 4.

represented on the route and in public commemorations and other heritage institutions. Hyslop argues that '…their remarkable politics were products not so much of their connections to the rural hinterlands of their respective countries, but rather of markedly metropolitan and cosmopolitan experiences.'[319] Their exposure was in Johannesburg where both leaders worked at some point in their lives. While in Johannesburg, Gandhi began to engender a notion of Indian identity that cut through religious, class, caste and linguistic barriers.[320] He was creating a nationalism linked to humanistic universalism and which recognised its debt to diverse sources.

Hylsop and Matsha agree that Gandhi was an inspiration to black political leaders and influenced them in various ways. Gandhi's beliefs and tactics can be compared to those of instrumental black political leaders. The two authors also agree that Gandhi's influence was not confined to a specific region but was spread across South Africa and India. Furthermore, Gandhi had a strong belief in unity and working for the greater good. That may have been the element that made him so well loved and still relevant today.

Books and journal articles on Gandhi produced in the 1980s and 1990s emphasise his exemplary leadership, his values and how his experiences in South Africa moulded him. They are not critical about his character and his beliefs. They rely on his autobiography and take it as a source of unquestionable fact. However, in the 2000s scholars began to dig deeper, to question the way he represented himself in his autobiography and to offer critical engagements in studying Gandhi. In recent years, there have been debates about Gandhi as a leader, and Gandhi and racism.

In an article entitled 'Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi: Beyond Liberal Democracy', Thomas

[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid., 6.

Panthan argues that Gandhi's social theory offers guidance for transforming 'nominal' democracy of modern Western type into a fuller democracy.[321] Panthan argues that the '…Gandhian project is aimed at resolving a fundamental contradiction the theory and practice of liberal democracy, namely, the contradiction between the affirmation of freedom of the individual in the so-called private sphere of morality and its curtailment in the allegedly amoral or purely technical/political sphere'.[322] Gandhi believed that morality and the well-being of the individual would reflect a true democracy. Panthan used archival records, interviews and speeches, and previously published work on Gandhi as a method of analysis. The results of this method indicate that Gandhi did not concur with the fundamentals of capitalism. He believed that the capitalist ethos and utilitarian principles were against participatory democracy. In addition, Panthan notes that Gandhi's understanding of a true democracy is a post-capitalist social order where inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race and sex are eliminated, and state and land belong to the people.[323] He adds that *satyagraha* shows his concerns for social order. Panthan concludes that Gandhi was a significant political theorist in the context of mass society.[324] The focus of this article is on Gandhi's beliefs on democracy and his theories as a leader.

Brown describes Gandhi as a champion in Indians' fight for civil rights as British subjects and argues that this is an important episode in a long history.[325] Brown refers to Gandhi's experience of being ejected from a train in Pietermaritzburg because he was in a 'whites only' coach in 1893. A statue of Gandhi has since been erected and unveiled there.[326] Brown points out that '…little is known about Gandhi's legal practice, his attitude towards the law

[321] T. Panthan, 'Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi: Beyond Liberal Democracy', *Political Theory*, 11. 2 (1983), 165-188, 165.
[322] Ibid.,166.
[323] Ibid., 169.
[324] Ibid., 179.
[325] J. Brown, 'Perspectives and Prospects', in J. Brown and M. Prozesky, eds., *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 1-6.
[326] Ibid., 4.

and contacts made through the practice.[327] She argues that '…Gandhi's fundamental spiritual vision was forged in Africa and this rested on all his political, economic and social thought'.[328] Little is said about Gandhi's law firm or about him as a lawyer, but there is a focus on his spirituality, influences and beliefs. There is a photograph of him dressed in a suit which he used to practise as a lawyer when he came to South Africa. There is not much about his work as a lawyer, how long he practised or the cases on which he worked. On the route, there is a photograph of Gandhi dressed in a suit and carrying a briefcase, probably taken during the time he was practising as a lawyer in Durban, but there is not much about his work as a lawyer.

Brown argues that Gandhi is the symbol of modern India and its achievement of independence from colonial rule, and that South Africa made the Indian Gandhi in various ways.[329] Scholars have argued, and it is shown on the route, that South Africa influenced Gandhi, changed his life and built his character. Brown explores the idea of Gandhi as a critical outsider on the margin of different worlds. Brown takes into consideration that, when Gandhi came to South Africa, he was an outsider, even to Indian communities.[330] Brown focuses on four areas: Gandhi's perception of public life and his role as a public figure, Gandhi's search for Indian identity, understandings of colonial rule and radicalism.[331] Brown argues that Gandhi's entry into the public life and political world of India rested on the skills and vision that he developed in South Africa. These gave him the unexpected motivation to become politically active and gave him extra leverage in Indian politics. According to Brown, South Africa offered Gandhi a transformative experience in relation to political activism; he

[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] J. Brown, 'The Making of a Critical Outsider', in J. Brown and M. Prozesky, eds., *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 21-33, 21-22.
[330] Ibid., 22-23
[331] Ibid., 23.

opened himself to serving all humanity as opposed to personal advancement.[332] Gandhi believed that Indian identity lay in common cultural identity shared by all Indians, beyond language and religion.[333] He believed that colonial rule was morally wrong and that South Africa enabled him to provide a remedy for this, in other words, *satyagraha*.[334] On the route, there is a strong focus on *satyagraha* and its influence. Gandhi legacy projects also consider *satyagraha* as an important philosophy, one that defined his approach to colonisation and his leadership. At the Phoenix Settlement, all the exhibition rooms have texts about *satyagraha*. Brown argues that following his experiences in Africa, Gandhi became a critical outsider who brought a fresh perspective to issues at stake in India's society.[335]

At the Phoenix Settlement, Gandhi is presented as a spiritual man but there is no focus on the religion to which he belonged, Hinduism. There are no texts about Hindu teachings or how they impacted on Gandhi's life and character. In Gandhi's writing about Hindi *swaraj* (self-rule) he expressed his attitudes towards the colonial government. However, he appeared to be a person without religious prejudice and he respected religious diversity, an observation made by various scholars. Parel argues that Gandhi encountered Christianity but did not convert as he believed that each religion was perfect for the insider and imperfect for the outsider, thus the need to change one's religion was unnecessary.[336] Parel further states that Gandhi believed that for as long as religion was practised in an ethical manner, it should not divide people but bring them together.[337] In the Gandhi house at the Phoenix Settlement, there is a Bible, which is part of Gandhi's book collection.

[332] Ibid., 24.
[333] Ibid., 27.
[334] Ibid., 29.
[335] Ibid., 31.
[336] A. Parel, 'The Origins of Hindi Swaraj', in J. Brown and M. Prozesky, eds., *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 35-68, 48.
[337] Ibid., 51.

Chatterjee points out that Gandhi's legacy is closely linked to South Africa.[338] He is represented as a heroic figure in South African institutions, and various scholars agree that he made a huge impact in South Africa and that the country also influenced his life in a major way. Chatterjee details the most significant aspects of Gandhian influence, among other things, his conception of nationality, his advocacy of a decentralised economy, and his belief in gender equality.[339] There is no mention of Gandhi in relation to gender issues on the Heritage Route. However, women and their leadership are central at the Inanda Seminary and it is the only site on the route that looks at the issue of gender and that advocates female leadership. In the Kasturba Gandhi exhibition, Kasturba is shown to be an advocate of gender equality in representations of campaigns by women.

The approach of Brown, Parel and Chatterjee to biography differs from mine. They agree that Mahatma Gandhi was an instrumental figure of resistance history and that he fought for the rights of Indians and Africans. I am interested in how the representation of Gandhi ignores what recent debates about Gandhi reveal in terms of his relationships with Africans.

In 2005 Surendra Bhana and Goolam Vahed produced a book entitled *The Making of a Political Reformer: Gandhi in South Africa 1893-1914*.[340] The book explores Gandhi in a different context from the scholars referenced above who focus on the religious and cultural orientation of his compatriots. In post-apartheid South Africa, India re-established diplomatic ties with South Africa, and Gandhi was re-appropriated for cementing the foundation of the relationship between the two countries. Bhana and Vahed argue that Gandhi became the chief promoter of 'Indianness'.[341] This was in response to the way in which white rule determined

[338] M. Chatterjee, 'Reviewing the Gandhian Heritage', in J. Brown and M. Prozesky, eds., *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politic*s (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 95-110, 95.
[339] Ibid., 97.
[340] S. Bhana and G. Vahed, *The Making of a Political Reformer: Gandhi in South Africa 1893-1914* (New Dehli: Manohar Books, 2005).
[341] Ibid., 27.

the place of Indians and the role of subordinate groups.[342] Emphasis has been placed on the way in which Gandhi promoted unity, but on the heritage route there is no explanation that the unity he promoted was between Indians and did not include Africans.

Bhana and Vahed's book uses the *Indian Opinion* and the *African Chronicle* newspapers as its main sources. The authors note that Gandhi showed notable change between 1906 and 1909 and that this played a role in the strategies he would use in 1913 and 1914.[343] Bhana and Vahed assert that his promotion of 'Indianness' was part of his strategy to use an imperial framework to defend the rights of Indians as British subjects.[344] He did not show interest in an alliance with Africans and there is no evidence that he involved Africans in his movements. Bhana and Vahed maintain that he did not think they were ready for the *satyagraha* movement that Indians were running.[345] They argue that Gandhi's unwillingness to work with Africans suggests that he believed that they were not acquainted with the use of the peaceful methods of Indians. This way of thinking was influenced by a belief at the time about African inferiority. Bhana and Vahed note that Gandhi did not recognise any common goals between Indians and Africans that justified their need to unite.[346] The colonial government was happy with the separation between Africans and Indians as it made the divide-and-rule stance work in its favour. However, any negative representations of Gandhi such as this are omitted from exhibitions on the Inanda Heritage Route and in the South African heritage sector generally. Bhana and Vahed argue that Gandhi's actions are open to ambiguous interpretations given his beliefs on the cultural inferiority of Africans between 1893 and 1914.[347] The authors say that Gandhi's fear that Indians would be subjected to the

[342] Ibid., 3.
[343] Ibid., 8.
[344] Ibid., 28.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 29.
[347] Ibid.

form of brutality that Africans faced at the Bambatha Rebellion may have influenced his stance that Africans and Indians should not unite.[348] In the small section about the rebellion at the Phoenix Settlement, there is an emphasis on the way in which he nursed Africans. This advances the narrative that he fought for Indians and Africans in his movement.

As discussed at the beginning of this section, a narrative has presented Dube and Gandhi as men who worked together and followed similar strategies, beliefs and goals. Bhana and Vahed, however, do not concur. They note that the men met at least once at Marshall Campbell's home[349] but that there is not enough evidence to conclude that they had a friendship or at least a work relationship. On the occasion when they met, Dube made a speech which was referred to in the *Indian Opinion*.[350] Dube spoke well of Gandhi by expressing respect for Indians after studying their movement.[351] This is one of the few instances, if not the only one, that may indicate that Dube and Gandhi influenced each other. Bhana and Vahed say Gandhi presented mixed messages and that on certain occasions he was sympathetic to the Zulus.[352] This was evident in his work relating to the rebellion. However, even as late as 1909, Gandhi insisted that there was no common ground between Indians and Africans.[353] The early scholarship on Gandhi does not discuss this. It relies on his autobiography, which probably did not comment much on this aspect.

Bhana and Vahed conclude that Gandhi's faith in the imperial approach was broadly shared by Indians in South Africa and connected them to India.[354] It was Gandhi who tapped into their patriotism. He turned his back on Western political and economic systems and placed

[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid., 30.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Ibid., 32.
[353] Ibid., 33.
[354] Ibid., 116.

his faith in indigenous solutions.[355] His time at Tolstoy Farm helped him reflect on such issues.[356] Gandhi understood that he had to consider the culture and religious orientation of the communities he was working with.[357] Bhana and Vahed go beyond the territory covered by early scholarship; they understand that a focus on the way in which he represents himself in his autobiography is limiting. They critically analyse varied sources. They focus on Gandhi as a social reformer and less on him as an exemplary leader who influenced democratic principles. What they do not cover is the way in which this aspect of Gandhi has been presented in the heritage sector or as public history.

A more recent book about Gandhi, *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*, takes a different approach to the research discussed above and to that on the Inanda Heritage Route. Writing in 2016, Desai and Vahed challenge the dominant representation of Gandhi in South Africa. They also look at his involvement in the Anglo-Boer War and what that meant about him and his loyalty to the British Empire. Desai and Vahed question Gandhi's reaction to the emerging political order post 1902 based on ethnic and racial differentials. They ask whether the suffering of Africans triggered in Gandhi a feeling of affinity or a need for alliance with them.[358] They question Gandhi's attitude towards political alliances. In contrast, the heritage route portrays an alliance between the two men, as do its tour guides and an exhibition at the Phoenix Settlement. 'This book shows how Gandhi sought to ingratiate himself with Empire and its mission during his years in South Africa. In doing so, he not only rendered African exploitation and oppression invisible, but was, on occasion, a willing part of their subjugation and racist stereotyping'.[359] In addition, the book refers to public

[355] Ibid., 118
[356] Ibid.
[357] Ibid.
[358] A. Desai and G. Vahed, *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (New Dehli; Navayana Publishing, 2016), 22.
[359] Ibid.

commemorations of Gandhi and points out ways in which he has been remembered or features in public memory, from memorials to instructions and public lectures. Public commemoration of Gandhi in South Africa has emphasised the idea that he influenced Mandela. Desai and Vahed argue that '[t]he need to make a claim on the legacy of Gandhi, the Mahatma, is so great that many inconvenient truths about Gandhi the South African politician, are easily forgotten.'[360] In speeches made by political leaders at public commemorative events in the immediate aftermath of South Africa's transition to a non-racial democracy, there was a genuine desire not to evoke history in ways that could inflame or divide.[361]

The representation of the past on the route is an example of how this has been done. There is an emphasis on the way in which leaders led devout lives and made sacrifices in the name of fulfilling God's work and for the progress of the people they served. There is also an emphasis on Gandhi's abandonment of a luxurious lifestyle. The Natal Indian Congress was formed in 1894 to organise resistance to a proposed Bill abolishing Asian enfranchisement.[362] Gandhi was one of its founding members and its first secretary. Desai and Vahed say that racial unity for Gandhi did not include Africans and that he argued that Indians were '…as much civilised as a "model" European and that Indian villages had representative government long before the Anglo-Saxons.'[363] He therefore advocated that Indians should be afforded the same opportunities and rights as white people as they were 'civilised'—like whites but unlike Africans. Gandhi also believed that offering his services as a British subject would bring the same rights as white people enjoyed. In July 1896, he returned to India to '...publicise the plight of Indians in Natal and to bring back his family.'[364] To this effect he made public

[360] Ibid., 24.
[361] Ibid., 26.
[362] Ibid., 34.
[363] Ibid., 35.
[364] Ibid., 37.

speeches and addressed crowds. While delivering a speech in Bombay on 26 September 1896, he said white people in Natal desired to '…degrade us to the level of the raw Kaffir whose occupation is hunting, and whose sole ambition is to collect a certain number of cattle to buy a wife with and then, pass his life in indolence and nakedness.'[365]

Desai and Vahed describe the atmosphere around race relations in Natal when Gandhi returned there from India.[366] This was a time when the government was finding ways to keep the Indians out of Natal. The book gives other examples showing that Gandhi did not believe that Indians should be at the same level as Africans and demanded that Indians receive better treatment. Desai and Vahed argue that '[i]n geopolitical terms, Indians in South Africa counted far more than the Zulu, a sense that Gandhi was keen to tap into.'[367] In his *Indian Opinion*, he had little to say about Africans.[368] Hofmeyr argues that Gandhi had little to do with his neighbours such as John Dube, and that the two leaders kept their distance and rarely communicated.[369] However, there are scholars such as Matsha who have a different understanding of their relationship; and on the route, they are represented as leaders who looked up to each other, leaders who had many similarities and influenced each other.[370] Desai and Vahed find more plausible Hofmeyr's overall picture of the relationship and limited contact between Dube and Gandhi.[371] They further argue that *Ilanga* was forthright about what Dube saw as the negative impact of the arrival of Indians on Africans in Natal.[372] 'One must agree with Heather Hughes that this need to present Dube and Gandhi as close collaborators is born of a political expediency and fed by the need to forge non-racialism in

[365] Gandhi, cited in Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi*, 37.
[366] Ibid., 39-40.
[367] Ibid., 42.
[368] Ibid.
[369] I. Hofmeyr, *Gandhi's Printing Press*, 23.
[370] Matsha, 'Mapping an Interoceanic Landscape'.
[371] Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi*, 46.
[372] Ibid., 47.

the context of ongoing tension between Africans and Indians.'[373] The collaboration between Gandhi and Dube is one of the major stories told to visitors on the route and presented in the exhibitions.

Gandhi played a role in the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906. This role is usually mentioned in spaces that represent Gandhi; there is also a section about this at the Phoenix Settlement. Desai and Vahed detail the events leading up to the rebellion, including how Gandhi and a group of other Indians offered their services as nurses to the British at war.[374] Desai and Vahed demonstrate how Gandhi's loyalty to the British Empire continued despite discriminatory legislation towards Indians and Africans.[375] 'The South African War, Gandhi added, furnished the Indians with an opportunity to prove their mettle.'[376] They argue that Gandhi did not give up on imperial brotherhood.[377]

Desai and Vahed also describe Gandhi's stance against injustice and his belief that people had a moral obligation to resist it. His philosophy of *satyagraha* has formed a large part of the way in which Gandhi and his political career have been represented.[378] It has been a focus of scholarly studies as well as exhibitions at the Phoenix Settlement and other spaces that present his legacy. 'Key features of satyagraha included winning over the enemy with love, self-suffering and by employing the right means to achieve one's ends.'[379] His philosophy of *satyagraha* saw him influencing leaders from different parts of the world.

Tidrick, cited in Desai and Vahed, says Gandhi maintained that anyone could be a *satyagrahi*; however, as Gandhi had defined, refined and authorised its practice, he was able

[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid., 54.
[375] Ibid., 58.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid., 64.
[378] Ibid., 68.
[379] Ibid.

to control campaigns and dictate outcomes.[380] But even this philosophy was not immune to racial stereotyping. Ahmed Cachalia, who was one of Gandhi's closest comrades, once said: 'The natives of South Africa need many generations of culture and development before they can hope to be passive resisters in the true sense of the term.'[381] In contrast, Indians did not require prolonged learning to become passive resisters as, according to Gandhi, '…the people of India have drunk of the nectar of devotion. This great people overflows with faith and it is no difficult matter to lead such people on to the right path of *satyagraha*.'[382]

It appears as if Gandhi tried with all his might to prove that Indians deserved the same rights as the British and that they were worthy of being absorbed as citizens into the British Empire. Gandhi tried to prove this by emphasising that the Indians were civilised, like the British, and should therefore not be denied the same privileges as white people. Outside the Indian community, Gandhi's main collaborators were white and he did not include Africans.[383] Desai and Vahed argue that '…claims about Gandhi's non-racialism seem to be retrospective efforts at sanitising an unsavoury past given that he went on to be a global icon.'[384] In various sections of the book, Desai and Vahed highlight Gandhi's failure to acknowledge the suffering of Africans.

The two authors explain that his associates held similar beliefs, for example, Henry Polak, who was an assistant editor of *Transvaal Critic*. Such beliefs focused on Indian suffering, on the way Indians were allegedly dragged down to the level of Africans, how this undermined Indians, and that they should be given better rights which they deserved as they were civilised. Desai and Vahed[385] say Gandhi had better work relationships with white people

[380] Ibid., 69.
[381] Ibid., 70.
[382] Gandhi, cited in Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi*, 70-71.
[383] Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi*, 76.
[384] Ibid., 76.
[385] Ibid., 76-89.

than he did with Africans although Africans were his neighbours. Gandhi's non-Indian allies in South Africa where all white.[386] The authors describe colonial policies that led to the Bambatha Rebellion, how the rebellion unfolded and the results.[387] In describing Gandhi's role in the rebellion, they quote Mandela,[388] who argued in 1998 that during the rebellion Gandhi taught that the destiny of Indians was inseparable from that of the oppressed Africans, and this was why Gandhi risked his life by organising medical treatment of Bambatha's injured warriors. Gandhi, in the *Indian Opinion* in 1905, argued that the problems in Zulu society were that they had been 'unduly pampered' by the British, had no 'inducement to self-improvement' and that an extra tax 'would do no harm'.[389] The article suggests that the Zulus needed education and work to improve their lives. It overlooked the impact of the head tax and its effects on Africans' lives for generations to follow. It claimed that the tax would improve the lives of Zulus in the long term. Desai and Vahed challenge public statements that politicians have used when talking about Gandhi's activism.[390] They further argue that '…statements on African laziness and inferiority make Gandhi stand out not as one of apartheid's first opponents but as one of its first proponents.'[391] Some of Gandhi's recorded views on Africans are therefore in line with the way in which the apartheid government looked at Africans.

Gandhi saw the Bambatha Rebellion as another opportunity to prove his loyalty to the British Crown: he went into battle as an Empire stretcher-bearer and the fate of Africans was irrelevant to him.[392] Desai and Vahed present Gandhi as a person who was eager to show his loyalty to the British in order for Indians to benefit; he defended the British during the

[386] Ibid., 89.
[387] Ibid., 90-100.
[388] Mandela, 1990, quoted in Desai and Vahed, 'The South African Gandhi', 105.
[389] Desai and Vahed, 'The South African Gandhi', 105.
[390] Ibid., 101-118.
[391] Ibid., 107.
[392] Ibid.

rebellion and overlooked the brutality of the systems that the British had put in place.[393] This attitude towards the oppressor is not unique to Gandhi. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Africans were promised recognition on councils and political rights if they were Christianised and educated along Western lines. During this period, a growing number of African community leaders followed this Westernised path. However, this promise was not fulfilled and organisations such as the SANNC were established when Africans realised that they were still not being treated fairly and afforded political rights—even after proving that they were educated, Christianised and 'civilised' enough to be part of councils that made decisions about the running of the country and its future. Gandhi viewed the participation of Indians in the rebellion as a defence of the colony, in other words, defence of white power—the same power that dispossessed Africans of their land. Gandhi felt that Indians should learn from white people.[394] Gandhi believed that Indians were British citizens and therefore could not be subject to laws that discriminated against them; however, he was careful not to criticise laws that oppressed Africans.[395]

Internationally, there have been varied perspectives on Gandhi. He has been remembered and honoured by way of statues all over the world. In recent years, however, his statues have not been welcome in some countries and the public has asked for them to be taken down. 'Canadian journalist and author Malcom Gladwell in his podcast Revisionist History once said statues are a representation of something that we have chosen to take seriously, to memorize in a permanent form.'[396] The Indian government and the Indian community in Malawi decided to erect a statue of Gandhi which they said was a way of paying homage to

[393] Ibid., 76-118.
[394] Ibid., 110.
[395] Ibid., 119.
[396] R. Kondowe, 'Malawi is the latest African country where a Gandhi statue isn't welcome', *Quarz Africa,* 13 October 2018. https://qz.com/africa/1422937/malawi-protestors-dont-want-gandhi-statue-from-india/.

his activism.[397] However, some people were displeased about having this statue at southern Africa's oldest city, Blantyre.[398] An online petition calling for the Malawian and Indian governments to halt its construction was signed by over 3 000 young activists.[399] These are the kind of conversations that museums ignore, yet they are crucial to understanding our past and people. The Malawian group argued that Gandhi had no direct connection to Malawians, was not known to many locals, and claimed that he was a racist.[400] The group further argued that Gandhi fought for Africans and Indians to have separate entrances and thus erecting his statue was an insult to Malawians.[401]

In Ghana, a statue of Gandhi was removed from its prestigious university campus after students protested that he was racist.[402] Soon after it was unveiled, lecturers started petitioning for its removal, citing passages written by Gandhi claiming that Indians were superior to Africans.[403] The head of Language, Literature and Drama at the Institute of African Studies, Obadele Kambon, said the removal of the statue was an issue of self-respect.[404] 'If we show that we have no respect for ourselves and look down on our own heroes and praise others who had no respect for us, then there is an issue,' he said.[405]

In Johannesburg, youths threw paint on the Gandhi statue there and wrote the word 'racist' to show that they did not want it. They expressed dissatisfaction with the state of transformation at different levels of South African society and viewed the Gandhi statue as being in line with those of colonial leaders such as Cecil Rhodes. The Gandhi statue in Johannesburg was

[397] Ibid.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] 'Gandhi Statue Removed after Student Protest in Ghana', *News24*, 13 December 2018. https://www.news24.com/news24/Africa/gandhi-statue-removed-after-student-protest-in-ghana.
[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.

unveiled in 2003 at Gandhi Square (previously Government Square), the site of the city's first court and where Gandhi had practised as a lawyer.[406] This is one of the rare representations of Gandhi as a lawyer; it is usually not a focus for academics and at historical sites. As has been mentioned, at the Phoenix Settlement there is one photograph in which Gandhi is wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase—as in this statue of Gandhi.

The statue of Gandhi erected in San Francisco in 1988 was also not welcomed by some. In 2010 the Organisation for Minorities of India asked for the removal of the statue,[407] claiming that Gandhi was a racist with violent urges.[408] The statue was not taken down, however.

It is apparent that in recent years, there have been debates about who Gandhi really was and if he should be honoured as a non-racial leader. The debates have spurred movements in academic institutions. Desai and Vahed totally disregard the notion of Gandhi as a leader of unity but focus on him as a servant of the British Empire. They present difficult histories of Gandhi and question how he should be remembered. Their approach is in line with my argument and representation of the past. What they did not cover is the way in which Gandhi has been compared to other leaders of his time, and the way in which he is represented on the Inanda Heritage Route. This is an important part of understanding Gandhi in public history and heritage.

Missionary heritage

The lives of leaders represented on the route, especially that of Dube and Shembe, are tied in with the work of missionaries and their success in bringing light to the world. Again, the representation of missionaries and their work as progressive does not bring out controversial

[406] 'Joburg Unveils Gandhi Statue', Brand South Africa (2 October 2003), accessed 16 May 2019, https://brandsouthafrica.com/people-culture/history-heritage/gandhistatue.
[407] 'Mahatma Gandhi and Controversies', Arts and Architecture (2012), accessed 5 May 2019, https://www.artandarchitecture-sf.com/mahatma-gandhi-and-contervesies.html].
[408] Ibid.

elements of the contact between missionaries and the indigenous people. The history of *amaQadi* and general histories of KwaZulu-Natal show that the missionaries came to live and work within existing black communities. Their mission was to touch the lives of black people and to bring 'civilisation' to them.

Inanda Seminary is a product of missionary work and there is great emphasis on the importance of missionaries' efforts to instil their values in African girls through a formalised system of learning. The school is the oldest one offering education for African girls in Southern Africa. It has attracted scholars interested in gender histories and the history of education in Natal. Agnes Wood, a staff member at the seminary, published the institutional history *Shine Where You Are* in 1972. The book details the founding of the school, the reasons for doing so, and some of its success stories. The book starts with a brief background of *amaQadi* and early attempts to establish the school. The main aim of the school was to offer education to African girls who were to be good wives for the African boys studying at Adams College to become pastors and teachers. The institutions were to contribute to a class of Africans, 'civilised' and learned. The book focuses on the founding of the school, the hard work that was put into the school, and the good education that the seminary offered African girls.

Hughes, in an article entitled 'A Lighthouse for African girls', takes a similar approach. The seminary became known as a school for daughters of the African elite, not just as a local institution but nationally.[409] Hughes focuses on early 20th century African nationalism and on a history of *amakholwa* Christian elite. The article details the foundations of the school and the state of education in the early years.

Healy-Clancy contributed a detailed social history of South African women's education by

[409] Hughes, 'A Lighthouse for African Womanhood', 197.

focusing specifically on Inanda Seminary from its inception in the late 1860s to recent years. The book, entitled *A World of Their Own,* was published in 2012 and produced from her PhD thesis. Healy-Clancy used oral history interviews that she conducted with former students and staff of the 1970s and 1980s.[410] In a review of the book, Kros asserts that

> Healy-Clancy's main theoretical objective is to reveal how the plan for 'social reproduction' conceived of, first by the 'benevolent empire' of the American missions and then more insidiously by the apartheid state, in which women would play the role of nurturers and reproducers of the labour force at a knockdown price, actually backfired.'[411]

The book shows how the school moved from its primary aim and evolved. We learn about other principals as the focus on the Inanda Heritage Route is mostly on Edwards. Kros notes that Healy-Clancy initially offers biographical sketches but moves on to a more self-consciously pursued theoretical argument in which women's reminiscences are relayed to us at a rate which allows one to catch only fleeting glimpses of them. Kros commends the book for being well written and competent.[412]

Couper sought to build on Wood's work through journal articles that focus on the seminary's institutional history. The articles look at the history of the seminary after 1970 to the rebuilding of the school in 1998.[413] They focus on the internal affairs of the seminary, paying careful attention to some of the major events that it faced. Couper makes use of the seminary archives as a method of analysis. The journal articles are the most recent work done on the seminary.

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[410] M. Healy-Clancy, *A World of their Own: A Social History of South African Women's Education* (Scottville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013).
[411] C. Kros, 'Making the World their Own Again in a New Era? A World of their Own: A History of South African Women's Education, Meghan Healy-Clancy: Book Review', *Historia,* 59. 1 (2014), 184-197, 184.
[412] Ibid., 185.
[413] S. Couper, 'They have Opened their Doors to Black Children at our Expense: The Chronicle of Inanda Seminary during the 1990s', *Historia,* 59. 1 (2014), 88-117; S. Couper, '…it is Clear Something is Wrong Here! Inanda Seminary's Continued Survival During the 1980s', *Historia,* 58. 1 (2013), 74-105; S. Couper, 'Where Men Fail, Women Take Over: Inanda Seminary's Rescue by its Own', *South African Historical Journal,* 67. 1 (2015), 1-31.

Missionary history on the Inanda Heritage Route and in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal is closely linked to the idea of civilisation, education and liberation of Africans. There is no doubt that missionary influences and education contributed to the fight for liberation. However, missionary history is represented in the same manner across the province: it remains unchallenged and there are complexities that have not been presented. It is one-sided and leaves out several elements that are important to the story of missionaries and the conversion of Africans to Christianity. The religion undermined African religions and instilled fear in local people by introducing the concept of Hell. The followers of African religions do not believe in Hell but in the greatness of humanity in the afterlife.

Missionaries had more control over land than did the Africans who had owned the land before their arrival. Glebelands was controlled by missionaries who had massive plots while Africans struggled for land. As recorded in the Fort Dunford Museum, the Hlubi were not willing to convert, and when the Hlubi leader became a political prisoner, the missionaries believed that this was because of the 'hand of God' for he was godless.[414] Missionary accounts demonstrate that they imposed Christianity: they did not understand African religions and did not intend to. Missionary Wilhelm Posselt described Africans as barbaric and uncultured.[415] These accounts are not in line with a progressive approach to histories and have perhaps been left out for this reason.

Other available histories of Inanda have been left out; perhaps they did not fit in with the aims of the route. Also omitted are people's experiences, different periods that contributed to the development of the area, and elements that shaped the area and its people. Missionary heritage may have been a key area of focus because it fits in with progressive histories, in the

[414] This information can be found at the Fort Durnford Museum in Estcourt in the exhibition texts.
[415] S. Bourquin, ed., *Wilhelm Posselt: The Story of his Labours among Xhosa and Zulu 1815-1885* (Westville: Bergtheil Museum, 1994), 73.

way that it has been studied and represented. It is without a doubt that missionaries and missionary education played a role in moulding African nationalists and contributed to events that helped to bring about liberation. I agree that mission work should be credited; however, other complexities about missionaries and their work remain hidden. To a certain extent, the introduction of Christianity by white missionaries brought with it as much oppression as positive outcomes.

The route does not examine the negative effects of the presence of the missionaries. As discussed, they introduced the concept of Hell, which was not part of African religions. This instilled fear and placed a negative connotation on African religious practices. Africans were made to think that ancestral beliefs and other African religious practices contained evil elements; if they did not want to go to Hell, they needed to stop practising these religions and 'turn to the light' by adopting Christianity. They feared going to Hell and desired entry to Heaven, but this came with obeying the Christian rules introduced by missionaries. These issues are not discussed or presented for public discussion. This top-down approach to the introduction of Christianity is not presented on the route or in the various institutions that depict missionary work.

The route represents progressive histories that are meant to empower South Africans and forge a reconciled society. But there is a lack of opportunities to engage with certain aspects of the past and a lack space for a dialogue between different sides of the past. The biographical approach dominates the route, and likewise, biographies of *amakholwa* have been a focus for historians. In recent years, historians have looked at different aspects of the life of a *kholwa* and the African nationalist leader. Some of the results have not been welcomed, especially by the ruling party, as they are seen to undermine the character of the leaders. However, there needs to be an understanding that these leaders were not

supernatural; they were human and not exempt from human error. They should be understood as people whose ideals might have changed during their lifetime. Open discussions about uncomfortable aspects of their lives should not be viewed as a way of diminishing their character. The biographical approach has dominated public commemorations in post-apartheid South Africa where the lives of black leaders are featured in exhibitions and heritage trails.

Resistance history has been mythologised and dominated by the ruling party's perceived aims regarding how we as a nation should remember the past. Biographies of exemplary leaders have dominated the route, sifting out unpleasant memories. This tendency has moved away from open debates and instead has focused on museums as places of unquestionable facts. These 'facts' are centred on national leaders' important roles on the road to democracy. Missionary histories have also not been questioned. In the process, pre-colonial societies and women are underrepresented and difficult histories have been concealed. The next chapter focuses on histories that have been underrepresented and left out of the route.

CHAPTER 3

Silences and hidden histories

Introduction

This chapter offers a critical discussion of silences and hidden histories in the context of the Inanda Heritage Route. While Chapter 2 emphasised the 'visible', this chapter highlights the 'invisibles' of the route. Chapter 2 focused on the dominant representations on the route; I argued that certain biographies had been placed at the centre of focus. Now I will consider other ways of representing Inanda's past. For example, the route does not depict the lives of ordinary people in the pre-colonial era even though archaeological research has been conducted around Inanda Dam. In addition, research on traditional leadership matches the time periods represented on the route but offers a different perspective. I will discuss the possibilities of representing such histories on the route. The route also does not depict the lives of people under apartheid even though, as in other South African townships, Inanda was subjected to restrictive apartheid laws and was plagued by violence. Apartheid is a major part of South African history, and while there are public spaces in the country where it has been examined, it would be possible for the effects of apartheid to be presented on the route from the Inanda perspective. While working on the route, visitors would ask me how Inanda had been affected by apartheid and what the area's contribution to the liberation struggle had been.

I argue that difficult histories that look at precolonial societies, settler colonialism, the apartheid era, and the position of women are important, and that consideration should be given to including these in the route. I do so by exploring recent debates on post-apartheid heritage initiatives in other parts of South Africa as the route was established in line with

national policies on post-apartheid heritage. I also present scholarly research on the topics that have been left out of the route. This chapter thus looks at the possibilities of representing the history of Inanda as a post-apartheid heritage initiative, based on available research.

Men attained the status of heroic figures in the struggle for liberation. They made sacrifices for the well-being of the nation. The role of women, however, has been minimised to that of helpers and supporters of these heroic men. Driving along the route, looking at promotional material and media coverage about the area, one is confronted by the faces of men. These can be found on the internet and on large banners beside the main road of Inanda; but female leaders are not the face of Inanda nor that of liberation movements on the route. I delve more deeply into alternative possibilities for public history, options that pay attention to questions of gender and women's history. In recent years, scholars have made contributions to the space of women in the public sphere. Heather Hughes and Cherif Keita have argued that MaMdima (Nokuthela Dube) was an equal contributor alongside her husband to the establishment of Ohlange and *iLanga lase Natali*. However, she has not been recognised as the co-founder in publications and on the route.

Debates on public history initiatives in post-apartheid South Africa

As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, the route is a public heritage initiative in post-apartheid South Africa and forms part of broader projects aimed at democratising its cultural landscape. Scholars have studied such initiatives in other parts of the country. There have been various debates on post-apartheid heritage initiatives, mostly pertaining to the way in which heritage is represented and the purpose served. Early contributions to these debates include the work of Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz.[416] Annie Coombes produced a book

[416] Rassool and Witz produced various journal articles about post-apartheid heritage initiatives in South Africa including 'The 1952 Jan Van Riebeek Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 34. 3 (1993), 447–68; 'South Africa: A World in One

entitled *History after Apartheid* which looks at different heritage initiatives including those about apartheid.

Coombes critiques some of the strategies that have been followed in heritage projects. Mostly, she says, they do not effectively represent a transformed cultural landscape and, in some instances, have not really moved away from strategies employed during apartheid. Coombes critiques the notion of moving away from histories of conflicts, as some post-apartheid heritage initiatives suggest.[417] This means that certain histories are silenced. She points out that this poses problems for representing the past, and questions to what extent such histories might end up simply reinforcing the silences imposed by apartheid.[418] Coombes further asserts that '[i]t also raises the issue of how far such a strategy might encourage a convenient amnesia about the struggle for democracy and the sacrifices made during the liberation struggle.'[419] The Inanda Heritage Route has done so by ignoring conflicts between the leaders represented, conflicts between communities, and political instability in the area during apartheid. The dominant representations do not open discussions about difficult histories.

In a paper entitled 'Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts', Rassool argues that '…public history in South Africa has emerged as an exciting new field of practice and a network of institutions involving complex knowledge transactions.'[420] In this paper, he writes as both an academic and an individual working in institutions of public heritage. He uses the District Six Museum in Cape Town as a case study. The museum is a post-apartheid heritage

Country: Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines,* 36 (1996), 335-371; and 'Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism', *Daedalus*, 130. 1 (2001), 277-296.

[417] A. Coombes, *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 162.

[418] Ibid.

[419] Ibid.

[420] C. Rassool, 'Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts', *African Studies*, 69. 1 (2010), 79-101, 79.

initiative and curates public heritage and histories of the diverse communities affected by forced removals in apartheid South Africa. Rassool views the museum as a critical arena that challenges hierarchies of historical and archaeological knowledge.[421] He examines the exhibitions and excavations in which the museum has been involved and '…argues that it is imperative that the "politics of atonement" be transcended if history and archaeology are to have a productive future in the transforming landscape of knowledge relations in South Africa.'[422] Rassool refers to work done by social historians in presenting alternative ways of studying our past. He asserts that: 'The radical scholarship of social historians sought to uncover the submerged agency of ordinary people and give voice to experiences of marginal groups.'[423] He further states that while social historians were committed to democratising the power of oral history, it only constituted a 'supplementary source'.[424]

This comment by Rassool has direct relevance to public history in Durban and Inanda in relation to the archives and written histories. The Campbell Collections include transcripts from oral history interviews that contribute to the social history of Durban. There have been various oral history projects around the country, some of which have been used in published books, some in documentaries and others have made it into museum exhibitions. At the Cato Manor Heritage Centre, a few quotes from oral history interviews form part of the exhibition. As part of plans for the Inanda route, an oral history project took place there but the results did not make it into exhibitions and can hardly be found in the archives. The oral history topics form part of the histories that are not significantly visible in the exhibitions on the route.

During the time of political transition in South Africa, from the mid to the late 1990s,

[421] Rassool, 'Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts', 80.
[422] Ibid., 80-81.
[423] Ibid., 81.
[424] Ibid.

'…some heritage institutions, such as the District Six Museum, began to claim an independent location as a space of public scholarship, where complex, theoretically informed studies of life histories in Cape Town's past began to be generated in exhibitions and publications.' [425] This museum is an example of how public histories can be represented. 'The creation and development of the District Six Museum were influenced both by social history research on the history of Cape Town and by approaches which drew attention to social history's limitations,'[426] he writes. This museum '… needs to be understood as a hybrid space, which combined scholarship, research, collection and museum aesthetics with community forms of governance and accountability, and land claim politics of representation and restitution.'[427] Layne, in his study on the museum, asserts:

> The museum is an independent space where the forgotten understandings of the past are resuscitated, and where different interpretations of that past are facilitated. The museum not only tells the stories of forced removals, it also assists in the reconstitution of the community of District Six and Cape Town by drawing on the area's pre-apartheid heritage of nonracialism, nonsexism, anti-class discrimination movements, and by the encouragement of open debate about the past, present, and future.[428]

The museum represents a history of apartheid South Africa in a community dominated by, but not limited to, people classified at the time as 'coloured'. When I visited the museum, I noticed how it represented communal efforts. It represented a vibrant community and lived experiences of different individuals. Layne's analysis, like that of Rassool, looks beyond the 'coloured' community during apartheid; it also considers the presence of slavery history, and the blend of cultures and ideologies.[429] The museum displays the lives of ordinary people and their experiences. The inclusion of archaeological research in the museum ensures that it represents the history of the area beyond the lives of 'coloured' people. It also presents ways

[425] Ibid., 84.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid.
[428] V. Layne, 'The District Six Museum: An Ordinary People's Place', *The Public Historian,* 30. 1 (2008), 53-62, 54.
[429] Ibid., 54.

of using different forms of historical evidence and offers varied interpretations of historical sources. Archaeological research gives another perspective over and above the oral narratives.

In the case of the District Six Museum, scholars conducted research to understand the meanings of rock art that was discovered as part of archaeological research. The rock art was interpreted by /Xam speakers; the research entailed going to Khoi-San communities to find interpretations of their rock art and rituals.[430] An archaeological study of the rock art attempts to display connections with /Xam beliefs and customs, and that information was recorded as part of the District Six Museum project.[431] Researchers also engaged with other Khoi-San communities. The information collected became part of the archives on the Khoi-San communities. This was an important project in that it provided for different perspectives of the area's past and different interpretations of historical evidence. It is important for public history to be open to such differences. Rassool concludes that '… in the field of memory in post-apartheid South Africa, citizenship can only begin to be forged when politics of atonement and the syndrome of discovery are challenged.'[432] Rassool suggests that it is preferable to challenge the politics of atonement than to limit the citizenry to a passive grateful audience.[433] Heritage institutions should be places of public discussion and not mainly sites of historical facts put together by a few decision makers. Representing different perspectives of the past and public history is part of decolonising our heritage institutions. Possibilities for representing Inanda's past include looking into archaeological research conducted in the area, studies of pre-colonial communities, apartheid experiences and the leadership of women.

[430] Ibid., 89.
[431] Ibid., 90.
[432] Ibid., 93.
[433] Ibid.

Witz's research on Cape Town's townships is relevant to the Inanda route given its location in black residential areas and that it is part of post-apartheid public heritage initiatives. South African townships have similar histories and township tourism routes have similar objectives to those of the Inanda Heritage Route. In his article entitled 'Museums on Cape Town's Township Tours', Witz describes tours offered in Cape Town where townships form part of the tourist itinerary. He explains how these tours are presented as encounters with living cultures and a real sense of history.[434] Townships are presented as living museums, an opportunity to 'see' history rather than being told about it and an opportunity to meet people who live there.[435] With South Africa segregated for decades by apartheid, township tours have also been viewed as an opportunity for South Africans of different racial groups to learn about their compatriots living in different settings. As a result, township tourism has attracted not only international but also domestic tourists. Witz argues that townships in Cape Town are not classified by historical interest but by their ability to provide an opportunity to identify and see people.[436] Tourists see people in their homes, in a community centre and interact with them in a local tavern.[437] The Inanda Heritage Route does offer such packages: although there is a strong focus on the museums along this route, the opportunity to interact with local cultures is available to tourists who are interested in doing so.

Witz focuses on the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, which forms part of Cape Town's township tours. This museum, opened in 2000, represents the history of migrant labourers working in apartheid South Africa and their lives as hostel dwellers. The tour visits the hostels where a community member acts as a guide and tells visitors about the history of the area as well as people's lives in the present day. In addition, the museum serves as a reminder

[434] L. Witz, 'Museums on Cape Town's Township Tours', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall, eds., *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City* (Routledge: Abington, 2007), 259-274, 259.
[435] Ibid., 279.
[436] Ibid., 268.
[437] Ibid.

of the control under which black workers lived. An identity document or passbook regulated their access to employment and residence in urban areas.[438] The passbook system had a great impact on people who lived in the township. The Inanda route does not cover this aspect of the past although the area was also affected by it. Curators of the Lwandle museum argue that their intention was to portray the political and economic history of migrancy and that often this must make way for a tourist's expectation of 'authentic Africa'.[439] According to Witz, 'The museum has embarked upon projects that seek to develop new notions of public citizenry through the construction of a new set of public pasts…The museum is having to constantly mediate the past it collects, presents, and represents in order to ensure that it becomes a "Destination Culture".'[440] As part of its exhibitions, there are images of people in traditional clothes and images showing a lifestyle that is unique to South African townships. The museum has made efforts to include and represent stories of local people. Witz concludes that township tours are represented by tour companies as hidden areas that are beyond the main sites in the city.[441] He adds that they are destinations that represent a different life, and the focus is not on the political history that they present but rather on the lifestyle (music, dance, laughter).[442]

Bonginkosi Zuma, in the article 'The Extent to which South African Museums Surrendered to Political Undertones', argues that '…political actors exploited museums using transformation agendas as a conduit for political interference in heritage matters'.[443] He further argues that museums do not need to be the mouthpiece of dominant political parties, and risk imposing narratives on museum audiences who may subscribe to opposing views.[444] So, too, it is noted

[438] Ibid., 270.
[439] Ibid., 272.
[440] Ibid., 273.
[441] Ibid., 273-274.
[442] Ibid., 274.
[443] B. Zuma, 'The Extent to which South African Museums Surrendered to Political Undertones', *Museum International*, 70. 3-4 (2018), 38-47, 40.
[444] Ibid.

at the start of this thesis that the Inanda route is dominated by certain narratives, most of which can be linked directly to the ruling party. Zuma argues that actions of the democratic government continue to underline the traces of political interference in heritage even though it has tried to redress past imbalances.[445] He suggests that '… museums need to be afforded space and independence as agents in the preservation of history and custodians of cultural heritage'.[446] He further suggests that reference to communities that existed prior to the arrival of settlers can play a pivotal role in connecting some families to their origins.[447] Applying this to Inanda, the histories of people who lived there prior to the arrival of settlers and other suggestions made in this chapter could constitute some of these histories. Zuma further suggests that '…there is an urgent need to revisit the isiZulu word for museum, *Isigcina magugu*;...the translation suggests that a museum's sole responsibility is to conserve treasures.'[448] He elaborates that: 'This limits people's ability to fully understand the role of museums beyond their function of heritage preservation and to acknowledge their more active role in contemporary society.'[449] In addition, '…museums in South Africa need to play a pivotal role in representing South Africa's migration from "multicultural society" to an "intercultural society"—a shift that allows a plurality of cultures to interlace in dialogue and in collective responsibility.'[450] He concludes that there needs to be a common understanding of what constitutes heritage, and that plurality of views should be enabled in public institutions.[451]

In a webinar on the theme 'African Museums: The Question of the Museum and the National', George Abungu argues that museums in Africa started as colonial projects that

[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid., 44.
[448] Ibid., 46.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid.

were exploitative.[452] He therefore suggests that they need to be dismantled to make way for African museums.[453] He proposes that African museums should represent locals and make extensive use of indigenous knowledge systems.[454] National museums must contain different voices and not treat curators as experts of public knowledge.[455] He provides examples such as issues of conflict resolution in the 1990s and a young researchers programme implemented in certain parts of Africa in which young people worked with museum officials to create content.[456] In that way, the museum created a platform for different interpretations and interactive content. In addition, the community was involved in the process. This proposal may avoid what Rassool refers to as people being 'citizens by instruction'.[457] This phrase can be understood as the process whereby the heritage sector dictates to people what citizenship means as well as how they should remember their past and appreciate their heritage as members of society. Rassool argues that there is a need for museums to be democratic whereas they are currently hierarchical.[458] He agrees with Abungu on the need for African voices.[459]

Coombes critiques a representation of the past that focuses on nation building while suppressing difficult histories. She views that as a continuation of the way in which apartheid operated in terms of suppressing people and the state as sole decision maker. Rassool considers power struggles in representing the past, specifically those related to archaeological research around the District Six area. However, he also engages with the strategies employed by the District Six Museum. Zuma also considers power issues, saying that museums are not

[452] G. Abungu and C. Rassool, (12 May 2022). *African Museums: The Question of the Museum and the National* [Webinar]. Stellenbosch University Museum.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid.

independent from dominant political parties. Rassool describes the ways in which museums have represented the past as an alternative to representing communal histories. Rassool's study shows the varied possibilities in representing the past; the District Six Museum has handled public history in a way that enables public debates and engagements with the past rather than channelling visitors to specific narratives. The museum was able to accommodate different aspects of District Six's past. Rassool delves into what archeology can offer; it leads one to think about the possibilities for Inanda if archeological research conducted at Inanda Dam is considered. Witz carefully studied how township tourism has been packaged in Cape Town. He critiques how the focus has been on providing an 'authentic' experience for the international visitor and the presentation of a lifestyle that cannot be found elsewhere. Alternative ways of presenting the history of apartheid can be seen at the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum that Witz studied. Zuma also provided alternatives that emphasise the independence of museums, representations beyond colonial history and a common understanding of the role of museums that moves beyond preservation. Coombes, Rassool, Witz and Zuma have all looked at post-apartheid heritage initiatives and at representations of the past in these initiatives. Abungu and Rassool, in their discussion, agree that museums are lacking the 'African voice' and integration with communities. Their studies were able to engage with processes of dealing with public pasts and issues related to representations.

The focus of this study is on representations of public pasts in a post-apartheid heritage route. The route channels visitors to specific narratives and does not accommodate the different perspectives of Inanda's past. It does not engage with the varied available histories of Inanda. The following sections will do so in order to consider alternatives for representing Inanda's past. What possibilities does the route have to contribute to notions of public citizenry through local people's experiences during apartheid, and possibly by including an examination of the lifestyle of local people, as Witz suggests.

Research on Inanda beyond historical records

The history of South Africa, to a great extent, is found in colonial archives and has been recorded from a particular perspective. Communities that made up South Africa before the arrival of the colonisers relied on oral tradition. They were illiterate so early written records were from the perspective of the colonisers and start from the arrival of Europeans. Looking beyond this perspective or this history has involved methods such as oral history and archaeological research. While I am aware that each of these methodologies has its own complex histories woven into the colonial past, they are worth looking into. They present possibilities for representing the past of Inanda beyond the way in which it is currently represented.

In the 1980s, archaeological research was conducted at the Inanda Dam and found evidence of human life in the precolonial era. While historians rely on written records and oral history as evidence of historical events, archaeologists dig deeper and search for material culture to understand the lives that people lived generations earlier. Archeological research offers a different perspective of the past and is a rich addition to research. Histories of Inanda include evidence provided by archaeologists such as Gavin Whitelaw. Early Iron Age tools were found in the area. Some of the archaeological findings from Inanda Dam can be found at the Pinetown Museum. On the tourist map of Inanda at the Phoenix Settlement there is one sentence that mentions archaeological excavations. This is only noticeable if one pays special attention to the text around the map, otherwise it is easy to miss this information. This is the only time that the excavations are mentioned on the route.

In 1983 the then Natal Museum Archaeology Department conducted the first archaeological research at Inanda.[460] A range of archaeological sites were found in the area, ranging from

[460] G. Whitelaw, 'Customs and Settlement Patterns in the First Millennium AD: Evidence from Nanda, an Early Iron Age Site in the Mngeni Valley, Natal', *Southern African Humanities*, 5. 10 (October 1993), 47-81, 47.

Early Stone Age to Late Iron Age.[461] This is the case with most archaeological sites in KwaZulu-Natal. The findings go back to the Early Stone Age era which is associated with Khoi-San communities. Iron Age communities are the ancestors of present-day Nguni people and were known as early African farmers or Bantu-speaking people. Archaeologists describe Inanda as '…a typical first millennium agricultural settlement.'[462] Agriculturalists are linked to Nguni ancestry. Archaeologists found human remains around the Inanda Dam area and studied the burial patterns to determine who occupied the area. They were also able to trace some of the initiation practices and rituals, which can be compared to other sites in KwaZulu-Natal. Well-preserved sherds recovered at Inanda are probably associated with broken lower grinding stones.[463] Little iron-working debris was recovered and pieces of items found at the sites suggest that the floor was baked by fire.[464] Some of the findings suggest that societies there were agriculturalists and possibly made use of stone tools to process skins.[465]

The current presentation on the route does not tell stories of societies that existed before the arrival of missionaries and Gandhi. It is as if life started when they arrived. In contrast, archaeological research has proved that the area of Inanda and surroundings was occupied by humans for centuries. Human life there has a long history, much longer than is represented on the route.

Also found in Inanda were iron ore, tuyere fragments and vitrified furnace-daga, which suggests that iron was produced at Inanda.[466] Archaeologists studied burial practices by paying special attention to the burial sites and patterns from the human remains found in the area. The use of cattle byre as discovered in these sites is associated with Southern Africans

[461] Ibid.
[462] Maggs, 1984, cited in Whitelaw, 'Customs and Settlement Patterns', 49.
[463] Ibid., 65.
[464] Whitelaw, 'Customs and Settlement Patterns', 65.
[465] Ibid., 68.
[466] Ibid., 72.

who traditionally bury important people with byre.[467] The findings at Inanda provide a clear picture that there was settlement in the area in the seventh century.[468]

Whitelaw writes from the discipline of archaeology. He analyses material culture to offer a different perspective of the past. His is a contribution to the prehistory of Inanda and KwaZulu-Natal. The type of research that Whitelaw conducted is largely focused on material culture; the evidence found underground is used to provide possible explanations for pre-historic periods—about the lives that people lived and their cultures, based on what they left behind. Some of Whitelaw's findings form part of museum exhibitions in Pinetown Museum and Bergtheil Museum. The exhibitions there are about Late Stone Age and Iron Age societies. As stated in this chapter, the only reference to archaeological findings on the Inanda route is one sentence on the map at the Phoenix Settlement. It can easily be missed. However, archeology represents a different perspective and account of the past. It has made a meaningful contribution to understanding Inanda's past and the history of its people. It provides another way of representing the area's past, one that goes beyond colonial archives and the dominant representation of the past discussed in Chapter 2.

Interactions between traditional leadership, settlers and missionaries in Inanda

The route does not represent the histories of precolonial communities in Inanda, even the period just prior to colonisation. It also does not represent histories relating to traditional leadership and its contact with European settlers and colonial authorities. There is, however, an opportunity for the route to feature some representation of traditional leadership, and the contact between this and colonial authorities, and between traditional leadership and missionaries. In 1995 Hughes conducted research towards her PhD on the politics of the Qadi chiefdom of the Ngcobos. At the time she was residing at Inanda Seminary with her husband

[467] Ibid., 74.
[468] Ibid., 78.

who was a staff member at the school. The Qadi area was estimated to stretch from present day Briardene area to Botha's Hill and Hillcrest. It included most of the Indian, 'coloured' and black townships such as Newlands, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Clermont and Inanda to mention some of them. It was the Qadi chiefdom that enabled the use of land for some of the prominent institutions whose heritage is celebrated on the route. Therefore, the history of the Qadi kingdom is relevant to the history of Inanda. Hughes examines how Mqhawe and the chiefly elite rebuilt the Qadi chiefdom and the sense of Qadi identity.[469] Hughes acknowledges Qadi oral testimonies and relies heavily on accounts of Stuart, Fuze and Byrant on the Qadi genealogy. These sources are also interlinked with complexities of *amakholwa* communities that Hughes discusses in the book referenced in Chapter 2. Her study is the most detailed research on the history of present day Inanda. It is this research that led her to the life histories of Dube and sparked her interest in the women of *amakholwa* communities.

Hughes discusses the major events that made the Qadi relocate to present day Inanda. The Qadi were part of the clans that occupied Zululand in the early 19th century when King Shaka reigned. Agnes Wood, former Inanda Seminary teacher, in her book on the history of the seminary, stated that the Ngcobos were originally *amaLala*. This can be confirmed by one of the clan names as they refer to themselves as *iLala*. Wood further states that the Ngcobos were found mainly along the coast of St Lucia in Zululand to Umngeni of what was then Port Natal.[470] Hughes discusses the background of the Qadi chiefdom from Thukela valley and the lineages from the 18th century.[471] She examines the relationship between Qadi Chief Dube and King Shaka and cites Gumede where he refers to the good relationship that they had. She

[469] H. Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda, Natal: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1906' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1995), 17.
[470] A. Wood, *Shine Where You Are: A Centenary History of Inanda Seminary 1869-1970* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1972), 2.
[471] Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda', 57.

also discusses the position of the Qadi in the Zulu kingdom.[472] After the assassination of King Shaka, King Dingane took over, the Qadi were attacked (which resulted in the death of their leader Chief Dube) and they were forced to leave Zululand.[473] This is a story which is widely known and has been passed on to generations through oral history. The thesis goes into detail about how this happened and refers to the writings of John Dube. It is believed that the Qadi were attacked because they were King Shaka's allies and a potential threat to King Dingane. Hughes recounts precolonial history of the Qadi and sets out the relationship between the Qadi chiefdom and missionaries. She discusses the politics of the Zulu kingdom during the mid-19th century. Hughes argues that the missionaries had great influence on the Qadi chiefdom in relation to their social world, as was the case with other African tribes.[474] According to oral testimonies, the Qadi left Zululand and settled in the area now known as Briardene before they came to Inanda. Shortly after the Qadi settled in Inanda, in 1837, the white settlers organised militia who raided Zulu villages, capturing women and children in the process.[475]

The thesis shows how chiefdoms were affected by white settlers. The lives of African people and their cultural practices were significantly changed to adapt to certain restrictions imposed by the white settlers. The thesis offers a study about the politics and society of the Qadi chiefdom in colonial Natal. It is concerned with the reign of Chief Mqhawe in the local setting of Inanda.[476] Hughes was interested in the determination of the chief and the Qadi elite to rebuild the chiefdom and Qadi identity.[477] In the process, Hughes draws on colonial archives, missionaries, African converts and local white farmers. Chief Mqhawe expressed

[472] Ibid., 65.
[473] Ibid., 52.
[474] Ibid., 34.
[475] Ibid., 79.
[476] Ibid., 17.
[477] Ibid.

his views on these issues and Hughes quotes a complaint by the chief that was forwarded to the 1881 Native Affairs Commission.[478] Hughes describes the issue of land: Mqhawe was able to purchase land from Bishop Colenso (and named it Incwadi) which his people were allowed to use.[479] This is the same area where John and Nokuthela Dube did missionary work and educated black people. Hughes explains that Chief Mqhawe made efforts as a leader to secure tangible benefits for his people.[480] In explaining this, Hughes describes how different he was to other chiefs who were perceived as ineffectual. He was always concerned about the issue of land, worried about people having sufficient land, questioning colonial authorities on this, and challenging oppressive policies.[481] Efforts were made to acquire more land but there were great challenges facing an African leader after white settlers had taken over. Hughes later describes the chief as a person who avoided starting a fight with colonial authorities.[482] Laws of colonial authorities proved to be very oppressive to Africans and hindered their progress.

Hughes studied the relationship between the Qadi chief and the American Board missionaries who came to Inanda in the 1840s. In her analysis of the interaction between the chief and the missionaries, Hughes describes this as '…marked more by tense exchanges and stubborn silences than by open dialogue.'[483] Chief Mqhawe and Rev Daniel Lindley struggled for the possession of the best land as missionaries reduced garden land for some of the Qadi people.[484] Considering that the chief had emphasised the importance of having enough land for his people, it could not have been easy for him to be on good terms with the missionaries, the very people who had reduced land for his people. However, Hughes explains that over

[478] Ibid., 82.
[479] Ibid., 108 -110.
[480] Ibid.,
[481] Ibid., 112-121.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid., 151.
[484] Etherington, cited in Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda', 151.

time their relationship changed and became cordial.[485] Hughes traces the shifts and dynamics that influenced their initial interactions. She gives a detailed background of Lindley, from his early life and his life and work before coming to Inanda. This includes his relationship with the Boers. Hughes also shows how the arrival of missionaries and white colonists affected the local cultures. The missionaries challenged polygamy and *ukulobola,*[486] among other local cultural practices. They were not impressed when people continued to practice *ukulobola* and *ukwemula*,[487] viewing Africans as people who continued with their heathen ways which were not in line with Christian morality.

Hughes discusses, in detail, the Christian converts of Inanda—the Goba, Dube and Champion families.[488] She then looks at education in Inanda with a strong focus on the Inanda Seminary and Ohlange Institute. In doing so, she contributes to the history of *amakholwa* integrated with precolonial history. Hughes begins with an overview of education in colonial Natal. She discusses the missionary bodies that provided education and points to the role of mission stations in providing[489] education.[490] According to Hughes, the primary aim of Inanda Seminary was to prepare daughters of converts for roles performed by missionary wives. Hughes relies on reports written by missionaries, their journals and oral history.[491] In the 1890s, schools were built in Incwadi after the arrival of Dube and MaMdima.[492] Hughes discusses the inspiration behind Ohlange and reflects on Dube's travel to the US.[493] Chief Mqhawe was involved in the initial stages of the development of Ohlange and supported the

[485] Ibid., 152.
[486] *Ukulobola* is the process by where a man pays cattle (which may be given a monetary value) to his future in-laws. It is the first step leading to a wedding and is followed by rituals and celebrations. It is practised in several African cultures.
[487] The verb *ukwemula*, relating to the process of *umemulo,* is a coming-of-age ritual performed for young women.
[488] Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda', 225-254.
[489] Ibid, 234.
[490] Ibid., 225.
[491] Ibid., 234.
[492] Ibid., 232.
[493] Ibid., 232-233.

school.[494] He died after an illness in 1906. The thesis shows how white settler colonists tried to consolidate their dominant position by limiting economic conditions for black people and Indians.

Hughes traces the anti-Indian racism of African converts, the Qadi and American missionaries.[495] There were several invasive issues for people who lived in Inanda due to it becoming the centre of Natal's sugar production.[496] The government was interested in opening mission reserves to white ownership but not to black people. The land in Inanda was privatised by the Boers and the British.[497] Hughes says there was great prejudice against Indians and she provides quotes to back this up.[498]

The Inanda Tourism Route does not address or open for discussion the topic of racism and conflict between the different races that occupied Inanda. Even in the present day, racial tension is still an issue in the country and forms part of daily struggles. On the route, through narratives communicated with tourists, Inanda is represented as a place where different race groups were able to live in harmony. It is represented as a place that embraced racial and cultural diversity as if in preparation for the 'rainbow nation' that South Africa was allegedly to become. This representation ignores the reality of the past. Difficult histories such as that of racial tension and inequality have been ignored on the route and in other post-apartheid heritage initiatives.

Hughes looks at the similarities between the work of Dube and Gandhi, pointing out the possibility that Dube's work influenced Gandhi.[499] The *Indian Opinion* was first produced a

[494] Ibid., 254.
[495] Ibid., 255.
[496] Ibid., 257
[497] Ibid., 260.
[498] Ibid., 272.
[499] Ibid., 275.

few years after Dube established *iLanga lase Natali* and the aims of these newspapers were similar. Hughes highlights how researchers have neglected the broader issues of African-Indian relations in Natal.[500] Even in the most recent research into Natal and its histories, these issues are ignored. In museums, stories are created to make people believe that Dube and Gandhi were good friends and thus that Afro-Indian relations were good. Hughes points out that Dube, Champion, Daniel Lindley and Mary Edwards had anti-Indian views and were unhappy with the system that allowed Indians to take up ownership of land.[501] She says Edwards went to great lengths to buy a large piece of land adjoining the seminary to forestall construction of barracks for Indians.[502] The American Board had an anti-Indian attitude. Rev Goodenough attested that Indians should not sub-lease plots on African mission reserves where Africans were given titles.[503] This aspect of history is ignored, maybe left out deliberately to avoid engaging in difficult histories and limiting museums as places for public discussions.

The violence that took place in Inanda in 1984 may have resulted from disputes that emerged there at the time. In Hughes's study, it appears that Indians were considered a threat. They also seemed to have some privileges compared to Africans in terms of ownership of land and were able to own businesses. Hughes, however, does not talk about the attitude of Indians towards the white missionaries and the Africans. Hughes does not discuss what led to the negative attitudes towards Indians and does not discuss how they responded.

Black people had to pay hut tax, their land was dispossessed, and they could not buy land. These conditions forced them to look for work in urban areas or to work for white farmers and that created the system of migrant labour. There were white people in Inanda who were

[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid., 272-273.
[502] Ibid., 273.
[503] Ibid.

considered to have performed special services to the chiefdom and were thus welcomed.[504] This may have been because they gave Africans work during difficult times. They were referred to as *amaQadi amhlophe*, 'the white Qadis', a status given to them by the chiefdom.[505] They included Daniel Lindley and Marshall Campbell, who owned sugar cane plantations.[506] They were much loved by the local people and well received.

In her final chapter, Hughes looks at the ethnic identity of the members of the chiefdom. She says the Qadi remained together as a single chiefdom. According to Hughes, '…the Qadi elite represented an extraordinary amalgamation of *kholwa* and traditionalists at the centre, with individuals like Madikane Cele and John Dube playing vital roles not only in day-to-day Qadi politics, but in putting the chief in touch with a wider world of resources and opportunities.[507] It seemed that their conversion to Christianity did not make them neglect the chiefdom or their African roots. Rather, it caused them to look for ways of uplifting the African communities and not alienating them. Hughes argues that '[i]dentity was forged in a multiplicity of contexts, involving missionaries, converts, officials, landowners, and other chiefdoms, on a daily basis.'[508] Her thesis details the history of Inanda in a specific period. It provides a basis for looking at different histories of Inanda and ways of presenting these in public spaces. Such research could be a source for the Inanda Heritage Route as there is a strong focus on leaders of this time. Hughes does not engage well in the discussion about *amaQadi amhlophe* and the attitudes of Indians towards the colonial authorities, local people and missionaries. However, her thesis does give details of the history of Inanda, tracing the origins of the Qadi.

[504] Ibid., 281.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid., 289.
[508] Ibid., 291.

Hughes focuses on the history of the amaQadi, from the 1800s to the early 1900s. She marks some of the events that took place and led to their settlement in present-day Inanda. She makes use of colonial archives and oral history for her analysis of precolonial Inanda. She goes on to the colonial era, tracing developments and changes in society. This was not her only focus as she also offered an analysis of missionaries, their role and interactions with locals and traditional leadership. She offers the most detailed account of the history of present-day Inanda and surrounding communities. The leadership of Mqhawe is also examined. The thesis is a contribution to the history of Natal from the 1800s to the early 1900s. In 2006 an oral history project commissioned by eThekwini Municipality was conducted in Inanda and surrounding communities. The present Qadi chief and his son were interviewed about the history of amaQadi, the area and their relationship with the family of John Dube. The content of the interview did not make it onto any exhibitions. This aspect of Inanda's history remains 'invisible' on the route which focused on the early 1900s. It would, however, be a meaningful contribution as a crucial account of historical events of the area and would present different and interesting perspectives.

Apartheid histories and ordinary lives

The history of apartheid is not widely discussed on the Inanda route; Linda Mbonambi, who worked on its development, said in an interview that this is not an apartheid museum. However, as Inanda was greatly affected by apartheid, the story of apartheid is worth noting and it is an important part of understanding how Inanda got to be what it is today. Inanda has also been described as a township, and townships are a result of apartheid laws. Apartheid history cannot be removed from Inanda, considering its early resistance to white domination.

Hughes wrote an article about the violence between Indians and Africans in Inanda in 1985 as a result of which Indians left the area. This violence also led to the burning of the Gandhi

Settlement and Indian shops. These events took place shortly after the assassination of Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi at the time of anti-apartheid resistance in South African townships.[509] Hughes's analysis of a collection of material edited by Fatima Meer traces the roots of the violence. This collection includes reports and affidavits from people in Durban townships. Hughes argues that the state manipulated Africans to attack Indian residents.[510] Meer also believed that '…the violence was planned, premediated and involved deep collusion between state, African landlords and poverty-stricken African tenants.'[511] Hughes looks at the violence in the context of KwaZulu-Natal politics, making comparisons for a greater understanding of the broader issues: in 1980, 30 people died of typhoid as there were major water issues;[512] KwaMashu was one of the townships affected by student protests; Inkatha and the United Democratic Front were active; students and other young people in Inanda were politically involved. The 1985 violence impacted on people's lives and one of the main museums on the route was directly affected. The events brought change that had long-lasting effects. The events cannot be erased from people's memories and Afro-Indian relations in KwaZulu-Nata are still an issue.

In an article entitled 'The Eye of a Violent Storm: Inanda 1985' published in 2014, Desai voices his concerns about who was involved in the violence, the participants, rather than what caused it. He notes that Hughes's study does not recognise that the riots were a complex and differentiated phenomenon. Desai studies the violence using the middleman minority theory and the crowd-in-history theory. Indians played the role of the middlemen: they were labour contractors, rent collectors, money lenders and brokers.[513] Their position was between that of

[509] H. Hughes, 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 13. 3 (1987), 331-354, 331.
[510] Ibid., 331.
[511] Ibid., 333.
[512] Ibid., 334.
[513] A. Desai, 'The Eye of a Violent Storm: Inanda 1985', *New Contree,* 70, Special Edition (November 2014), 43-64, 48.

the black majority and the white government. The crowd-in-history theory avoids seeing crowds as rational or irrational but focuses on collective violence, emphasising the composition of the participants.[514] As noted above, the route does not present this violence, at least not as an open discussion for visitors to interpret. The two broad phases that Desai identifies are, firstly, students responding directly to Mxenge's assassination, and secondly, the violent response to the protests from within Inkatha ranks.[515] The tension between the ANC and Inkatha led to enormous violence in townships in different parts of KwaZulu-Natal, including Inanda and surrounding townships. This aspect of history is also not represented on the route. Inkatha supporters went house to house to try and persuade people to join them, as reported by a Ntuzuma resident.[516] These forays by Inkatha were common. Residents, usually men, were not given much of a choice other than to join Inkatha and engage in activities determined by the Inkatha leadership.

The composition of the rioters was not discussed by the media at the time. Those who took part in the riots were youth and impis affiliated to Inkatha and led by warlords.[517] 'Their targets were specific: homeland government buildings and its leadership, business interests, agents of the system such as policemen and rich people...'[518] Desai also notes that: 'Inkatha was keen to extend its influence into Inanda and see off Indian landlords as this would facilitate the consolidation of Inanda into KwaZulu.'[519] The impact of this violence was great. It became the normal supportive thing to do. The riots can be seen as the beginning of the collective bargaining process concerning rights and responsibilities of certain communities.[520] On the heritage route, Inanda is promoted as a place where Indians, whites and black people

[514] Ibid., 47.
[515] Ibid., 50.
[516] Ibid., 49.
[517] Ibid., 50.
[518] Ibid., 53.
[519] Ibid., 56.
[520] Ibid., 57.

got along regardless of race and cultural differences. The violence of 1985 changes that perspective, and it is crucial to include some of the complexities that are embedded in the history of the area. The narrative is incomplete when it only focuses on Inanda as a home to people of different races and cultures. Desai's analysis also shows that the violence in Inanda cannot be separated from national developments. There was significant racial tension at the time, some of which was instigated by government decisions regarding service delivery that was unequally distributed between different racial groups.

The 1985 violence was not the first of its kind. Various factors led to tension between Africans and Indians. Desai and Vahed record some of the early incidents.[521] 'There are examples of Indians and Africans lending money to each other; of Indian workers employing African women as carriers; of Africans employing Indians; and of Africans being used to beat Indian workers; as well as competition over scarce resources'[522] There were also reports by Indians about African police ill-treating them and as a result Indians wrote petitions requesting that they should be apprehended by European or Indian constables who did not use harsh measures.[523] One of the earliest recorded incidents took place in 1877 when about 86 Indians armed with large sticks and bludgeons marched towards the Albion Estate in Isipingo shrieking vengeance against four Africans who had been hired to prevent Indians from passing through the estate's mill.[524] Such histories are not open for discussion on the Inanda Heritage Route and in general in heritage institutions. It was only in 2018 that the Durban Local History Museums hosted a lecture to start a discussion about the relationship between Africans and Indians, in particular, the tension between the two.

[521] A. Desai and G. Vahed, *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (New Delhi: Navayana Publishing, 2016), 39-43.
[522] Ibid., 41.
[523] Meer, 1985, and Bhana & Pachai, 1984, cited in Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi,* 41.
[524] Desai and Vahed, *The South African Gandhi,* 41.

In the article 'The Coolies will Elbow us out of the Country', Hughes argues that '… racialised access to jobs and especially land resulted in a discourse that reduced highly complex social groups to apparently homogenous (and frequently opposed) racial categories, "Africans" and "Indians".'[525] Hughes studied legislation at the time that Indians came to the colony and explains how some incentives were available for Indians but not black people. She notes that anti-Indian feelings among traditionalist Africans arose out of what could be called different cultures of production.[526] This difference was '…compounded by discriminatory practices and attitudes on the part of white landowners and officials.'[527] The issues in the relationship between Africans and Indians can be traced back to shortly after the arrival of Indians in the colony to work in the sugar cane fields. The issues between the two groups have been largely left out of public spaces and were seldom open for discussion until the Durban Local History Museums hosted a public lecture on the topic. Hughes concludes that the presence of Indians served to deflect much tension away from the colonial state. It was a classic case of people with equally little blaming each other.[528] Moreover, it would take decades before the separate and parallel political paths of their organisations came to be replaced with a commitment to solidarity in the interests of a non-racial future.[529] The route does not open discussions about Afro-Indian relations. It presents a picture of races who always lived in harmony and Inanda as a place where people of different races and cultures understood each other and worked together towards a common goal. The rewards of such hard work were the country's democratic government.

There are common threads as well as different emphases in the articles by Hughes and Desai.

[525] H. Hughes, 'The Coolies will Elbow us out of the Country: African Reactions to Indian Immigration in the Colony of Natal, South Africa', *Labour History Review,* 72. 2 (2007), 155-168, 160.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Ibid., 162.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid., 163.

Hughes focuses on the influence and actions of the state leading to the violence in 1985 in Inanda.[530] She looks closely at contributing factors behind the incidents there and in other parts of Durban. This enables an understanding of the context and possible causes of the violence. Desai, meanwhile, focuses on the composition of the participants, paying attention to the role of the different groups involved and offering an analysis of the major role players. Both writers agree that the state played a part in inciting and encouraging the violence. They also both look at other incidents of this nature in other parts of Durban for a broader understanding of the violence and its impact. Hughes focuses on the tension between Indians and Africans and on factors that contributed to anti-Indian feelings and state influence. All three studies look at the relations between Indians and Africans and some of the incidents that took place between the two groups that negatively impacted on their relations. In contrast, the route, and other heritage institutions in the country, have not represented this issue, one that continues to be problematic for South African society.

During the initial planning and research for the heritage route, oral history interviews were conducted in Inanda and people shared their experiences on various topics. However, the interviews and information contained in them were not incorporated in the route. Those experiences remain unknown and the effect has been to silence ordinary lives. The bulk of the interviews for this oral history project were conducted in 2006, including that of the Qadi chief. According to the Final Report on the 'INK Heritage Centre', the oral history project aimed to produce an oral history of INK and to identify visual artefacts for the museum.[531] Interviews topics were apartheid history, community-based projects, 1985 violence, how the area of *ematendeni* came into to being, history of sport in the area, the area of

[530] Hughes, 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985', 335.
[531] eThekwini Municipality Archives, City Administration Department, *Final Report on the INK Heritage Centre*, Report to Business Support Economic Development City Enterprise and Markets Sub-Committee by Economic Development Unit, 15 August 2005. File 15/5/1.

'Ezimangweni', Afro-Indian relations, social work, Shembe, Qadi chiefdom, history of Ntuzuma and political violence. The respondents were mainly from Inanda, in communities surrounding the route. The project was conducted in the hope of obtaining artefacts that would form part of the exhibitions on the route. People opened up about their life stories and their experiences of being part of the community during apartheid. These interviews were archived at the Old Court House Museum. However, the material did not make it onto the exhibitions. The route does not cover this aspect of the past. It is as if it never happened and it remains hidden.

Research on female leadership

As noted in previous chapters and the introduction to this chapter, the Inanda Heritage Route focuses on male leadership; the role of women and their leadership is not at the forefront. However, there are available histories about the role of female leadership that are linked to the history of Inanda. Those responsible for the exhibits on the route should consider these in the representation of Inanda's past. Female leadership has been underrepresented; it is imperative to consider some of the possibilities for representing women and their roles as leaders.

In recent years, researchers such as Heather Hughes and Cherif Keita have argued that MaMdima was an equal contributor to the establishment of Ohlange and *iLanga lase Natali*. However, she has not been recognised as a co-founder and in the exhibitions and publications about Ohlange and *iLanga lase Natali*, Dube is listed as the founder. Angelina MaKhumalo Dube demonstrated leadership at Ohlange and during her time in the Daughters of Africa movement. Erlank observes that: 'Most work on the rise of African nationalism and the struggle against racism in South Africa has privileged the actions of men.'[532] The

[532] N. Erlank, 'Gender and Masculinity in South African Nationalist Discourse, 1912-1950', *Feminist Studies,* 29. 3 (October 2003), 653-671, 654.

representation of Inanda's past in the route also follows this pattern. Praise given to women is minimal when compared to that of men. Women's work and their position in society is not given due credit. Promotional material, too, shows photographs of men and refers to men whose histories can be traced back to Inanda. Not a single item of promotional material features a photograph of MaMdima. Meanwhile, the informational banners on the roadside leading to the different sites have portraits of Dube, Gandhi, Seme and Shembe—all men born in the 19th century and active in the early 20th century.

Mayembe was briefly introduced in Chapter 2. She became Dalida Dube after being baptised. She was John Dube's grandmother and played a significant role in shaping the lives of James and John Dube. Mayembe was a widow of Qadi chief Dube Ngcobo and one of the early converts at Lindley's mission station. Eva Jackson, in her Master's thesis, portrays Mayembe as a woman of strength who worked hard to protect her son's inheritance and grow his wealth.[533] In the overall narrative at Inanda Seminary, she is portrayed as a woman who desperately needed to escape *ukungenwa,* as mentioned in Chapter 2. The Lindleys saved her and provided a safe home at their mission station. Mayembe grew and sold maize, which could then be substituted for *lobolo* cattle and exchanged.[534] She also accumulated cattle by growing and selling *amabele* or sorghum wheat.[535] In today's world I would identify her as a progressive businesswoman. When she decided to leave the Qadi royal homestead, she moved with her children and cattle to the Lindleys mission station, claiming protection.[536] Mayembe was known as *Inkosikazi yamaQadi* (the Qadi wife) and her move attracted other members of the Qadi community to the mission as she was a prominent member of that

[533] E. A. Jackson, 'Four Women, Four Chiefships: Case Studies in the Divergent Choices and Negotiations with Power of Amakhosikazi in Nineteenth Century Natal' (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014), 74.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.
[536] Ibid.

community.[537] The role that Mayembe played in developing Lindley's station in this way is not discussed on the heritage route or in publications about the history of Inanda. In bringing members to the Lindley's mission station, she also brought wealth. She came with resources that would help the station as it benefitted from improved agricultural skills. The route and other heritage institutions that present missionary history could relook at the stories of the women who became part of mission stations. These institutions could present the story of how these women and other African members of the stations worked with missionaries to build communities there.

The life of MaMdima has been under-researched. She appears as a figure in publications and research papers about the life of John Dube. It was her singing that earned her and Dube the funding needed to start Ohlange.[538] In recent years Hughes and Keita have started working on a project that will lead to her biography. Since Keita started showing interest in this project, there have been newspaper articles, lectures, a documentary and radio interviews about MaMdima's life and her role in the establishment of Ohlange. These are a result of Keita's efforts to tell her story, letting people know about her and her contributions. The site of her grave was for a long time unknown, even to the Mdima and Dube families. Keita discovered it in 2014 and contacted the families. They visited the grave, brought her spirit back home according to tradition and erected a tombstone. The articles resulting from Keita's efforts publicised her story. In an article in *The Star* in 2016, Stephen Coan reports that commemorations of Women's Month included the introduction of MaMdima at the national shrine in Pretoria.[539] He introduces her as the co-creator of Ohlange and argues that her role was forgotten following her death in 1917.[540] In 1882 an article written by MaMdima entitled

[537] Ibid., 75.
[538] H. Hughes, *The First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC* (Sunnyside: Jacana, 2012), 566.
[539] S. Coan, 'A Pioneering Woman Remembered at Last', *The Star,* 26 August 2016, 13.
[540] Ibid.

‘My Home—Africa’ was published as part of a series that described the experiences of Ida Wilcox as a missionary. With her husband, she served on the American Board of Foreign Missions and ran the Inanda mission where Dube and MaMdima grew up. Keita’s extensive research on MaMdima started as a result of his research on Dube. However, except for Hughes’s recent journal article, there are no other books and journal articles on MaMdima as an individual.

Coan writes that ‘Nokutela was the driving force behind the musical culture of Ohlange’[541] for which Ohlange is known. This has long been part of students’ lives and as a result the school has produced musicians. In 2016 Keita wrote to me about his discovery of a musical instrument, an autoharp, in the US which MaMdima used to raise funds for the school. He donated it to the eThekwini Municipality, Durban Local History Museums division, under the condition that it was exhibited at Ohlange. Arrangements were made to return it to its rightful place and the autoharp has since been exhibited at the Chapel Hall exhibition at Ohlange.

In another article, published in *The Witness* newspaper in 2016, Ohlange is described as the joint vision of MaMdima and Dube.[542] Keita has argued that MaMdima was the first black woman to use music to speak about her people.[543] She popularised *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika,* which became part of South Africa’s national anthem. It forms part of the Ohlange song book that she produced with Dube. Keita has also described her as the earliest Inanda graduate to establish institutions for modern Africa.

The scant academic research about the Inanda Heritage Route and on the history of Inanda neglects the roles played by women in these communities. The construction of masculinity has also not been examined. It was only in August 2013, in a Women’s Day commemorative

[541] Ibid., 14.
[542] S. Coan, ‘It’s Nokutela’s Turn’, *The Witness,* 2 November 2011, 14.
[543] Ibid.

event, that the ANC Women's League hosted a lecture about MaMdima. This was shortly after Keita discovered her gravesite.

Gabaitse and Kumalo explain that women get 'dropped' from history because '…in patriarchal cultures, men control knowledge, its transmission and preservation, and the history of women is excluded or ignored.'[544] They further highlight that: 'History has been silent about the contribution of women in the growth of human culture and society.'[545] It was from this perspective that they studied MaMdima and with the understanding that her contribution had been downplayed to elevate the story of Dube as the man in her life. They describe her as '…a remarkable woman of the missionary epoch who contributed tremendously in the making of John Dube, the hero that he was.'[546] The article highlights how much of a pioneer she was and emphasises that she was not just helping and supporting Dube as her husband but was building a legacy herself. Gabaitse and Kumalo argue that MaMdima and Dube transgressed some gender boundaries of their time as they travelled, studied and worked together which was uncommon in that period.[547] They were from an era when women spent most of their time at home looking after the children and the household. After the couple's fathers and the Qadi chief purchased land in Incwadi, they managed to start two schools and two churches in the area.[548]At the time, MaMdima was already a qualified and experienced teacher while Dube had no qualifications and was not ordained.[549] It was MaMdima who spearheaded the development of the curriculum, considering her training and experience. She was ahead of her time.[550] At the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre, she is acknowledged as a pioneer in music education. Researchers only got to learn

[544] R. Gabaitse and S. Kumalo, 'Singing from Beyond the Grave: Nokuthela Linderely Dube Returned to Memory', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae,* 40. 2 (December 2014), 107-118, 108.
[545] Ibid., 1.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Ibid., 111.
[548]Ibid, 112.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.

about her and started studying her life as a result of looking primarily at that of Dube. The field of knowledge creation is dominated by men.[551] It was Rev William Wilcox who supported Dube's first trip to the US but Dube benefitted from the support of MaMdima as regards his second trip as he travelled with her.

MaMdima excelled not only in education but also influenced people's lives through music.[552] To understand how much influence she had, one must understand the importance and relevance of music.

> African people are cast in music. Their politics is embedded in music, their wisdom is stored in music and their stories are told through music. Their whole being finds meaning through this medium and even at the *eschato* or final moments in life they are accompanied by music. If one considers the centrality of music among Africans, especially the South African Zulus, then Nokuthela was not just a music teacher, she was an orienteer. She influenced people who would later have influence in society.[553]

That is how Gabaitse and Kumalo analyse MaMdima's role in relation to their understanding of music to the African people.

After problems in their marriage caused by not being able to have children and Dube's infidelity, MaMdima moved to the Eastern Transvaal.[554] In Wakkerstroom, she sought to rebuild her life and evangelised and encouraged women to organise themselves.[555] One way of doing so was through domestic education classes.[556] Gaibetse and Kumalo conclude that what Dube is known for can be attributed to the hard work of MaMdima.[557]

In 2018, Hughes published a journal article about MaMdima arguing that a blind spot in the context of biographies has credited men with all kinds of achievements whereas a more

[551] Ibid., 113.
[552] Ibid., 114.
[553] Ibid., 114.
[554] Ibid., 115.
[555] Ibid.
[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid., 116.

careful examination might reveal that credit ought to be shared.[558] Hughes argues that several women have been mentioned in historical research as being a help to their husbands.[559] These men were mostly pastors and active in the church.[560] The role of women has been undermined and they have been represented merely as helpers to their husbands. This limits their roles in society. In the article, Hughes links the life of MaMdima with the American Board, pointing out that her parents were Christian converts and that her father was educated at Adams College.[561] Hughes uses a short essay that MaMdima wrote at the age of 11 to indicate how aware she was of her surroundings, that she was ahead of her time and a dedicated learner. MaMdima spoke on behalf of the Inanda Seminary Old Girls at its 75th anniversary and Hughes says this shows that MaMdima might have been a role model herself.[562]

The seminary offered the most comprehensive education available at the time and equipped MaMdima to be an educator at Adams College prior to her marriage.[563] It was at Incwadi that the Dubes planned for the industrial school that was to become Ohlange. Their work at Incwadi started with the church which still stands today. They started Incwadi Primary and Ijubane Lower Primary c1894 on land bought by the Qadi chief.[564] They went to the US to raise funds for Ohlange but after Dube had been appointed as the pastor of Inanda, they decided to start the industrial school in the area.[565] The Inanda Heritage Route does not cover that part of the history of the school and how it was established. The focus is on Dube and not the institution. In describing the Dubes' time in Brooklyn, Hughes says: 'By all accounts,

[558] H. Hughes, 'Recovering the Lives of African Women Leaders in South Africa: The Case of Nokutela Dube', in D. Robert, ed., *African Christian Biography* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 2018), 1-15, 1.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid., 2.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Ibid., 5.
[563] Ibid.
[564] Ibid.
[565] Ibid., 6.

[MaMdima] spoke with poise and conviction, and also sang: the power of her voice was frequently remarked upon and played a significant part in their success in attracting donations.'[566] MaMdima also gave press interviews. The Dubes completed their studies and raised enough money to start their school.

In the early years of the school, '[s]he headed both the domestic and music departments, and under her leadership Ohlange became famous for musicians it produced…as well as her choir, the Inanda Native Singers.'[567] She became '...the first published female African composer'.[568] The Dubes also spent time in the United Kingdom, assisted by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society and a number of leading churchmen of that time.[569] During their time in the UK, they met prominent people and MaMdima became part of an international network of radical women campaigning for the rights of Africans and Indians.[570] Yet she is not well represented on the heritage route and it is not easy to find information about her at Ohlange. However, she is listed as one of the pioneers at Inanda Seminary. She has been recognised as a pioneer in music education. Hughes argues that SANNC members such as Pixley kaIsaka Seme respected her highly and that her equally significant role probably favoured the election of Dube as its president.[571] In recent years efforts have been made to honour and remember MaMdima. This can be attributed to Hughes's research on Dube and Keita's discovery of MaMdima's grave. The discovery of the grave has been followed by a few newspaper articles about her, Keita's radio interviews about her, a Mahatma Gandhi Satyagraha Award made in her honour, and her grave has been declared a National Monument. Hughes believes there is more to discover.[572] MaMdima's voice can be

[566] Ibid., 5.
[567] Ibid., 7.
[568] Ibid.
[569] Ibid.
[570] Ibid., 8.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Ibid., 12.

traced back to newspaper articles, mostly from the US, and a letter written by her to the government on behalf of the Qadi chiefdom.[573] At one time she served as the Secretary of Native Affairs. Hughes asserts that: 'Through her association with the likes of Betty Molteno, Alice Greene and even Olive Schreiner herself, Nokutela may have well participated in the elaboration of ideas that we have come to know as first-wave feminism.'[574]

When the Inanda Heritage Route was planned, research on MaMdima and women in general was limited. Men have been at the forefront of biographical studies. The route omits a great deal about the life of MaMdima, her public activities and her leadership.[575] Men attained the status of heroic figures in the struggle for liberation. They made sacrifices for the well-being of the nation. They may have had some help from their wives but, according to this alternative narrative, all credit is due to them.

MaKhumalo, who Dube married after MaMdima's death, was another remarkable woman who played a crucial role in the running of Ohlange. She was president of Daughters of Africa. It was launched in 1932 by Cecilia Lillian Tshabalala as a women's club movement premised on African American women's clubs. It served as an influential forum for women's engagement in nationalist public culture at the time when women were first admitted as full members of the ANC and when the ANC Women's League was established.[576] MaKhumalo was elected president of the Daughters of Africa in 1937. In archival records and some published work, she is mentioned mostly as just Mrs Dube or Mrs J. L. Dube. The Daughters

[573] Ibid.
[574] Ibid., 14.
[575] On 16 January 2022, NewzRoom Afrika published a video on Youtube about a project that has started on the life of MaMdima. It is produced by Asanda Sizani. The project is being administrated by young black women (Siphamandla Mathebula, Siphokazi Jonas and Asanda Sizani) who recognise the importance of celebrating black female pioneers. They acknowledge her contribution to print media, education, politics and the community at large. The short film is entitled 'Amagama ka Nokutela'. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGdXYpqPf3U.
[576] M. Healy-Clancy, 'The Daughters of Africa and the Transatlantic Racial Kinship: Cecilia Lillian Tshabalala and the Women's Club Movement, 1912-1943', *American Studies,* 59. 4 (2014), 481-499, 482.

of Africa was an organisation that aimed to uplift black communities. It was started by women and supported welfare projects. It worked for the well-being of young people, the future of the nation, and strived to improve their livelihoods. The club held regular meetings in Inanda—a part of history that does not feature on the heritage route. MaKhumalo, like MaMdima, is not a centre of focus there but is represented by way of a short panel with information containing small writing in a hidden area in the exhibition space. MaKhumalo advocated for the independence and active participation of women in the community at large.[577] During her time as president of the organisation, '(i)n Mkhize's[578] account, Angelina Dube had blended religious and nationalist discourse in a rousing address that asserted the centrality of mothers for all of life, who should do as their mothers did before them, in the battle to save the nation.'[579] When asked about the Daughters of Africa, MaKhumalo said her involvement came through a vision that she had about the movement coming together, not to concentrate on Christianity, but on things that were going to help Africans.

Sabine Marschall, in an article entitled 'How to Honour a Woman: Gendered Memorialisation in Post-Apartheid South Africa', argues that the few monuments to women in South Africa follow a collective rather than an individual representation and tend to be stereotypically gendered.[580] The article focuses on gendered memorialisation in public monuments, memorials and statues that have been installed in public spaces since 1994. Marschall studied public monuments and statues dedicated to women to analyse the dominant ways in which the lives of women are commemorated. Public spaces have historically not been a place of women. Suttner notes that the concept of nation is not gender neutral as it was

[577] M. du Toit and P. Nzuza, 'Isifazane Sakiti Emadolobheni' (Our Women in Towns): The Politics of Gender in *Ilanga lase Natali*, 1933-1938', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History,* 33. 1 (2019), 62-86, 83.
[578] Bertha Mkhize, an activist and a teacher at Inanda Seminary,
[579] Du Toit and Nzuza, 'Isisifazane Sakiti Emadolobheni', 83.
[580] S. Marschall, 'How to Honour a Woman: Gendered Memorialisation in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Critical Arts,* 24. 2 (2010), 260-283, 260.

created in a space where men make history.[581] In theory, government initiatives work towards transforming and democratising the cultural landscape and aim to reflect cultural diversity and gender inclusiveness—but in practice, more needs to be done. Memorials to women represent politicised femaleness that champions role models and gender identities, shifting the focus from heroic narrative of political activist to intimate domestic sphere.[582] However, Marschall has been able to find a few more neutral and gender-blind examples such as that of Olive Schreiner. Marschall concludes that it is hoped that women's memorials may lead to a gradual shift in the expectations of public reception of commemorative art and facilitate the creation of a language of memorialisation that is unique and creative.[583] The Inanda Heritage Route follows the same pattern that Marschall refers to on gendered memorialisation. The lives of men are at the forefront of building the nation while women are represented as collective and not independent leaders. However, Inanda Seminary does have a slightly different way of representing women, as pioneers taking up space in the men's world.

Mbonambi argues that it sometimes takes a movement for change to happen:

> 'Sometimes it takes one person to say it can't be that women who have played such a pivotal history are not properly represented. Margaret Mncadi came from Inanda, so there are many heroes and heroines whose lives have not been told and it will take availability of resources and the leadership of caring, compassionate and patriotic South Africans who will say we advocated that this is extended.[584]

It appears that the politics and current affairs of the time influences what becomes public memory. At the time that the heritage route was established, the consciousness and movement focusing on the importance of the lives of women in society had not been raised so women were not recognised in public history. However, in recent years, there has been an

[581] R. Suttner, 'Talking to the Ancestors: National Heritage, the Freedom Charter and Nation-Building in South Africa in 2005', *Development Southern Africa*, 23. 1 (2006), 3-27, 19.
[582] Marschall, 'How to Honour a Woman', 272.
[583] Ibid, 277.
[584] Linda Mbonambi, interview by author, Durban, 28 January 2020.

increase in focus on the lives of women. Had the route started in this era, there is a chance that it would have included more displays representing women.

Conclusion

This chapter considered aspects of public history that have not been made visible on the Inanda Heritage Route. It also looked at the possibilities of drawing from other post-apartheid heritage initiatives. The chapter considered histories of Inanda that are available but did not make it onto exhibitions on the route. The route focused on a particular period, the early 20th century, and the public lives of certain leaders. The dominant representations were discussed in Chapter 2. Difficult histories have been left out or underrepresented. However, the route now has an opportunity to present these difficult histories for public discussion and to provide a platform to present the experiences of ordinary people. Scholars such as Hughes have contributed greatly to the history of Inanda—such work and that by other scholars could be included. Museums can be treated as places of public engagement rather than exposing the public to a one-sided view of the history of Inanda.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have presented an analysis of the Inanda Heritage Route, which incorporates sites that were recognised as places of historical importance in 1998 and 1999. The route was officially launched in 2010 by the eThekwini Municipality. I explained that the densely populated area of Inanda includes old mission stations, areas under traditional leadership and townships created by the apartheid government from the 1980s. The various neighbourhoods include Bester, Bhambayi, Inanda Newtown (A, B & C), Amaoti, Ohlange, Stop 8, Congo, Inanda Glebe, Inanda Mission, Phola Mission, eMachobeni, Amatikwe, eTafuleni, Ngcongcweni, Namibia, BB, uMzinyathi and Eskhebheni. From an economic point of view, the route is primarily designed to attract visitors to Inanda as part of overall efforts to regenerate the local economy and bring tangible benefits such as infrastructural developments to the community.

Planning for the route started shortly after South Africa's first democratic elections. The country had to find ways to transition to a more inclusive society and the cultural landscape was not left out of this process. Previously, public heritage had been dominated by the stories of white settlers and white people generally. The aim after apartheid was to recognise the heritage of the previously marginalised and to represent the black majority whose heritage had been neglected. A choice was made to focus on the lives of leaders who had been active in the late 19th and especially the early 20th centuries. These were, for the most part, leaders associated with the ANC. A historical representation of Gandhi also forms part of an overall focus on great leaders on the Inanda route. These leaders are represented in a particular way, that is, with an emphasis on exemplary leadership. I discussed how the Inanda route was established as a post-apartheid heritage initiative that went beyond its geographical location by linking up with national and international histories through leaders such as Dube and Gandhi. Their biographies dominate the way in which Inanda's history is represented. The

minutes of a meeting held when the route was being planned in the late 1990s highlight the need to redress past imbalances of racial inequality and empower the people of Inanda. It is also apparent that in the initial phases, the narratives about Inanda's past were centred around the leaders featured in the exhibitions. The route does not consider the varied studies, perspectives and recent debates on these leaders.

The thesis draws on the work of scholars such as Rassool and Witz who have paid attention to the dominant approaches in post-apartheid heritage. Rassool is critical about political biographies in post-apartheid South Africa and the way resistance history has been narrated. He has critiqued biographies for constructing national histories so that leaders are made to speak as national subjects. Rassool emphasises how their political lives remain central to resistance history. It was through these lenses that I studied the way in which Inanda's past has been presented to the public. The route is dominated by the narrative of exemplary leadership and 'great men', leaders of common values and missionary heritage. I considered different types of biographies and suggested that biographies serve multiple purposes. Post-apartheid heritage institutions are dominated by political biographies with narratives of the ANC and ANC-affiliated individuals as the main focus of biographical research. This is how the public has been encouraged to remember the past. This biographical approach entails a narrow focus on the late 19th and early 20th century history of *amakholwa* and of Gandhi, who was somewhat influenced by Christian values. I engaged in debates relating to Dube and Gandhi as public figures that look at them beyond the way in which the route represents them.

There is also a gap in terms of female leadership. The democratic era gave rise to an emphasis on male leaders, some of whom led devout lives. An imaginary community of Inanda was forged, and the lives of Gandhi, Shembe and Dube and their interactions with

Edwards were an important part of this community. It is not acknowledged that the leaders were susceptible to human error. The route ignores complexities of *amakholwa* in colonial times and debates on Gandhi in recent scholarship. This thesis discussed recent scholarship that has questioned Gandhi's friendship with Dube, and Gandhi's image as a public political figure. Also discussed were movements that have criticised efforts to celebrate Gandhi as a hero in light of purportedly racist public comments by Ghandi. Chapter 2 examines missionary heritage, highlighting the way in which Dube and Shembe were tied to the work of missionaries. The importance of missionaries and their influence is highlighted on the route. The complexities of Dube as a *kholwa* and Gandhi as a public figure are not challenged or opened up for public discussion on the route. As is the case with other heritage institutions, missionary history is not challenged and the complexities that stem from the encounters of leaders of mission stations with traditional leadership are not represented.

The Inanda route is not a township tour in the sense that it does not focus on township lifestyle and living cultures. Rather, it focuses on a particular representation of Inanda's past. The biographical mode that was chosen forms part of a narrative of protest and resistance along the path to freedom. The themes that dominate include Inanda's position in the country's fight against racial discrimination, collaborative efforts in struggle history and the important foundations that were cemented in Inanda. Mandela's last footprints on his road to democracy also feature.

I further argued that it is important that difficult histories are considered for such a heritage route. Oral history projects were initiated, but the results did not make it onto the exhibitions. A route aimed at uplifting black communities and redressing past imbalances should be more representative of the people's history. It should encompass the perspectives of community members, their experiences and what they remember about their community's past. In place

of these difficult histories, what dominates are biographies of Gandhi and selected male leaders associated with the ANC. The public is therefore encouraged to remember Inanda's past through the narratives of an imagined community and an overemphasis on great men. Visitors to Inanda are presented with this imagined community led by individuals seen to be at the forefront of bringing freedom to the people. This biographical framing of public history entails 'refusal' of various possible historiographical approaches and choices of themes. This applies to the time frame selected and the way Inanda is presented. Aspects of Inanda's past have been left out despite the existence of research projects on this topic. In the 1980s archaeological research was conducted around the Inanda Dam area. In the initial phases of planning for the route, oral history projects were initiated and the local community contributed their accounts of the past, mainly on apartheid era violence. These histories were available but did not make it onto the exhibitions.

The thesis offered a careful analysis of the exhibitions on the route—the dominant representations as well as the available histories of Inanda that do not form part of the narratives represented there. This entailed drawing on scholarly research on biographical narrations because biographies form a significant part of the route and other post-apartheid heritage initiatives. It also entails drawing on research that is related to the history of *amakholwa*, conflict in the Inanda area and work on some of the key figures that are under-represented. I also discussed available histories of Inanda to suggest possibilities of representing its past beyond current representations.

The thesis analysed the exhibitions at the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institute and Inanda Seminary. The analysis was guided by Kratz's method of studying exhibitions using 'rhetorics of value'. This looks at analytical methods and approaches of studying museum exhibitions with the purpose of examining how identities are shaped and what the

implications are for visitors. The ‘rhetorics of value’ are a means of making culture and commenting about culture through exhibition design and representations. It also involves taking a close look at the features of exhibitions and their roles. Features such as words, themes and narratives in exhibition texts potentially shape the values represented to visitors and influence their impressions and understandings. I examined how the centre of attention in the exhibitions is created using lighting and certain texts. I looked at the meanings presented in the exhibitions and the histories that are dominant.

The Phoenix Settlement focused on Gandhi’s time in Durban and South Africa in general, his influence on others and his inspirations. An exhibition on the route introduces visitors to the history of Inanda, linking the different museums and heritage institutions. It presents the narrative of an area where activities that led to the liberation of South Africa took place and where important decisions were made. The themes that dominate are peace, democracy, spirituality and knowledge. The exhibition also suggests that Shembe, Gandhi and Dube shared common values and principles; they strived to lead purposeful lives and uplift humanity. These leaders were bound by the will to fight for democracy and spirituality and for their strong beliefs in non-violence. Gandhi is represented as an advocate for human rights, an exemplary leader who had an impact on Indians and Africans. There is an emphasis on how South Africa touched his life and turned him into a mahatma.

The emphasis at Ohlange is on Dube as the founder of the school, his political career, his principles and leadership. The role of MaMdima as co-founder is not highlighted although the site guide mentions that she was of great assistance to Dube when the school was first opened. Her music enabled them to fund the school. In 2016, the autoharp that she used to fundraise for the school was donated to the museum on the condition that it was displayed there. Apart from that, attention is not drawn to her name. Visitors are encouraged to

remember Ohlange as the centre of excellence when it came to industrial education for black people, that it enabled them to be self-sufficient, and that Dube was behind Ohlange's success. Dube is represented as an exemplary leader. The narrative about Dube at the Phoenix Settlement is repeated here in greater detail. The role of MaKhumalo is not represented. She was an important female community leader of her time. Photographs of MaMdima and MaKhumalo are found in a corner of an exhibition and can easily be missed. Ohlange is also promoted as the site of Mandela's final footprints on his road to democracy; there is a large statue that marks the event. There is an opportunity at Ohlange to highlight female leaders such as MaMdima and MaKhumalo. MaMdima was a pioneer of music education and a missionary. MaKhumalo played a pivotal role in sustaining Ohlange and was president of Daughters of Africa.

Inanda Seminary is slightly different as it is the only site on the route that features the roles of women and their biographies. The emphasis is on the part played by missionaries, through this institution, in moulding black Christian girls and building their self-confidence to the extent that they were not afraid to enter male-dominated fields and become pioneers in different spaces. The school curriculum is illustrated by way of artefacts. Also evident are the initial aims of missionaries and how the school grew beyond this. The school represents female empowerment.

The route could encourage visitors to have an open dialogue about Inanda's past. For this to happen, leaders would have to be seen not simply as individuals who led devout lives, but as people who were capable of human error. Available research that goes beyond the dominant representations could be considered. Recent debates on the character of these leaders could be presented. Heritage institutions should not be treated as places of unquestionable facts but of open discussions. Research is available about the complexities of Dube as a *kholwa* and

nuances relating to other members of the community of *amakholwa*. These could be presented in the route as part of Inanda's past. This past could start before the arrival of missionaries. It could include early encounters of missionaries with the locals and the evolution of *amakholwa*. The route has an opportunity to present Inanda's past beyond a limited imaginary community and to offer varied perspectives.

I drew on certain post-apartheid heritage initiatives, especially those linked to representing township histories. I discussed available histories of Inanda that are not represented on the route but offer alternatives that would enable public debates on Inanda's past and go beyond current representations. The histories of Inanda that are not represented include archaeological research conducted in the area. Knowing about the history of Inanda prior to the colonial era would deepen people's understanding of the area. The same is true for histories of the interaction between traditional authorities, missionaries and colonial authorities. In addition, difficult histories have been ignored, including events that directly affected Inanda during apartheid and the relationship between Indians and Africans. The focus on exemplary leadership limits the representation of ordinary lives and female leadership. The role of women and ordinary people is underrepresented and not considered of importance. The route as a post-apartheid heritage initiative focused on redressing past imbalances by recognising black heroes. But it ignores a range of aspects that form part of Inanda's past, limiting it to a certain period and specific approaches.

The route has an opportunity to do more than just mention archaeological research; it could engage in the findings of existing research to present a history of the early people of Inanda. There are limited representations on the route of societies prior to the colonial era. Archaeological research presents histories beyond the colonial archives; it presents life before colonisation and offers a different perspective of the past. The material that was sourced

through oral history projects presents difficult histories from the perspective of community members. The route has an opportunity to present these earlier histories in addition to more community histories. The oral history projects also present histories of ordinary lives. Recent research engages with the theme of the leadership of women and their role in institutions that place emphasis on the ‘great men’. The route could go beyond its limitation to certain periods and specific approaches. The route could look at other approaches of representing Inanda’s past.

The route as an important post-apartheid heritage initiative focused on representations that ignore difficult histories by following only certain narratives. The narratives that dominate focus on the importance of the Christian faith and selfless leadership. Decisions were made to leave out difficult histories, and female leadership was overlooked as the focus was on redressing racial inequalities. The thesis examined how the route encourages the public to remember Inanda’s past, overlooking conflicting events. Heritage institutions have room for open public discussions and opportunities to present varied narratives. The way the public is encouraged to remember Inanda’s past leaves out aspects that form a great part of its history and does not consider some of the research that was conducted during planning for the route. The route has an opportunity to move beyond the public lives of exemplary leaders and instead consider the various available histories and narratives that form part of the history of Inanda.

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