

THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

VOLUME ONE



Editors

C. DE B. WEBB

J. B. WRIGHT

Killie Campbell Africana Library Manuscript Series



KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY
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JAMES STUART ARCHIVE
VOL. 1



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MANUSCRIPT SERIES

JAMES STUART ARCHIVE, Vol. 1

Edited and translated by C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright

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JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

THE JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

**OF RECORDED ORAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE
HISTORY OF THE ZULU AND NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES**

VOLUME ONE

Edited and Translated
by
C. DE B. WEBB AND J. B. WRIGHT

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University of Natal
August, 1975

C. de B. Webb
J. B. Wright

FRONTISPIECES

The reproductions that follow are taken from Stuart's notebooks, and illustrate some of his varying styles of recording evidence. The original page sizes have been reduced.

- I page 14 of notebook 31, File 59. See p. 320 of this volume.
- II part of page 54, File 70. See p. 174 of this volume.
- III part of page 137, File 74. The lists of Swazi kings appear on pp. 360-2 of this volume.

ugange lo muzi = outside fence of kraal

Nonibanga
ka Ngedhli

I do not know Jula ka Nofandanya^{or} Nggengelale,

I knew Nonibanga ka Ngedhli "iwasakazi
e li nga mbuzi" - was igawe of Tshaka's.

I heard of Mkhaka ka Nci^{ndi} - I do not know what
became of him.

I never heard of Hlambamangzi (priest) - I did not know
Moundhlana, Menziwa n' Xoko.

The ukokoti did not carry assegais at income bath, only amawisas.

My sibongo is Madondo^o not madonda

There was no ugange lo muzi at Mfungundhlomo,
only small fences about outer huts to keep cattle
off - those who cared put up the fences. And if one
stayed long at home you would come back & find
that they had otaid the fence & made fire-
wood of it. Again, if one stayed he must take care
to put the wood inside amosame, if you leave it
at the door someone is sure to steal it.

15.2.09

I entered the isigodho about 6 times in all. My father
was appointed induna in Joke's buli by Tshaka & so was often

The last heads of the Qwabe tribe were Mese and Memfongonyana. Mese and Siziba are the sons of the former and Zidumo of the latter igongo; indhlwana, yo mzi, yo ku ncindela, & yo ku tohikaza inkosi la ka'ikh'isiti; kutiwa 'll yini wena na, nyo sikubane pe miti ye nkosi, ka u. luto ku ba nta b'enkosi, ba nje kulume rawe ngol' u ngo was' emsizi.

But, for all that, such child is rightly regarded as amatan' enkosi.

Memfongonyana ka Sodide is the real head of the Qwabe people

Monday 9.2.03. 2 Norfolk Island. Note. After having to send Ndakwana to Stanger and Mapumbe for him, Jantshi ka Nongila arrived today about 2.40 P.m. He arrived with his son. Mbores, a man (Kokwa) from Amangintoti, also came to see me.

Jantshi and Ndakwana present (8.2.03), Jantshi speaks: - I was born at eNgezane in Zululand and am of the same age as the Kandempereu regiment. My father's name was Nongila, who was an inhlole (spy) under Senzangakhona, Shaka, Dingana and Mpande. He crossed over into Natal in Mpande's reign being then tired of the duties of a spy. I of course knew him well for he only died when Cetshwayo was living at Schoue after his return from England. Part of the Zibongo I will presently recite I learnt from him as well as other historical facts.

Dingiswayo's father was Jobe and Jobe's father was Kali. I cannot go beyond this.

Among Dingiswayo's sons were ^{Sonweli, (his)} Mgobo, Cakijana. Ndakwana added the latter two. He also said Schwetshata & was son of Mgondya ka Mibiya ka Tshangana.

According to what has been told me uBekapazulu was the first this man had a son Mntungwa whilst Mntungwa's son was uNja. Now it is happened that the a ba kwa Lembe quarrelled fought with uNja and gave him the name aLufenulwenja.

97 The following are the Kings of Tongaland (from Maba)

Oyabigile
Mwali
Makasane
Huma
Norizingile
Ngwanaza

Note: 1712-18 when Nama says the title of King of the Zululand was then known as Maba, which was in Natal. There is Zululand.

According to Miller
Zinc: of Zululand 20.8 97

1. Ngwenane 1889
2. Umkhandini 1873
3. Langa 1868
4. Kuncuqile 1856
5. Langa 1815
6. Ukhethe 1795
7. Ngwenane 1780
8. Makamini 1765
9. Mlihi 1750
10. Langa 1735
11. Mlihi 1720
12. Mlihi 1705
13. Mlihi 1690
14. Mlihi 1675
15. Mlihi 1660
16. Mlihi 1645
17. Mlihi 1630
18. Mlihi 1615
19. Mlihi 1600
20. Mlihi 1585
21. Mlihi 1570
22. Mlihi 1555
23. Mlihi 1540
24. Mlihi 1525

Kings of Zululand, Swaziland and Tongaland

Zululand	Swaziland	Tongaland
1. Mlihi 1720	1. Mlihi 1720	1. Mlihi 1720
2. Mlihi 1705	2. Mlihi 1705	2. Mlihi 1705
3. Mlihi 1690	3. Mlihi 1690	3. Mlihi 1690
4. Mlihi 1675	4. Mlihi 1675	4. Mlihi 1675
5. Mlihi 1660	5. Mlihi 1660	5. Mlihi 1660
6. Mlihi 1645	6. Mlihi 1645	6. Mlihi 1645
7. Mlihi 1630	7. Mlihi 1630	7. Mlihi 1630
8. Mlihi 1615	8. Mlihi 1615	8. Mlihi 1615
9. Mlihi 1600	9. Mlihi 1600	9. Mlihi 1600
10. Mlihi 1585	10. Mlihi 1585	10. Mlihi 1585
11. Mlihi 1570	11. Mlihi 1570	11. Mlihi 1570
12. Mlihi 1555	12. Mlihi 1555	12. Mlihi 1555
13. Mlihi 1540	13. Mlihi 1540	13. Mlihi 1540
14. Mlihi 1525	14. Mlihi 1525	14. Mlihi 1525

The Tongas went out and Masela's Mapungu ascertain further. Nama was required to pay taxes to the Zulus. more information wanted

Ishaka mee got bullock blood, sprinkled it about the ground inside the kraal; in the morning he would call in witch-doctors and ask them to divine how the blood had come to be there. The witch-doctors made a mistake whereupon Ishaka had them killed as impostors. (Mukwana. 2. 1. 87)

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INTRODUCTION

The documents published in this volume are drawn from the James Stuart Collection in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. Four companion volumes are projected. With their publication, scholars working in the field of southern African studies will have available an 'archive' of recorded oral evidence that should open new historical perspectives. While the evidence relates principally to the Zulu in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is not confined within rigid temporal and geographical limits. Information about neighbouring societies and related groups features prominently in many of the statements, as do traditions of pre-nineteenth century origin. The range of subject matter is thus extensive, and it is hoped that the present volume, even without its companions, will be of immediate scholarly use.

The man who had the vision and energy to record this assemblage of oral testimony still awaits a biographer. Born in Pietermaritzburg on 30th January, 1868, James Stuart grew up among Zulu-speakers. By the age of 20 his language proficiency was such that he was employed as interpreter in the newly annexed colony of Zululand, and for more than twenty years after that his postings in the government service were to positions where he was constantly in touch with the African peoples. His entry in the Natal Who's Who of 1906 indicates how extensive these contacts had become by that date:

Clerk and Interpreter to Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate, 1st Feb., 1889; sent to Swaziland, March, 1894, to interpret during the political crisis then existing in that country; proceeded in Oct., 1894, to London with a deputation of Swazies; received the thanks of Her late Majesty's Govt. for services rendered in Swaziland; Acting British Consul, Swaziland, March to Aug., 1895; Secretary for Zululand, Aug., 1895, and Resident Magistrate, Ingwavuma, Zululand, 1st Sept., 1895; during 1898 and 1899 acted as Magistrate in Natal for the following Divisions:

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Umgeni, Impendhle, Upper Umkomanzi, and Alexandra; Acting British Consul, Swaziland, Oct., 1898, to April, 1899; Magistrate, Lower Tugela Division, Oct., 1899; Acting Magistrate, Lion's River Division and Klip River Division in 1900 and 1901; Acting Asst. Master, Supreme Court, March, 1901; Acting Asst. Magistrate, Durban, March, 1901; Magistrate for the Colony, 21st April, 1902.

From the dates that appear in his notebooks, it seems that Stuart was not yet thirty when his interest in the African peoples matured into a plan for seeking out well-informed persons for the purpose of recording their knowledge of the history, social customs, language and oral literature (especially the praises, tales and mythology) of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples. In 1902, in a jotting in one of his notebooks, he formulated his hopes in the following words:

My object is to collect native custom so universally and thoroughly as to become an authority on it and compare that with existing legislation &c., &c. All will then be bound to come to my well to drink. Such work was never done in any country.

At this stage of his career Stuart was also beginning to write and speak on Zulu affairs. His knowledge received recognition in his appointment as Natal representative to the Zulu Orthography Conferences of 1905 and 1907, and he also served as examiner in the Zulu language for the University of the Cape of Good Hope. The 1906 'Bambatha' disturbances in Natal led to his services being employed in a number of new directions: as a captain in the Natal Field Artillery; as a member of the Greytown Court Martial that tried many of the rebels; as Secretary to the Natal Native Affairs Commission in 1906-7; and as Intelligence Officer with the Zululand Field Forces from 1906 to 1909. The culmination of his career in the Natal colonial service was his appointment in 1909 as Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs. With the unification of South Africa in the following year, the colony's Native Affairs Department was absorbed into the central administration. By then Stuart was engaged in the writing of A History of the Zulu Rebellion, which the Natal government had commissioned towards the end of the disturbances of 1906. This work, based partly on information gathered in interviews with participants, was published in 1913.

Stuart remained in Natal until 1922, continuing all the while to

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build up his treasury of recorded oral evidence. Then he moved to Britain. By this time he was engaged in a new project: the preparation of readers in the Zulu language, based on the information he had gathered over the years. In 1923 his Tulasizwe appeared, and was followed by a number of similar volumes: Hlangakula (1924), Baxoxele (1924), Kulumetule (1925), and Vusezakiti (1926). Another project of the latter years of his life was the editing of the Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, the Port Natal pioneer and intimate of Shaka, but this task remained uncompleted when Stuart died in London on 8th March, 1942.

In acquiring Stuart's collected papers, the Killie Campbell Africana Library gained possession of one of the richest sources available to the student interested in the language, the literature, the customs and the history of the African peoples of Natal, Zululand and Swaziland. The collection is housed in 78 files. Its real core, the oral testimony, is recorded in more than a hundred notebooks and on numerous loose sheets of paper. Also in the files is a mass of other documentary material: texts of Stuart's lectures, copies of published articles, unpublished manuscripts, private correspondence, and typed transcripts, made under the auspices of the Killie Campbell Library, of some of Stuart's notes.

This volume, and those that are to follow, incorporate only a portion of this vast documentary assemblage. We have classed as original historical evidence all testimony in which informants were recounting, or commenting on, the past, or discussing the issues and events of their own day. Excluded from our selection are Stuart's own writings, and also his extensive records of nursery tales, legends, myths, praise poems and linguistic information. While these latter categories may all yield information useful to the historian, they require interpretation by specialists with training and skills which the editors do not adequately possess.

Stuart was both a note-taker and a note-maker. In some respects his methods were sophisticated. Very rarely did he fail to date the record of an interview; very commonly he noted the circumstances in which it took place. He seems to have been scrupulous about recording

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the presence of third parties, and he was careful, in most cases, to check the credentials of his informants. Details of age, parentage, descent and social affiliations were almost invariably recorded, and he often questioned witnesses about the derivation of information that could not have been acquired by them at first hand. Yet the general observance of these basic procedures did not make for absolute uniformity, and in other respects Stuart's methods varied considerably, changing with experience, with the contingencies of the situations in which his interviews took place, and with the varying purposes that he had in mind in collecting oral evidence.

Because of these shifts of purpose and modifications of method, his notes are characterised by a number of anomalies. In some instances, he summarised or paraphrased the evidence supplied by his informants. In others, he recorded their testimony verbatim or in 'telegraphic' form. Not uncommonly, he shifted from one form to another during the course of a single interview. Although generally he kept a consecutive record of his interviews with a particular informant or group of informants, this was not an invariable practice. At times he seems to have categorised the information he was getting, so that the record of a single interview, or series of interviews, may be broken up and entered under subject heads in different notebooks. Often he also transcribed notes, so that the same evidence may appear in slightly different forms in more than one place. As his notes were intended for personal use, not for publication, breaches of the conventions of punctuation, syntax and grammatical construction are common, as are other uncorrected errors and imperfections. Stuart also used English and Zulu virtually interchangeably. At times he seems to have translated from Zulu to English while he recorded; at others, he adhered strictly to the mother-tongue of his informant; very often he slipped back and forth from one language to the other as an interview proceeded.

To these anomalies must be added others that stem from the varying styles and unequal abilities of his informants. While some held strictly to the subject under discussion, others were rambling and discursive. In such cases, one topic may lead to another with bewildering suddenness, and historical evidence may be heavily inter-

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larded with non-historical information that would be inappropriate in the present volume and its sequels.

The placing of this material in numbered files in the Killie Campbell Library is a convenient storage arrangement rather than a meaningful ordering of the documents. It cannot be otherwise: the collection defies classification. Some notebooks contain information gathered on a number of different subjects from a number of different sources at a number of different times; others are devoted to particular subjects or sets of subjects in which Stuart was specially interested; still others contain Stuart's own writings interleaved with oral testimony. Compounding the problems of classification are the notes on loose sheets of paper. A single page may carry statements on a number of distinct topics derived from several sources; another may record information given by a witness the bulk of whose evidence is to be found in the bound notebooks.

Taken together, these characteristics of the recorded oral evidence confronted the editors with a number of technical problems additional to those commonly encountered in the preparation of manuscript material for publication. Set out below are the main considerations that shaped our policy in the face of these difficulties.

I. Arrangement of the material

Had we presented the historical evidence in the order in which it appears in the files, we would, in effect, have been reproducing the present, essentially fortuitous, arrangement of a non-classifiable body of material. Instead, we have done what cannot be done to the original manuscripts: we have 'broken up' notebooks and sheets of paper that contain information derived from more than one informant, and have regrouped the testimony so that it now appears (as is often, but not always, the case in the original) in consolidated form under the name of the person who gave it, or, where more than one person was present, under the name of the leading informant. In doing this, we have ordered the evidence chronologically, following the dates given by Stuart in his notes. At the head of each entry, source references are given, and as an aid to precise cross-reference we have shown in the left-hand margin the pagination of the original. Thus reorganised, the material has been placed in alphabetical name-

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order of informant, the present volume running from A to L.

II. Translation of Zulu

Even to readers with a mastery of both Zulu and English the frequent transitions from one language to the other are disconcerting, while obscurities of expression in many of the Zulu passages could pose problems for persons who have some knowledge of the language but lack ready access to expert advice. These considerations, and the fact that the bulk of the evidence was recorded by Stuart in English, persuaded us that the passages in Zulu should be translated, thus making the whole body of evidence accessible to the widest possible scholarly audience. Words that could not be translated for want of an English equivalent are explained in the Glossary. We have also retained the original Zulu for idiomatic expressions and praises which would lose their flavour in translation. These we have either commented on or attempted to explain in editorial notes. In reproducing Zulu names and phrases in the text, we have followed Stuart's orthography, although we have omitted the signs which he sometimes used to indicate aspirated and ejective consonants, and have used the modern 'kl' in place of his '(x)'.

To alert the reader to the presence of the translator's hand, and also to give some indication of the character of the original, we have used italics to demarcate all passages which were recorded in Zulu. The only exception to this rule is in respect of the translation of locatives. The frequent interruption of lines of roman type by italicised renderings of 'at', 'to', 'of' etc. would have been pedantry of the least desirable sort.

III. Textual emendation

As has already been indicated, Stuart's notes are characterised by numerous minor anomalies and irregularities, resulting in the main, one suspects, from the speed at which he worked when interviewing informants. Spelling, though generally good, is flawed from time to time; closing quotation marks are omitted at the end of direct speech; the query mark is often forgotten; paragraphing is irregular and (where it exists) may be indicated either by indentation or by marginal dashes; practice in respect of the use of abbreviations, numerals and capital letters is inconsistent; and punctua-

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tion signs, while standard in some passages, are idiosyncratic in others, the dash, for example, being used as an equivalent to the stop, the semi-colon and the comma, as well as serving for parentheses.

Thus had the evidence been reproduced uncorrected, the result would have been a bewilderingly defective and clumsy text, poorly paragraphed, strangely punctuated, and littered with irritating errors and irregularities. Equally disconcerting would have been the use of special typographical devices to indicate editorial emendation of all these minor defects. Had we adopted such a system, our text, though conforming to the highest canons of scholarship, would have become a printer's and reader's nightmare.

We have, therefore, employed a differentiated method of emendation. While all major instances of editorial intervention have been clearly indicated by setting amended passages in sublinear 'cup' brackets, the purely formal task of eliminating minor errors and inconsistencies has been effected without burdening the printed page with frequently repeated tokens of the editorial presence. In addition, at the head of each entry, we have standardised the presentation of basic information relating to the date, time and place of interviews, and the presence of other persons.

Two other editorial activities should be mentioned: the annotation of the evidence, and the provision of an index.

With these aids, we hope that scholars will indeed drink deeply from the waters of Stuart's well.

The Editors.

NOTES ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES USED IN THE TEXT

Roman and Italic Type

As almost all the original Zulu appears in translation in this volume, Stuart's frequent shifts from one language to the other are indicated by the use of roman type for passages originally recorded in English, and italic type for passages originally recorded in Zulu.

Underlining

Stuart underlined for emphasis and, inconsistently, for other purposes. Underlining has been retained where it was used for emphasis in the original, and has also been used for book titles, names of newspapers, ships, farms, etc., which in the original may appear underlined, or in inverted commas, or without any identifying device.

Brackets

Inconsistent usages in Stuart's notes have been eliminated and the following standardised styles adopted to cover parentheses in the original as well as editorial intervention:

- 1 Round brackets (): parenthetical statements which are integrally part of the evidence supplied by informants;
- 2 Square brackets []: Stuart's comments on, or amplifications of, statements made by informants;
- 3 Angular brackets < >: statements or information inserted into the text by the editors;
- 4 Sublinear 'cup' brackets { } : editorial emendation of defective text.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

- isAngoma (izAngoma)*: diviner; one inspired or possessed by an ancestral spirit and employed to detect practitioners of witchcraft and to interpret mysterious occurrences.
- amaBele*: sorghum; millet; grain.
- ukuBhula*: to beat with sticks on the ground, as done by the assembly during divination by an *isangoma*; hence, to divine.
- ukuBonga*: to declaim praises, extol; to express gratitude.
- imBongi (izimBongi)*: praise-singer, specialist declaimer of praises.
- isiBongo (iziBongo)*: 1. clan-name; 2. (pl. only) praises, praise-names.
- ukuButha (pass. ukuButhwa)*: to gather; to form young men or women into age-grades; to enrol young men into new military units; to muster fighting men for war.
- iDlozi (amaDlozi)*: spirit of a dead person.
- inDuna (izinDuna)*: civil or military official; person appointed by the king or chief to a position of authority or command.
- ukuEshwama*: to perform the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony, in which, about a month before the *umKhosi* ceremony, the king or chief ritually tastes the new crops.
- ukuGiya*: to dance about performing war-antics; to dance a war-dance.
- isiGodlo (iziGodlo)*: 1. king's or chief's private enclosure at upper end of his *umuzi*, where the huts of his household are situated; 2. women of the king's establishment; girls presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *umNdlunkulu*.
- ukuHlobonga*: to practise external sexual intercourse.
- ukuHlonipha*: to show respect through practising certain formal avoidances in action or speech.
- ukuJuba (pass. ukuJutshwa)*: to give orders for an action to be performed, especially to give the order permitting age-grades to marry.
- iKhanda (amaKhanda)*: major military centre; royal *umuzi* where military units are quartered.
- iKhehla (amaKhehla)*: man who has put on the headring; elderly man.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

- iKholwa (amaKholwa)*: Christian; literally 'a believer'.
- ukuKhonza*: to give one's allegiance to, or subject oneself to, a king or chief; to pay formal respects to.
- umKhosi (imiKhosi)*: the annual 'first-fruits' ceremony held at the great place of the king or chief in the period December-January, a festival at which the king or chief is ritually strengthened, the ancestral spirits praised, and the allegiance of the people renewed.
- ukuKleza*: to milk a cow straight into the mouth, as done for a period by youths newly enrolled in an age-grade; hence, to pass the boyhood stage, to qualify as a young warrior.
- inKosana (amaKhosana)*: heir to a chieftainship or house.
- inKosi (amaKhosi)*: king; paramount; chief.
- inKosikazi (amaKhosikazi)*: principal wife of a king, chief, or *umumzana*; title applied by courtesy to any wife of a man of such position.
- ukuLobola*: to formalize a marriage by the conveyance of cattle or other property from the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iLobolo* (sg. only): cattle or goods handed over in a marriage transaction by the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iMpi (iziMpi)*: 1. military unit or force, army; 2. battle, engagement, war.
- iNceku (iziNceku)*: attendant in a king's or chief's household responsible for the performance of certain domestic duties.
- iNdlunkulu (iziNdlunkulu)*: 1. hut of king's or chief's principal wife; the group of huts attached to it; 2. the family attached to those huts.
- umNdlunkulu* (sg. only): girls of the royal establishment presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *isigodlo*.
- iNsiwa (iziNsiwa)*: youth approaching manhood; young man who has not yet put on the headring.
- umNunzana (abaNunzana)*: head of an *umuzi* or household; family head.
- iNyanga (iziNyanga)*: doctor, medicine man, herbalist, diviner.
- ukuSisa*: to place livestock in the care of a dependent, who then has certain rights of usufruct.
- ukuTekeza*: to speak in Swazi, Lala, or Bhaca fashion, in which 'tsh' is substituted for Zulu 'th', and 't' or 'dz' for 'z'.
- ukuThakatha*: to use supernatural forces for evil purposes.
- umThakathi (abaThakathi)*: one who uses supernatural forces for evil purposes.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

for Zulu '1'.

ukuThunga: to sew on a headring.

isiVivane (iziVivane): accumulation of stones or other objects placed next to a path by travellers as 'good luck' tokens.

umaZi (imiZi): 1. homestead, collection of huts under one headman;
2. the people belonging to a homestead.

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES

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ANTEL, MR

11.7.1900. Impendhle.

File 73, pp. 54a-54b.

54a The story of Nomanzi. In conversation with a Mr Antel, a man of about 60, a few minutes ago, I elicited the following: That he was living at Nonoti in the Lower Tugela Division as Captain Walmesley's clerk at the time of the battle between Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo (Ndondakusuka, 1856).¹ He was for five years Walmesley's clerk and remained with him till his death. He assisted D.B. Scott, the executor, in regard to Walmesley's affairs, especially in regard to a large number of cattle (20 head, with increase 12 = 32) previously received by Walmesley under the following circumstances.

Prior to the battle referred to, John Dunn² came as a boy to Captain Walmesley and was taken care of by him. (Dunn was a regular white kaffir and used as a boy to go about in native dress.) When the battle was coming on, Walmesley directed Dunn to cross the river and to take part in it with a number of Walmesley's trained, armed men (armed with guns). Dunn complied. Walmesley himself remained on the Natal side of the river (Pearson's Drift) and made bullets for the force he had sent across. Mbuyazi was beaten. After Cetshwayo's army had gone off, Walmesley crossed over, and as he was being rowed back by one of his Hottentot servants, he saw a very young kaffir (Zulu) baby, about one year old, clinging to the reeds and in the water. The river was in flood at the time. The baby was a little girl. Walmesley directed the Hottentot to take the child into the boat. The Hottentot at first demurred, asking what could be the use of saving such rubbish, and suggested its being allowed to drown. Walmesley insisted and furthermore ordered the Hottentot to take off his coat and wrap the child in it, which the man did. It was seen that the child had a wound (gash) in its arm (left) as well as in the thigh (left).

Walmesley saved the girl's life and, having no children of his own, he practically adopted it and called her by the name of Nomanzi in memory of her perilous predicament. He and Mrs Walmesley then took great care in the bringing up of the little girl. She was taught everything in the house; she could play the piano, cook and, though treated as a menial to some extent, she wore European clothing and was treated exactly as a European and lived in and with the Walmesleys. She was in every way thoroughly educated.

Now Captain Walmesley was subject to epileptic fits. One morning, many years after 1856, fearing another attack was coming

ANTEL

on, he went to, or stayed in, his house. Mr Antel, the clerk, was at the office. When he was at the office, the native *induna*, Walmesley's *induna*, a Zulu, came in and stood for some time without saying anything. His name was Sifile or Sofile. Antel then asked what he wanted. He said there was something on his mind which he wanted to tell Captain Walmesley about, but he was afraid to do so. Antel asked once more what it was. He said, 'I like Nomanzi and Nomanzi likes me.' Antel was much surprised, because the *induna* was a raw Zulu, but when Antel told Captain Walmesley, the latter was very much more surprised. He stamped and stormed. Then for two days he considered what should be done. He and Mrs Walmesley questioned Nomanzi. They asked her if she liked Sifile; she said yes, she wanted to marry him. 'But will you go and live at Sifile's like ordinary Zulu women in spite of all your careful bringing up, discard your dress, and forget the new manners and customs you have learnt?' 'I do not mind having to do this,' she said. 'Since you say this, then you like Sifile and no longer care for us.' 'I like you, all of you, but I like Sifile too,' replied the girl.

Sifile offered to pay 15 head of cattle as *lobola* for Nomanzi, a number well in excess of what was ordinarily claimed. After the two days' consideration, Captain Walmesley came to Antel and said he had decided that the girl was to be married off at once to Sifile. The marriage was to take place forthwith. Moreover, he demanded of Sifile 20 head of cattle as Nomanzi's *lobola*. The increased number was intended by Walmesley to show Sifile what a high value he (Walmesley) placed on Nomanzi. He knew it was the custom among natives that the greater the number of cattle given as *lobola*, the greater the respect that would afterwards be paid to the woman. Within three weeks Sifile brought the 20 head and the marriage between Nomanzi and Sifile was duly consummated.

Some years afterwards Captain Walmesley died. He left a will 15 years old which of course did not refer to the cattle (and increase) received by him from Sifile, but Antel says he was plainly told by Walmesley that the whole of the cattle received by him and their increase were Nomanzi's property. When Scott was winding up the estate, Antel told him about this, to which matter the old Dingley was also a witness, and although Mrs Walmesley remonstrated, yet Scott felt bound by what Antel said, and the whole 32 head of cattle were accordingly handed over to Nomanzi, much to Sifile's delight.

Antel fancies Sifile and Nomanzi are both still alive and live near where Captain Walmesley had his office. Antel told me this story as showing how impossible it was so to civilize a person as to cause him or her to forget their nationality. I do not think Antel could have been Walmesley's clerk at the time of the battle of Ndondakusuka, for he said he was clerk only for five years and remained at Nonoti a further two years after Walmesley's death.

12.7.1900

File 73, pp. 54b-54c.

I saw Mr Antel again this morning. He says that he was not with Walmesley at the time of the battle of Ndondakusuka but

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about 17 or 18 years afterwards. Nomanzi, for instance, was about 20 years old when she married, and this occurred when Antel was with Walmesley. The preceding incidents were told him by Walmesley. He was with Walmesley in 1873, just before the coronation of Cetshwayo, when Dunn came to ask for a permit to convey 500 guns into Zululand.

54c Antel went on to say that many years ago, perhaps 40 to 42, Walmesley, Cockburn and Harry Milner, the last-named of Durban, went to Zululand on a hunting trip. They crossed the Tugela and pitched their camp near the banks of the Matikulu. Whilst there, Walmesley drew the attention of the others to the fact that he had seen going about in that locality a boy (white) and apparently a European, dressed exactly like a kaffir (Zulu). Harry Milner examined the boy and said at once his name was John or Jack Dunn, and that he had been missing for several years, no one knowing what had become of him. Upon hearing Milner say he was absolutely certain it was J. Dunn of Durban, Walmesley decided to catch him. (Walmesley was always catching something or somebody.) After a little trouble, Dunn, having tried somewhat to resist, was duly caught. Walmesley then said to him in English, for Dunn had not forgotten his mother tongue, that he would have to do one of two things: (a) consent to live at Nonoti with Walmesley, where he would be properly cared for, or (b) be sent straight back to Durban. Dunn chose the former alternative. He afterwards lived about six years with Walmesley, who educated him in every way.

Walmesley had a windfall about this time of £80,000, which Dunn helped him to spend. Walmesley got many Hottentots to come and work for him; he had some 80 (?) horses, and made Dunn thoroughly drill and train these men. Dunn always looked on Walmesley as his benefactor and was thankful for having been reclaimed by him.

Antel knew Dunn well. I believe Dunn died late in 1893 or early in 1894; he was aged about 56 when he died. I know he had a Hottentot mistress who was his chief wife.

I notice by referring to the Natal Civil Service List, 1897, under heading 'Services of Officers - Shepstone, J.W.', that Mr Shepstone was appointed 'Government Agent, Nonoti, and Justice of the Peace, 30th August, 1852; resigned June, 1853'. Mr Antel says Walmesley was appointed at Nonoti about six months after Mr Shepstone left. Walmesley, Mr Antel says, bought a farm at Nonoti called Chantilly, also, I think, one named Sans Souci. The office was off the main road, more on the coast, but on a road leading from New Guelderland. Mr Antel says a Dr Pierce was one of the first white people to go to Zululand. I know there are Pierces, Tooheys, Gielinks etc. living near Dunn's place at Inyezane and close to the Matikulu river, and Green lives at Ngoye. Some of these have married J. Dunn's daughters, a number being very good-looking.

Notes

¹Walmsley was Natal Border Agent on the lower Thukela.

²For a sketch of Dunn's career see Lugg, Historic Natal, pp. 131-4.

BALEKA KA MPITIKAZI

15.7.1919

File 56, nbk. 6, p.2.

- 2 Baleka of the Qwabe people arrives, brought by her sister Nomsolo, who has already related a number of tales. Baleka is older than Nomsolo, her age being, as far as I can judge, about 68. Baleka ka Mpitikazi ka Nsila ka Kanyile ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Tshiyampahla [Mmemi, in Pakatwayo's *izibongo*, mentions this name] ka Nozidiya [said to be mother of Qwabe and Zulu] ka Qwabe ka Malandela.¹

<15.7.1919>

File 56, nbk. 6, p. 21.

- 21 Baleka says she was born at the time of the Ndondakusuka fight between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi (December 1856), her father being Mpitikazi; hence her age is about 63. The name Baleka was given because so many at that time were running away.² She heard most of her tales from Sixaba, her grandmother, called also Makokela, i.e. daughter of Kokela, brother of Mbengi, the Langeni chief. Baleka was born in the Majozi tribe. She saw Ngoza when she was a child, and knew his son Luntshungu well. Nomsolo *was the second child to be born after Baleka*, hence would be about 57 years of age, for at the time of the Zulu War she had not long before *reached the age of puberty*.

16.7.1919. High Brae, Hilton Road. File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 80-93.

- 80 Baleka, a woman aged about 63 or 64, born, she says, at the time of the Ndondakusuka *battle* (Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi), daughter of Mpitikazi ka Nsila ka Kanyile [brother of Simamane] ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Tshiyampahla ka Nozidiya ka Qwabe ka Malandela.

I do not know if Nozidiya was a woman or a man.

My father's mother came from the Langeni tribe. She was the daughter of Kokela, brother of the chief Mbengi. Tshaka's mother was thus a niece of Kokela. Mgabi was the chief son of Mbengi. Makedama was the son of Mgabi.

Tshaka complained of the way in which he was treated by Makedama; he complained, whilst still a boy, (a) of (Makedama's, objecting to Tshaka drinking water higher up a stream than where he was drinking; (b) of his picking out the best of Tshaka's

stones, which represented cattle in the games they played, whereby kraals of cowdung were built and stones selected and put inside. Tshaka's stones were better than Makedama's and he objected to Makedama's jealously seizing and putting them in his kraal. Makedama was later on killed by Tshaka for having bullied him when a boy whilst he was staying at home among his mother's people.

Nandi bore Tshaka out of wedlock. Tshaka is therefore illegitimate. My father told me this.

- 51 Before the name Tshaka became current there was a disease which caused people's stomachs to swell out; the name of that disease was 'itshaka'. So when Nandi was pregnant, people were constantly saying that she was sick, suffering from itshaka, and she was continually being given medicine. Increasingly her stomach stood out; it became obvious. They then asked, 'By whom were you made pregnant?' Nandi said, 'I was made pregnant by Sensangakona.' She then bore the child; she bore it at the home of her Langeni people. Sensangakona was told. He admitted that it was he who had made Nandi pregnant. She then married him. She was now his wife.

Tshaka stayed with his grandmother Mfunda (Nandi's mother). He eventually became an insizwa. When he had become an insizwa he went away to the Mtetwa, and became a great warrior. Dingiswayo, the Mtetwa chief, made him an induna, and he became a commander of the Mtetwa army.³

He then went back up-country to his own people. When he arrived among his people his father died. He then began to make war. He began with Macingwane, chief of the Cwuu, calling him 'Fellow who troubled my father', for Sensangakona's nation had been small. After this he went to attack Pungatshe, chief of the Butelezi, and also attacked other chiefs.

- 52 Then Dingiswayo was killed by the Ndwandwe. Tshaka proceeded to attack the Ndwandwe, for they had killed people of the Mtetwa. The Ndwandwe were defeated by Tshaka. They came back and burnt Tshaka's kraal of Siklebeni. Tshaka cried, 'Yebuya, Zulu! What! Is my kraal burning, my men?' He took his crane feather and stuck it in the ground, where it stood swaying. He shouted, 'To arms! I am going against a king!' The Zulu sprang to arms. They completely routed the Ndwandwe. The Ndwandwe fled far away. Nowadays we call them the Tshangana.

He then attacked all the peoples, conquering them. He finished off all the peoples on the other side.⁴ After this he crossed over and came against those on this side, the Baca people. He killed them; he finished off the Baca in this country, and the Lala. The Baca fled; they now live beyond the Mzimkulu.

Nandi. I do not know if lobolo was given for her. I heard from my father Mpitikazi that the disease which Nandi was said to have was itshaka. My father never gave me any such version of Tshaka's birth as Mr Stuart has just related to me [i.e. Ndhlovu ka Timuni's]. Nandi was dark-skinned; she was strongly built, neither very tall nor very short.

- 53 Dingana's mother was Mpikase; I do not know the name of her father. I used to hear my father swear by her, saying, 'Mpikase!'

My father was of the Fasimba;⁵ he did not say 'Fansimba'.

.... <Praises of her father Mpitikazi omitted - eds.>

Father said there used to be a rock at the Mhlatusu called 'Pitikazi'. He was named after it. Kondhlo's country was that of the Mhlatusu and the Mlalazi and Ngoye and Ntumeni. That rock is at the Mhlatusu, our original territory.

- 84 The death of Tshaka. Father said an army went out against the amaMpondo. The amaMpondo came and defeated them, so they retreated. Tshaka became angry, for he himself had not been there. He was a great warrior and performed great deeds. He cried, 'So Faku does not know me?' He took his crane feather and stuck it in the ground, where it stood swaying. He then armed, taking his war shield, which was black with a white patch at the side. The army went down along the coast and attacked the amaMpondo. Some of the amaMpondo cattle were 'eaten up', while others were left behind. The Zulu then returned, driving the cattle. The army arrived home. He ordered it to move on to campaign away at Balule.⁶

Then his brothers, Gugqu, Mhlangana, and Dingana, hid. Tshaka's inceku, Mbopa ka Sitayi, saw them and said, 'Hau! So you are here, children of the king? You are troubled by the madman. As soon as you returned from Pondoland the order was given to move on. Are you not going to stab him?' They said, 'What should we do to him?' To which he replied, 'Stab him to death. He is a madman.' They then said, 'How could we overcome him? You stab him' (Mbopa).

- 85 Mbopa stabbed him. After stabbing him he ran to Mhlangana alone and said, 'Dingana has overcome' Tshaka and has taken the chieftainship.' He then went to Dingana and said, 'Hau! Mhlangana is going to kill you', then back to Mhlangana and said, 'Dingana is going to kill you. Cut short an assegai and hide it in your clothing.' Mhlangana did so. Mbopa then rose up and went to Dingana and said, 'Mhlangana is carrying an assegai against you; he is going to kill you.' Mhlangana was caught, and indeed an assegai was taken from his clothing. He was then killed. Mhlangana said, 'Nhi! Son of Sitayi, have you done this to me?' He died.

Dingana then ruled. He killed all the children of his father Sensangakona. Mpande remained. He was saved by Ndhlela ka Sompisi, who said to Dingana, 'Surely you are not going to kill Mpande, one who is just a simpleton? You are not going to kill this idiot, Nkosi?' So Mpande was left. All the children of the chief Sensangakona died.

The warrior regiments were not there; they had been laid low by fever. They had camped in a forest where there were umhlebe trees. They breathed in the scent of the umhlebe; they got terrible headaches, passed blood, and died.⁸

- Others came back, for not all had died. They arrived to find that the king was no longer there, and that Dingana had now stepped into his place, calling himself Malamulela,⁹ because he had intervened between the people and the madness of Tshaka. But he himself then killed all the children of his father. Tshaka, 86 though, did not kill the children of his father.

Tshaka did many evil things to people. Seeing a woman who was pregnant, though she had done no harm, he ordered her to be caught, killed, and cut open so that it could be seen in what position her child was lying. The woman was then cut open, and he went and looked.

Seeing vultures flying above, he cried, 'Wo! The birds of the king are hungry!' People were then killed and put out on a hill to be eaten by the vultures. And wu! the vultures were all on the hill! (i.e. all flew there).

Then he saw a donga as deep as a house, and said, 'I wonder if this donga could be filled - filled with people?' Then people were tumbled in, and were piled up in the donga until it was filled.

Three of our Qwabe people, Matshongwe, Nhlanganiso, and Mpezulu, had their eyes taken out by him while they were still alive. He then put them at the foot of a cliff and said, 'Look at Nhlanganiso, Mpezulu, and Matshongwe floundering about,' saying so because he had taken out their eyes.¹⁰

87 He hunted my father Mpitikazi because he had told the Langeni people of his mother's house to flee, for Tshaka was coming to kill them. Tshaka heard from people that Mpitikazi had said this, causing the Langeni to run away. He sent out an impi to kill my father. Mpitikazi had already heard that the king was going to kill him, so he fled. But there was then no place to run away to. A person would simply wander about in the land until he was eaten by wild animals, for in those days there were many wild animals which ate people. Father climbed into a tree. The impi searched for him; he could see it while sitting up in the tree. It searched and searched, but did not see him, and gave up. He ate filth from the river; he no longer knew food. He slept in the forests.

He then went to the place of Mbopa ka Sitayi, not to any relation of his (Mpitikazi's) but to Mbopa's, and did not appear at the Great One's place. Then he was sent by Sitayi to the king himself. And he went, because he had been found, and was afraid to refuse. He saw that there was no help for it, for Sitayi would kill him. 'If I refuse, if I say I am not going to the king, he says he will kill me.' So he went off, travelling alone. He did not set off in the belief that he would return; he simply went knowing that he was going to die.

He arrived, and went into the cattle kraal to the izinduna, to Ngqengelele.¹¹ He walked forward reluctantly and limply to the upper end of the cattle kraal; the izinduna were sitting inside.

88 Tshaka came out of his hut. He said, 'I think I know this person, my Zulu. Look at this red-skinned fellow; I would say it is Mpitikazi.' Then his mother Nandi came out. Reciting Tshaka's praises, she said to him, 'Surely you will not kill Mpitikazi? What is Mpitikazi that you should kill him, he who is just a dog?' Tshaka said, 'Go, fellow, you with the little red ears. Your "mother" has saved you, go. Go, genet of the wilderness that outwitted the dogs' (the force that had been searching for him). 'The genet became green in colour while sitting up in the tree.' That is the story of Mpitikazi's escape.

He escaped because Nandi was his mother's sister. He was saved because of that. There was then no place to run away to; one

could find no refuge until the white people came.

When the above happened my father was an *insizwa*. He went on the Pondo expedition, and then on to Balule. He was one of those who entered the forest referred to above containing *umdhlebe*.

- 89 Tshaka said that the Qwabe people should be picked out and all put to death (i.e. hunted out from all parts of the country). 'How will you recognize them? You will recognize them by their great love of quarrelling.'¹²

Tshaka killed his own mother. He stabbed her in the armpit, saying she was hiding a child. He did not father any children. He did not want to father a child because, he said, it would be another prince. This fact is true; it is really true. A person like Tshaka is like a wild beast, a creature which does not live with its own young, its male offspring.

My father said that Tshaka was a tall man, dark, with a large nose, and was ugly. He spoke with an impediment, (i.e. mouthed his words, as if his tongue was too big for his mouth and pressed on his teeth).

- Father knew Mbuyazi.¹³ I learnt this when we were travelling with my father. The thunder roared while we were going to Gwalagwala's¹⁴ place. On arriving, father saluted, saying, 'You, son of Mbuyazi of the Bay; you, son of the finch that came from Pondoland; chieftainship does not start with you, for we also lived with your father, a chief.' Gwalagwala said, 'Come into the house, Mpitikazi.' We went in. He told a policeman to give father beer, which he did. I was still a girl at that time. We then returned, the sky now being clear.
- 90

The word 'Fasimba' describes the mountains when faintly visible (i.e. haziness. Name of Mpitikazi's regiment).

Mpitikazi died some time after 1888 (when Dinuzulu fought Zibebu). I don't know if he was ever photographed. He died at a very advanced age, though able to get about unassisted. I don't know what colour shield my father carried, or what finery he wore. Nombanga ka Ngidhli was the great *induna* of the Fasimba; he was a great warrior of Tshaka. He was killed at Ncome (Blood River) by the Boers.

.... <Nombanga's praises omitted - eds.>

- 91 Father was an *imbongi* of chiefs. He recited the praises of Ngoza ka Ludaba, also of his son Luntshungu. My brother, Mamfumfuta, who follows me in age, takes after my father in being a good *imbongi*. He recites the praises of the Qwabe chiefs very well. He lives in Stanger Division. I don't know even if he is alive still.

.... <Praises of Ngoza ka Ludaba omitted - eds.>

- 93 Ngoza was dark brown in colour, very short, and also good-looking. He was an *ikehla*. His regiment was the Hlaba.

One of Tshaka's praises: 'The violently unrestrained one who is like the ear of the elephant'. I heard this from my father Mpitikazi.

BALEKA

[You have made a point of knowing this, i.e. the *izibongo* of all people - said of me by Baleka. Baleka here refers incidentally to my enquiring intently into Zulu nursery tales, *izibongo*, history, etc.]

25.7.1919

File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 93-6.

94 Baleka returns, says: *Tshaka took the blood of a beast and sprinkled it in the doorway in his isigodhlo during the night, without being seen by anyone. At dawn the next day he reported the matter to his izinduna. The izinduna came, including Ngqengelele. He said, 'Look at the evil omen that has befallen me. When I rose this morning I found it like this here in the isigodhlo. Here is blood! I don't know what has done this. This is an evil omen! Let all the izangoma be gathered, all the people of the land.'*

Indeed all the izangoma were gathered. They came, and were told to bula at once. An evil omen had befallen the king and was in the king's isigodhlo. The Zulu people assembled, for an evil omen had descended on the king. The izangoma then bula'd. One would bula and smell out a person, then another would do the same. Then those who had already done so would be told to go and sit apart by themselves. Another would get up, bula, and smell out a person. Then he would be told to go and sit with those who had already done so. 95 Others would then be called...until they were all finished...¹⁵

Only two remained. One of them got up and bula'd. He said, 'I do not see that this was done by an umtakati. I say that it was done only by the heavens above.'¹⁶ It was not done by a man.' The last one also stood up and said, 'I do not see that this was done by a man. I divine the heavens above. I do not see that it was a man who sprinkled this blood in the isigodhlo. I find that it was done by the heavens above.'

Tshaka ordered them all to be killed, except for those two izangoma who knew how to bula. For they saw that it was no umtakati that had done the pouring; it had been done by the king. They said, 'I divine the heavens above.' He said, 'Let them alone for they know how to bula.'

96 The many other izangoma all used to make up lies. The people of the king were always being killed, for the izangoma lied about them, saying they were practising witchcraft. Henceforward a person would be killed who was smelt out by these who had smelt out Tshaka himself - the two who had seen that the pouring of the blood had not been done by an umtakati, but had been done on purpose by the king because he wanted to see if the izangoma really knew how to bula.

Previously people were continually being killed; it was said that they had been smelt out by an izangoma. Tshaka thought in his heart, 'Let me see if they really know how to bula.' Then he saw that most of them did not.

<25.7.1919>

File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 31-2.

51 The story of the Sutu chief Mabulane. [A story similar to that

BALEKA

of Tshaka testing the witchdoctors. See Baleka's version of that [above].]

- 32 Mabulane was like Tshaka in his testing of people. He once placed some fruit from the umganu tree in his mouth and said that he was sick. He gave orders that the *izinyanga* and *izangoma* should be called to bula, for he was sick - his cheeks were swollen. The *izangoma* came and bula'd, but could not find out what the trouble was. There were many of them but they did not find what sickness it was. Then one of them rose, and went and sat down in front of him. He held out his hands and said that the chief should take out what was in his mouth. Mabulane then spat out the fruit into the hands of the *inyanga*. He said, 'This is the only true *inyanga*; let these others leave off, and never bula again.' But he for his part did not kill them. He left them alone and they went back to their homes.

Mabulane lived at Sobana, beyond the nations which are beyond Pretoria. He fought the Boers, who were troubling him. He defeated them, and they ran away. Then they fought again with his son Mpepu. Mpepu also defeated them. Then the English arrived; they came with kindness.¹⁷

<25.7.1919>

File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 39-40.

- 39 Baleka says that Tshaka once asked a woman who was drawing water in an earthen pot at a stream (possibly the Mbozamo, near Stanger) for a drink of water. The woman, not knowing Tshaka, said, 'Why don't you lap up the water as other dogs do?', thereby refusing him the drink. Tshaka marked her down. He then directed that she was to be put to death in order that he might see what kind of heart so unhospitable a person had. She was cut open after death and the heart found to lie close up against the lung.

The story of the pregnant woman is well known. Tshaka said he wished to see how a child lay in the womb, so, as Baleka says, he caused a woman who had done no wrong whatever to be put to death to enable him to satisfy his curiosity. This he accordingly did.

.... <An abbreviated version of the story 'Heroic Refusal' given under date 26.7.1919 below is here omitted - eds.>

- 40 My father Mpitikazi married a Cenyane girl, though my own mother, who married when my father was already well advanced in years, was a Ngcotsho girl.¹⁸

My father told me of a chant sung by the regiment appointed to fetch Tshaka from the *isigodhlo* to bring him to the men's assembly in the cattle kraal; this during an *unkosi*. 'Come down! bird which devours others; come down! you who overcome the chiefs; come down! come here!' [i.e. come down to the cattle kraal].

Baleka knows the *izibongo* of her grandfather Nsila, also of her great-grandfather Kanyile, though not of Kuzwayo and other ancestors.

.... <Miscellaneous non-historical notes omitted - eds.>

Baleka says she grew up in Msinga Division, close to the Mzi-nyati.¹⁹ She seems to me to speak very good Zulu, and, although a member of the Qwabe tribe, she does not *tefula*.

26.7.1919

File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 41-5.

- 41 Heroic refusal of a girl to cohabit with Tshaka. Once on the day of the *umkosi* Tshaka saw a pretty girl from another part of the country. He sent his *izinceku* to go and summon her. The girl came, and he spoke to her. The girl said, 'I don't like you.' When he forcibly took hold of her, she cried. She hurled an insult at him, saying, 'I don't want you; you have an ugly nose, an *isifonyo*' [i.e. a large, ugly nose - a muzzle put on a calf to prevent it sucking]. He said, 'What did you say?' She said, 'I really do not want you. Rather than sleep with you, I choose to die.' He said, 'Kill her.' She was taken away outside to be put to death, and was duly killed.

I don't know the girl's name or *isibongo*. I heard this story from my father; he was reminded of it by the case of his daughter Nomaheto who refused Luntshungu ka Ngoza of the Majozi people.

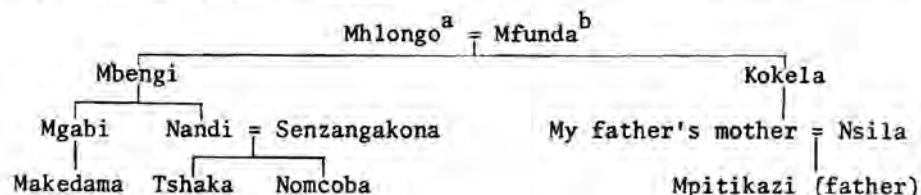
Tshaka's method of going to ask for snuff. Once when Tshaka's *impi* was going against the *amaNganga* and *Mapumulo* peoples, he said he was going to ask for snuff; he did not say that he was going to make war. 'Tomorrow I shall not come. I am going to ask for snuff from the *amaNganga*. I shall then go on to the *Mapumulo*. Don't expect to see me, assembly of my kraal Dukuza! Don't you see that it is painful to be like an antbear, which digs a hole and then doesn't live in it, being driven out by a porcupine?'

- 42 He then went off to the *amaNganga*. He killed them and 'ate them up'. He went on and came to the *Mapumulo*, where he did the same. He returned with the cattle. He said, 'Let us keep moving, my men,²⁰ and not stay in one place' (i.e. because he was always making war). 'It is painful to be like an antbear which digs a hole and doesn't live in it.' (His 'hole' was Dukuza at that time.)²¹ They came back with the cattle of those two chiefs.

I also heard this from my father. I liked it. I was always asking him to tell it.

Father was of the *Fasimba* regiment. He grew up among the *Langeni* people, at his mother's kraal, like Tshaka. If Tshaka had been an ordinary person they would have been 'brothers'; their mothers were born at the same place.

My father's mother was a daughter of Kokela. Kokela and Mbengi were brothers.²²



a. This name per Ngidi.

b. Mfunda's father, according to Ngidi, was Kondhlo. She was therefore sister to Pakatwayo.

BALEKA

Nomcoba used to live at Siklebereni with Langazana, the inkosikazi. Nomcoba and Langazana were unable to escape in the war between Cetshwayo and the English. Father expressed admiration on hearing Zulu people say in conversation that the whites had refrained from burning the Siklebereni kraal because Langazana and
43 Nomcoba were there and no longer able to run away.

The Fasimba regiment had not yet tunga'd when the king (Tshaka) said to Mpitikazi, 'Since you are your father's only son, tunga, so that you will continue the house of your father.' For it was the custom there in Zululand that a man, if he was an only son, should tunga and marry for that reason. Indeed he tunga'd.²³

Father told me that Mfunda called out to Tshaka, 'Tshaka! Do you think, because you kill people, that you are now going to kill Mfunda too?' I asked why she had said that. Father said that Mfunda was Tshaka's grandmother, who bore his mother.²⁴

After Tshaka had defeated the Ndwandwe he cried, 'The bulls of the herds have met. Let the boys who are herding them go out and separate them. Let there go out Noluju' (the Ndwandwe induna) and Ngqengelele' (Tshaka's induna). 'Ha! The one with the red tail' (i.e. his own impi) 'has gored it! The fancies invented by the Ndwandwe on their way here are finished. They have finished today. The one with the red tail has gored it.' He spoke rejoicing that he had defeated them.

Ngqengelele was a dominant figure who commanded the attention of the whole nation; when he spoke no one else would speak, only the king would speak. He was like Mnyamana, the great induna of Cetshwayo.²⁵

Tshaka used to kill a man simply because he was ugly; not because he practised witchcraft but merely because he had been
44 born ugly. He would say, 'Hau! How ugly this fellow is! Take him away.' He would then be killed even though he had done nothing.

That man used to play around with people. A man would be killed though he had done nothing, though he had neither practised witchcraft, committed adultery, nor stolen.

Tshaka would give the order²⁶ permitting girls to go as they liked to their lovers. Even if a girl stayed six days with her lover it was all right. It was not an offence to Tshaka; it was good. What was an offence was if a man spoiled that girl. For she belonged to the king in her regiment, as did the youth. He would now be spoiling a member of a regiment. They would die; they would be killed.

Baleka is quite sure about Tshaka having juba'd the girls as stated. She says her father when living at Mpapala remembered Zulu girls coming up there in large numbers to their lovers, and having amadumbe²⁷ cooked for them.

Sonyangwe was my husband, of the Tusi tribe. His father was Nombanga; I have already given his praises. His chief was Luntshungu; he is dead. He was of the Indhlondhlo regiment. I am of Tiyane²⁸ age. During the Zulu War I had my first child -

a girl.

Nandi was dark-skinned, big, and strongly built. I do not know her praises.

.... <Baleka's praises omitted - eds.>

- 45 The house of Ntombazi,²⁹ by reference to which Tshaka praised one of his warriors. It was said that no one could enter the house. If a person did so, tears came from his eyes. Articles of brass, rings of all sizes, shone dazzlingly. Castor-oil bushes grew at the back of the hut. Human heads were hung on pegs at the back. It was there that Zwide used to purify himself.

Dhlungwana³⁰ burnt down the hut. He cried, 'I burnt down the house of Ntombazi. It was said that no one went into Ntombazi's. If a man went in, tears poured from his eyes, for it was full of brass and beads and neck rings and finger rings.' While his warrior performed a war dance he praised him with the words, 'The house of Ntombazi burnt down.' (Repeated several times whilst he is performing the dance.) Then those became the praises of the warrior.³¹ I do not know the name of the warrior.

Notes

¹This list of Baleka's forebears is given in a marginal note.

²The verb *ukubaleka*, from which Baleka's name was derived, means 'to run away'.

³In the original Zulu it is not clear whether or not Shaka's position was that of supreme commander.

⁴i.e. north of the Thukela.

⁵Formed c.1818; age-group born c.1798.

⁶Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 604, gives 'Balule' (Bhalule) as the 'malarious bushveld' of the Olifants river; Gibson, *Story of the Zulus*, p. 26, gives it as the Limpopo. There is a village named Balule in Mozambique near the confluence of the Olifants and Limpopo rivers, and a rest camp of the same name on the Olifants river in the Kruger National Park.

⁷The verb used in the original, *ukweqa*, literally means 'to leap over'. It may imply that Dingane actually leapt over Shaka's body in order to derive from it the properties of chieftainship. See N.J. van Warmelo, ed., *History of Mantiwane*, pp. 19n, 105n.

⁸The *umdlebe* is a tree of the euphorbia family. The scent of the flowers was believed by the Zulu to cause death.

⁹i.e. the Intervener.

¹⁰In *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, p. 50, Holden names Mhlangana and Mphhezulu as two of the three spies sent out by Dingane prior to his attack on the Bhaca in 1833. Holden states that after the campaign had ended in disaster two of the spies had their eyes taken out for making false reports. H.F. Fynn, referring to the same event, states that the leader of the spies had his eyes taken out, while the other two were killed (The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 226). Mantshongwe, the third man named by Baleka, is described by Fynn as a chief who had his eyes taken out by Shaka as a punishment for

practising witchcraft (ibid., p.29). It would seem that in the account recorded by Stuart, Baleka was confusing two separate events.

¹¹One of Shaka's principal *izinduna*.

¹²The original has, '*Ni yo ba bona ngoku tanda kakul' umlilo*'. We have attributed to *umlilo*, which literally means 'fire', the metaphorical connotation of quarrelling.

¹³Henry Francis Fynn.

¹⁴H.F. Fynn, junior, the son of Mbuyazi.

¹⁵Repetition omitted.

¹⁶*Izulu e li pezulu* in the original - a play on the word *izulu* (the heavens), meaning that it had been done by Shaka.

¹⁷Mabulane (Ramaphulana) and Mpepu (Mphephu) were Venda chiefs. Their relationship was in fact that of grandfather and grandson.

¹⁸The Chenyane was a regiment of girls formed c.1823, and the Ngcosho a girls' regiment formed c.1852. There would thus have been an age difference of some 30 years between the two wives.

¹⁹Or Buffalo river.

²⁰The word in the original is *mpakati* (*umphakathi*). Bryant's Zulu-English Dictionary and the more recent dictionary of Doke and Vilakazi give *umphakathi* as a collective noun for the common people. According to Colenso's Dictionary, it may also refer to men, not specially distinguished, but 'above the ordinary, common people', and therefore 'noticed by the chief and indunas'.

²¹The comments contained in these and the previous parentheses appear in the original as a single marginal note.

²²See also Bryant's genealogy and comments, *Olden Times*, pp. 125-6.

²³Though the implications of this passage are not wholly clear, it suggests the granting of an individual exemption, in the case of an only son, from the normally strict rules under which celibacy was imposed on all members of a regiment until permission to marry had been granted to it by the king.

²⁴The meaning in the original is obscure. The informant's father, Mpitikazi, could be referring either to his own or to Shaka's descent from Mfunda. We have chosen the latter interpretation. Contrary to the statement contained in this passage, and to Baleka's statement about Mfunda made under date 16.7.1919, the genealogy given to Stuart by Baleka shows Mfunda, not as the grandmother, but as the great-grandmother of Shaka and Mpitikazi. Mfunda's expectation that Shaka would kill her may be explained in terms of his well-attested hatred of his mother's Langeni people. It appears from Ngidi's note to Baleka's genealogy that Mfunda was a Qwabe who had married in the Langeni chiefly house.

²⁵This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal note.

²⁶The verb used in the original, *ukujoba*, is often used in the sense of 'giving the order permitting the age-regiments to marry'.

²⁷A species of edible tuber.

²⁸The Thiyane was an age-regiment formed by Cetshwayo in 1877 of girls born c.1858-64.

²⁹Mother of Zwide, the Ndwandwe chief.

³⁰A well-known praise-name for Shaka.

³¹The sense of this passage seems to be that Shaka bestowed praises on one of his warriors by reference to a notable event in his own career.

BALENI KA MLALAZIKO

28.6.1918

File 57, nbk. 4, p.3.

Also present: Mpatesita

Baleni ka Mlalaziko ka Bamba ka Mbengi ka Ngobe ka Bebe ka Mabulu ka Yengwayo ka Jiji of the Langeni.

[This man proved to be a very unsatisfactory informant.]

I am of the Indhlondhlo regiment. *I am of the age group that follows* the Tlwana regiment.¹ I was born about the time that Piet Retief was killed at Mgungundhlovu. When Dingana died I was three or four years old. My mother was from the Ngcobo tribe, and related to Socwatsha.²

Tshaka was Senzangakona's son. Nandi *was younger than* Makedama. Nandi was a daughter of Mgabi ka Ngobe.³

Mpatesita says Tshaka directed that women, when out working in their own gardens, were not to sit down to snuff, or even to ask for snuff from one another. If they wanted to snuff they were to go home. They were to remain standing about working the whole time they were away from home. They were not to rest by sitting down. Mpatesita says he has frequently heard this on best authority. Tshaka wanted them to be industrious. Baleni has also heard of this order.

I used to be Mpande's *inceku* for looking after his gun. It was a double-barrelled muzzle-loader. I used to live at Nodwengu. I was in the Ndondakusuka battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. I was also at Ondini when Zibebu attacked and defeated Cetshwayo, killing many important men. I got away with three others on horse-back.⁴

Notes

¹The Thulwana was formed c.1854 and the Ndondlo c.1857. Baleni would thus have been born c.1837.

²Socwatsha (Socwasha) was one of Stuart's principal informants.

³See the genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 126, where a different set of relationships is indicated.

⁴Ndondakusuka was fought in 1856, Ondini in 1883.

BALENI KA SILWANA

10.5.1914. Sunday.

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 1-22.

Also present: Mangqayi ka Mhanqwa of the Mpungose.

- 1 Baleni ka Silwana ka Ndhlovu ka Kuba ka Mnukwa ka Mpungose.¹ I am of the Mpungose tribe. I am of the Dhloko² regiment. I was born after Dingana had begun to fight with the Boers; I was born in Dingana's reign. I was born at the White Umfolozi in the Mahlaba-tini valley. My father was of the Siklebe³ regiment, i.e. of those who *defeated the Ndwandwe*. He died *in the struggle between Dingana and Mpande*. He was killed in battle at Maqongqo.⁴ I was a small boy when he died. I know about him. I do not know about Ndhlovu, my grandfather, except that *he was light-skinned*. I grew up near the Mfule river at Mtonjaneni.

I *kleza'd* at Ndabakawombe, one of Mpande's kraals. This kraal was at Mahlalatini and on the Mfolozi, i.e. on the north bank. Ndabakawombe kraal was lower down the White Mfolozi than Nodwengu and nearer Mlambongwenya.

- I heard most of my history from Siyongo *of the Kanyile people*. Siyongo was of the Sipezi⁵ regiment. My mother was of the Cenyane class,⁶ *living in the household at Nobamba*. My father had many children. The chief one was Gaozi, father of the present chief Mbango. Mbango is quite well. He says *'father' to me*. Gaozi was of the Ndabakawombe regiment. Mbango is of the Uve regiment.

Tshaka's father was Senzangakona ka Jama ka Bayeni ka Punga ka Mageba. I cannot give more. I am quite sure Bayeni was Ndaba's father. Nandi was buried at Mateku, Eshowe district. Tshaka was *dark brown*, not very *light*.

.... <Praises of Shaka omitted - eds.>

- 3 When among the Langeni, Tshaka was given *a milking cow which gored people*. Upon this he *stabbed* those who had given it to him. He then *left* and went to the Mtetwa. When he got there his father Senzangakona died. He then *left with high-ranking men of the Mtetwa who took him to Mahlalatini*. He accordingly went and *ruled at Mahlalatini*. He *entered upon his patrimony and became chief*.

After this Zwide *attacked* the Qwabe. The Qwabe *impi was routed*. The king was killed by *fear*. Tshaka said the Qwabe people were to be killed *because they liked stirring up strife*.⁷ After

the Qwabe had been broken up, the Ndwandwe impi took up arms and went against Mbelebeleni in the Zulu country. The amaPela regiment of Zwide went against Mbelebeleni. The Ndwandwe defeated the Mbelebele.⁸ Tshaka said, 'O! As they are so strong, let the food have skins put over it and be covered over with earth,' (to give the impression that there was no food),⁹ so that the Ndwandwe should starve and there should be a famine.

4 The Ndwandwe impi took up arms and came against the Zulu. Tshaka said that his army should clear the countryside and lure them on. Tshaka's impi left Nobamba and Siklebeni, then crossed the Umfolozi and came south, went up Mtonjaneni, crossed the Mhlatauze high up, and went past Mpandhleni, and on to the top of Nkandhla; it went round down to the Mvuzane. Tshaka was with it. He never stayed at home on such occasions. He had on his girdle of mongoose tails. Genet tails were not yet used.

After this his impi went down to the Mhlatauze. The Ndwandwe appeared on the Nkandhla heights, following in the track of Tshaka's impi. When he got to Nomveve, Tshaka hid his impi. In the afternoon the armies made contact through their spies. He unleashed his warriors. At dawn the next day he set them on with the Siklebe regiment in front. He was sitting close by, looking on. He was looking on at his warriors stabbing the men. He said, 'Stop throwing your assegais. Stab them at close quarters. Use only one assegai.' His impi defeated them and drove them up into the hills
5 at the Mhlatauze. That was the day when his army finally defeated them.

On coming back from this campaign, he came to Bulawayo and said that the cowards should be picked out. (There is a bush there where cowards were picked out and stabbed under the arm.) The cowards were thereupon separated off. After this their left arms were held up and they were stabbed under the armpits like goats, Tshaka saying, 'Let them feel the assegai!' They were then stabbed. These men would then be killed as if they were cattle. Those killed were those who had used their assegais for throwing. For having done that they were accused of being cowards, i.e. afraid of coming to close quarters.

When Tshaka decoyed Zwide as stated, he did not cross the Tugela. Tshaka came down by the Nhlababo or Dhlabe ridge and the Mvuzane stream, after coming down the Gcongco. Nomveve is the name of a ridge leading from Entumeni towards the Mhlatauze. That is where the battle took place.

6 The (saying, 'kisi fighting' originated among the Cunu. The Cunu people fought with my grandfather Ndhlovu's people. They threw assegais at one another as if they were boys. Such a manner of fighting was said to be that of 'kisi', for as one was about to fling his assegai he would shout, 'Kisi!' at his foe, and so the foes shouted at their assailants. 'Kisi' was a saying. 'We shall fight this afternoon and tomorrow', i.e. the two parties agreed in that leisurely style. After fighting, they would both go off and eat and then return and resume operations. I don't know how the word arose.

It was Tshaka who forced all the less significant peoples¹⁰

BALENI ka SILWANA

to submit. His father Senzangakona did not do so. After conquering them, he caused them to fight for him.

- If, when a battle was on, Tshaka happened to catch sight of a shield in the midst of the fray, he would ask whose shield it was he had seen. This would then be evidence of the fact that the man was a hero, upon which he would be given a number of cattle. The king would see from the shield turning that *he was fighting with a man of the other side.*

The great warriors in Zululand were very numerous. Among them were Nomfihlela, Vukuza, Nomnanzi, Silevana, Mahanqwa. Outside,¹¹ Mcengeni, Jaja, Ngonela, Ngalo, Jubane, Siyunguza, Mafolokohlo, Mabanikazi, Sikunyana, Sibindi, Nzwakumbana, Mhlahlo, and Ngongoma were among the warriors of the Mpungose tribe. Mapita, Mkanyile, Ntshingwayo ka Marole, Vumandaba, Dazukile, Tshoko, Diyikana and Nkabana were among Tshaka's great warriors.

At the Ngome, when Beje and his people were attacked by the Zulus, my uncle Nomnanzi entered Beje's stronghold after the whole of the Zulu had attempted and failed. He, however, entered and succeeded in killing two men. Tshaka's impi entered the stronghold on the following day and saw the men dead.

- My grandfather Ndhlovu secured victory against the Cunus. He was fighting for Tshaka. Ndhlovu was of the Nobamba regiment, i.e. one of the very first regiments (Senzangakona's). The impi (Cunu) had set a trap for them and had defeated Tshaka's men, when Ndhlovu succeeded in killing three Cunus. What happened was this. The Cunus first repulsed the Zulus on one day, but on another day or the next day, Ndhlovu, being with the Zulus, killed three of them, and the Cunus were defeated. This happened at Taleni.

Ndhlovu was in the habit of going out alone to fight. He would be stabbed in all directions but he would return with a number of cattle he had succeeded in capturing.

- My father Silwana began the fight at Maqongqo. Mvundhlana ka Menziwa of the Biyela people led the attack against the Ndwandwe. Magidi ka Menziwa of the Biyela tribe also led in the attack on the Ndwandwe. The same is true of Myakayaka ka Ndosi of the Mahayi people, of Ndosi ka Nondumo of the Nzuza people, of Mpezeni ka Gala of the Biyela, and of Manqondo ka Mazwana of the Magwaza tribe, who started the attack at Nomveve in the action with the Ndwandwe. Sikunyana ka Becwa of the Sikakana tribe opened the battle in the Swazi country when Mpande attacked there. I was present on the last-named occasion. The Swazis were observed by one company of Zulus driving a number of cattle. The Swazis had three companies. Nkunga ka Sitayi (Mbopa's brother) was a leader in the attack at Nomveve. Nkunga was of the Sipezi regiment. Kayisa ka Kleza (father of Dubuyana) began the battle at Maqongqo with Dingana.

- All these men were acknowledged to have led the fighting after the plan of battle had been discussed in the ordinary way. Nongena ka Nengogo of the Nzuza people was in the vanguard at Maqongqo against Dingana. Zulu ka Nongandaya of the Izimpohlo regiment also led at Maqongqo and at Nomveve.

Mandhlangampisi, Putile and others were made to submit by Tshaka.

Tshaka used to be liberal in giving food. He would not allow anyone to speak of himself to another (mention his name). He would say, 'What did you want to mention my name to another behind my back for?'

He would not allow a man to put a feather into his ear and turn it round and round. The person who had done so would be asked what he meant by that and be killed. (The man turning the feather round in his ear would be asked, 'What is it you are imitating?'. The implication was that he likened the sensation to having sexual intercourse, and he would thereupon be put to death. It would be said of a man who used the feather thus, 'He's got something on his mind.')

- 11 Mxamama of the Sibisi people told Tshaka that *tears did not come* from the eyes of certain people when Nandi died, upon which they would be put to death. It was said, 'They are being defiant,' as no tears flowed from their eyes.

We used to say Tshaka was the *king* for he did not kill his father's sons. Dingana was a bad king for he killed his own relations. Mpande escaped Dingana as it was said, 'He is a *little fool*.' Dingana killed off all the others.

Tshaka did however kill those of the Mtetwa tribe who had *bullied* him whilst he was a young man. Tshaka also killed those who, at his mother's kraal among the Langeni, gave him a *cow that gored*. I know Tshaka also complained of *curdled milk* having been given into his hands (to be held) there until warm. Tshaka was wrong in killing off those who had *bullied* him, as he said, in his young days. They had done him no harm. It was not sufficient to kill his relatives because of their giving him *curdled milk* to get hot in his hands.

- 12 These are the characteristics of the Zulu tribe - they are of an angry, vindictive disposition.

Is there a *chief* that says, 'The birds are hungry', and then has people killed for them? This was done by Dingane, not Tshaka. Dingane did it at Kwa Matiwane.¹² When a man was seriously ill Dingana said, 'He is afflicted; go and finish him off.'

Tshaka caused people to be killed to see if the *Tatiyana donga* would not fill. This donga is near Dinuzulu's Usutu kraal. In that part of the country there was Gqikazi, Mpande's kraal, and Mbelebele. It was portion of a regiment that was killed and pitched into the donga. People of course *konza'd* at these two *military kraals* and so were numerous enough for Tshaka to make the foregoing experiment. Those killed were not members of any particular tribe but a mixed lot of people.

- 13 Even *warriors* were killed by Tshaka. For when (a man) had repeatedly been given presents of cattle and these had multiplied, people would come and say he had enormous herds and accuse him of overshadowing the king. Upon this he would be accused of being an *umtakati* and then be put to death and his stock seized.

The Mgungundhlovu kraal was first built at the Vuna and was close to the Gqikazi and Mbelebele *military kraals*. It was then close to the *Tatiyana donga*, but later Mgungundhlovu was built at the Mkumbane and so was far off.

Mbelebele was built on the north bank of the Vuna and under

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the Ingwegwe hill. Mgungundhlovu was below the road and on the south bank of the Vuna - this in Dingana's day.¹³

- 14 Rev. Owen's homestead was at the upper end of the Matiwane ridge and on the east side of Mgungundhlovu, but was not so high up as to be opposite the *isigodhlo*. [That is probably where Gardiner drew the kraal from.]

.... <Heads of topics discussed below omitted - eds.>

Names of Tshaka's kraals¹⁴

Bulawayo (Gibixegu) - Tshaka's own kraal
Mbelebele - Tshaka's own kraal
Kangela - Tshaka's own kraal
Dukuza ka Nombalo - Tshaka's own kraal
Siklebeni - Senzangakona's
Sipezi - Senzangakona's
Nobamba - that is the *kraal where the nation was born*,
Senzangakona's great kraal
(Ndabenkulu and Njanduna were names of regiments.)
eBaqulusini - Mnkabayi's kraal
uMkandhlu - one of Tshaka's kraals
uMgumanqa - one of Tshaka's kraals
Intontela - one of Tshaka's kraals
uMlambongwenya (uMahambehlala) - this was Senzangakona's
kraal. This kraal *separated off from Siklebeni*. Songiya
(Mpande's mother) was 'chiefess' of the kraal.
eZembeni - Langazana's kraal
eNkonjeni - Langazana's kraal
eNdhlwayini - Langazana's kraal
eNtoleleni - Langazana's kraal

15 List of regiments¹⁵

uNobamba
uSiklebe
iSipezi
uMbonambi
amaWombe
iNtontela
uMbelebele
uBekenya - *incorporated into the Izinyosi*
uMkandhlu
uBulawayo
uKangela
Izinyosi (Ingcobinga)
Dhlambedhlu
Imkulutshane - *the great one*
Ndabakadengizibona (Imkulutshane)¹⁶
Ihlaba
Ndabakawombe (uKokoti)
Dhlambedhlu (Ingwegwe) - *formed by Mpande*
Izingulube
Isangqu (amaTshitshi)
Amapela - *incorporated into the Sangqu, Nobamba,*
Ndabakawombe and Mbelebele
Inkonkoni

Ndhlonhlo
 uDhloko
 uMxapo (Dududu)
 uMbonambi
 Nokenke
 uMcijo (Kandempemvu)
 iNgobamakosi
 uVe
 uFalaza
 iMbokodwebomvu
 [Per Gezindaka ka Nomaqongqoto, 2.1.1908:¹⁷
 Felapakati
 Dakwa (Dakwaukusuta)
 Cijimpi (Ntabingenaliba or Mavalana)
 Vukaibambe
 Ingobolwane - only *mat-bearers*]
 uHayelwengwenya
 uDakwaukwesuta

- 16 The house of Mpungose *originated* at Nhlazatshe. My mother married my father when living *within the Nobamba kraal*. Our *inkosana* was Mbokojwana, and he was at Nhlazatshe. One kraal, the Qwata, *separated from Mbokojwana* whilst (he was, at Nhlazatshe. This Qwata kraal was built at the Mfule. Silwane's *separated* from the Qwata kraal. Kuba *fathered* two men and one girl. When the Qwata kraal was at the Mfule, my father's *separated* and Sinuku's *separated*, i.e. Sinuku ka Tetemana ka Kuba. The girl, Ncita by name, *married a Zulu man*, viz. Nceni ka Nomanamatela.

Kula died after his *inkosana* Sinuku was born. Ndhlovu had eight sons and six girls. The sons were Silwana, Mfihlela, Vukuza, Nomnanzi, Nkwali, Boya, Msutu and Dwabiyana (of the Nkonkoni regiment).

The name Mpungose was the name of an ancestor of ours. The tribe we sprang from is that of Zungu, but we are very intimately associated with the Zulu tribe as the following story will tell.

- 17 In Senzangakona's day, there was fighting, as there was always fighting among the tribes, the cause of it being dispute to heirship. The faction fighting against Senzangakona succeeded in putting his lot to flight. So suddenly were they driven out of the Nobamba kraal that Senzangakona's daughter was left behind there. My ancestor Kuba happened to go to Nobamba and, discovering the infant there, carried it away from danger and brought it to Senzangakona. So delighted was Senzangakona with this highly friendly act that he said, '*You are of our people, truly one with us.*' Upon this a real and lasting alliance was cemented between the Mpungose and the Zulu tribe which has lasted to the present day.

Mkasana ka Jama is the one who was fighting with Senzangakona over the succession. After Kuba rescued the girl, he threw in his lot with Senzangakona and, with the assistance of Ndhlovu (my ancestor), succeeded in defeating Mkasana and putting him to death. This happened at the Sihlungo near Babanango. The Sihlungo is a hill.

- 18 Kuba had a kraal quite near Nobamba. He *konza'd* Senzangakona. At that time Senzangakona had no followers. Senzangakona

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decided to fight the amaCunu, so he *directed* Kuba to get a *force* together, including his son Ndhlovu, and go and *subjugate* them. Ndhlovu went and defeated the Cunu, upon which he was given a tract of country at Taleni. He was also given the people who were living there. After this, Senzangakona *attacked* Xabatshe of the Xulu people. Ndhlovu again joined in this attack. Xabatshe was defeated, upon which Ndhlovu was given the territory and people that had belonged to the deceased. After this, Senzangakona died; so also did Ndhlovu.

When Tshaka became king my father fought for him. It was the capacity of the Mpungose people to get angry in wartime that caused so deep an alliance to spring up between them and the Zulus. By 'angry in war' I mean so staunch, brave and absolutely true to the Zulus.

- 19 It was the Mkasana affair that began those just enumerated. The child of Senzangakona that was saved by Kuba had just become able to walk, though still an infant (*beginning to toddle*). I do not know her name. She was not Senzangakona's first child. I do not know her mother.

After Mkasana turned Senzangakona from Nobamba, it was expected by Kuba and others living near that Mkasana's *force* would come to Nobamba, but they did not. It was then that Kuba went to the kraal and, hearing the child crying, *put it on his back*, and took it to Senzangakona who had *run away to the Pate*, below Mtonjaneni. It was in consequence of this act that the Zulus declared that the Mpungose were one and the same with the Zulus, 'for you have joined an alliance with us. You are henceforth one of ourselves.' The child was not found in a hut but *in the yard* of the kraal.

Baleni says: I was so called because my mother bore me not in a hut but outside. She simply sat down and I was born where she was - *ebaleni*.¹⁸ Hence my name.

- 20 Senzangakona's children¹⁹

Sons:

Ndunge - killed by Dingana
Mhlangana - killed by Dingana
Dingana
Tshaka - killed by Dingana
Mpande
Nzibe - died during Sotshangana expedition
Gqugqu - killed by Dingana
Sigujana (Mfokazi)
and others

Daughters:

Ziwelile - *married* Jobe, Matshana's grandfather
Nomange - *married* Mlandela of the Mtetwa
Ntikili - *married among the Mtetwa*. [Mangati says she married Mayanda, father of Somkele.]
Nomcoba - *married* Siyezana ka Tshangane ka Mbiya of the Mtetwa
Matenjwase - *married among the Mtetwa*
Sikaka - *married* Diyikana ka Hlakanyana of the Mbata people

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Nomzinhlanga - married in the Mtetwa tribe
Mtembazi - married a man of Masipula's people in the Mgazini tribe
Maqukazi - married among the Mtetwa
Mantongela - married Njakaisuke ka Sokufoca of the Butelezi
Zayi - married Nhlaka ka Madikane of the Mdhlalose and others

- 21 Senzangakona's wives
 Langazana ka Gubetshe of the Sibiya people [not of the Nzimela as Bryant says] - mother of Gqugqu
 Songiya ka Ngotsha [Mangoya, at Hlabisa, says 'Mponswa', but Baleni insists it is 'Ngotsha'] of the Hlabisa people - mother of Mpande
 Mpikase ka Mlilela of the Maqungebeni - mother of Dingana
 Nozibuku of the Nxumalo of the Ndwandwe - mother of Nzibe. [Hoye says, 16.9.1921, Nzibe was the younger 'own brother' of Mpande, and therefore his mother was Songiya. Nozibuku was the mother of Hamu and therefore Mpande's wife. Mkebeni agrees.]
 Nandi - mother of Tshaka
 Ngcaka ka Mncinci - don't know her *clan-name*
 Magulana ka Ntshongolo of the Qwabe
 Bibi ka Nkobe (Sompisi) of the Ntuli
 and others [See p.35* of Bryant's Dictionary.]

I do not know of Fudukazi, except as the wife of Mpande.
Mzondwase I do not know of. [See Bryant, p. 36*.] I do not know who Sigujana's mother was.

[Mnkabi ka Sodubo of the Nzuza was another of Senzangakona's wives, according to Mkungu. See my talk with that chief on 7.1.1914. Baleni, however, cannot call the name to mind.]

I know that *brass*²⁰ *neck rings* were worn at the royal kraal. On one occasion one of Tshaka's wives died of the effects of wearing them. She *developed a sore on her neck*. Water was always applied, for the metal burned a hole in the throat. Because of this death, Tshaka got together some of the *neck rings* that were being worn and had them buried near a small stream that flows into the Mandawe. This incident took place at the Kangela kraal. *Brass arm bands* were also thrown away.

After the *neck rings* were thrown away, others were *manufactured* afresh later on and worn, being looked on as ornaments.

I remember seeing the *arm bands and neck rings* in the hole or place into which they were thrown near Kangela.

- 22 Per Mangqayi: There was a locality near Kangela, and indeed all other *military kraals*, known as '*the place of the weapons*', where assegais were thrown on the owners' dying. They were thrown into a place which either was or became a *thicket*. The idea was not to bury them with the owner as by so doing the *departed spirits* would or might use them for *stabbing* the living. A complaint, for instance, having its seat just below the ribs, was said to be owing to *one of the spirits* having got such an assegai. Hence assegais were thrown away. Boys used to get some of these and

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use them after burnishing them.

Baleni continues: It was into such a place that the *arm bands and neck rings* were cast by Tshaka. There were not many pieces thrown away. These ornaments were worn in Dingana's and Mpande's reigns.

(All *neck rings burnt*; those thrown away were not discarded because they were made of any particular metal, but simply because they burnt.)²¹

I know of no *neck rings* that were thrown away at Bulawayo.

12.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 23-37.

Also present: Mangqayi

- 23 *Umdaka* was the metal of which *ingwota*²² was made. *Umnaka* was the completed article for wearing round the neck. The *umdaka* was the metal in its rough form, i.e. long pieces, brought from Tongaland. It was carried up in large quantities by the *Tonga*.²³ I saw the *umdaka* at Siklebeni and at Nodwengu, where the copper work used to go on. I heard the hammering, '*Nke! Nke! Nke!*' Masoko ka Mangelo of the Masuku people was the great coppersmith. He made *ingwota* and *umnaka*. They used to be rewarded with cattle for their pains. They did their work outside the kraal, but near the *isigodhlo* (i.e. upper side of kraal), and *there* at Mapotweni. The Mapotweni kraal, of seven huts, was just outside Nodwengu. It was there the *amakosikazi* used to stay, and at night come and sleep in the *isigodhlo*.

- 24 Cetshwayo's great kraal was Ondini. (Cetshwayo had small kraals, like Mapotweni, outside and above his main kraals. That at Qwageni was called Zinhlendhleni.) There was another called Zinkimbini at Ondini; another was Nketa at Babangibone; another was Maqeleni at Ndasi; another was Madonovaneni at Buseni. These small kraals were attached to Cetshwayo's kraals. The women *bore their children* at these kraals. Cattle were also milked there. The cattle *for milking stood there*. The king used to go there on short visits. In these kraals *the king's grain was stored in the ground*. There were either one or two of these kraals. I do not know the names of those of Tshaka. I know that Dingana's at Mgungundhlovu was called Beje. I do not know of more than two of these kraals being attached to any single royal kraal. Gates opened out towards these kraals from the *isigodhlo*.

The kraal of this kind attached to Mlambongwenya kraal was Vemvaneni. Mlambongwenya was Mpande's kraal then, though originally built by Senzangakona. Attached to Bulawayo kraal was the Cele kraal, i.e. Tshaka's private quarters. Attached to Zwangendaba (Mpande's kraal) was Mkovini kraal, i.e. the small one. At Ndabakawombe was Sihlaveni, *the kraal of the king's grain*.

- 25 I, Baleni, was both an *induna* and an *inceku* to Mpande. I was an *induna* in Cetshwayo's day. In Mpande's day I was an *induna* of the *Dhloko regiment*. The big *induna* was Ndungundungu ka Nokokela of the Zulu. I was next in command. There were also Fokoti ka Mapita,

and Fokoti ka Mgulugulu of the Magwaza people, and Fokoti ka Siwangu of the Mtetwa.

- Other *indunas* of the Dhloko: Tshemane ka Ngwadhlá; Hoyo ka Mqundane; Mbonambi ka Didi of the Biyela; Bantubensumo ka Klwana of the Butelezi; Magwala ka Mqundane of the Zulu; Makubalo ka Nhliziyo of the Mbata; Manqandela ka Nkabana of the Zulu; Fokoti ka Dhlegebene of the Sibiya; Madhlodhlongwane ka Jaja of the Dhludhla; Nhlanganiso ka Nyokana of the Dhludhla; Mbúne ka Somapunga of the Ndwandwe; Mswazi ka Ntokontoko of the Zulu; Mahlapahlapa ka Nombobo of the Mancwabe; Tshovu ka Magula of the Xulu; Tshemane ka Nyati of the Mgazi; Nhlokotshane ka Ntshiba of the Qwabe; Sidubele ka Makedama of the Ntombela; Hoyo ka Madwala of the Tembu; Balisa ka Mqundane of the Zulu; Mlamba ka Ntanta of the Zulu; Marwanqa ka Nkayitshana of the Ntshali; Fada ka Mapita of the Mandhlakazi; Zibebu ka Mapita of the Mandhlakazi (of the Mxapo regiment, but he was promoted to be *induna* of the Dhloko regiment and then *tunga'd*).

- I was an *inceku* responsible for milking for the king, at Nodwengu. I used to fill the milking-vessel twice only; the cows would then be allowed to go and be milked by the boys. There was never a third bucketful taken. The pail had a cover of wood made for it, ornamented with different colours. If there was a storm imminent there was no milking. The reason was lest lightning should strike the pail. It was feared that the lightning would get into it. Cattle were milked about breakfast time. I used to take the milk right into the *isigodhlo*, to the royal hut used by the girls where meat, the king's food, beer, and milk vessels were kept. There were two small milk vessels. These were about eight inches high, and always filled. I used to drain off the whey, but not drink. I did not drink because I belonged to the army. If I drank I would be debarred from fighting. The king allowed us, the *izinceku*, cattle whose milk we put into our own vessels. Of that whey we drank, and of the curds. It was only the whey of the king's vessels that prevented our going to war.

- Those who were charged with the duty of washing the king were given beer and meat after the king had taken what he wanted; i.e. they would be given as it were from the royal table, but we other *izinceku* might not have such food, as to partake thereof would prevent our taking part in war. There were many who washed the king. There was a company of them, just as there was a company of those, like me, who milked and fetched water, and another company of men *incekus* who skinned slaughtered beasts and attended the king in the men's assembly.

Mpande's great *izinceku* were Vumandaba ka Nteti of the Biyela, Mfinyeli ka Nguzalele of the Xulu, Mzwakali ka Sicazana of the Mtinkulu, Pakatwayo ka Sogodi of the Kanyile, Mvunyelwa ka ...?...<sic> of the Dhladhla, Sijulana ka Mcikwana of the Butelezi, Mzilikazi ka Ngqengelele of the Butelezi, Magamudele ka Klwana of the Butelezi, Nomnombela ka Mfaba of the Dunge, Dazukile ka Dhlakadhla of the Sibiya, and many others.

Mpande's doctors: Dibanto ka Mdhluli of the Makubalo; Becwa ka Matshoni of the Sikakana; Ntuto ka Vumbi of the Sikakana;

29 Nondo ka Mrotshane of the Sikakana; Jiyane ka Mqalana of the Butelezi; Ntuku ka Nondumo of the Nzuza; Manyelindhlela ka Kondhlo of the Mazibuko; Manembe ka ...?... <sic> of the Dumisa; Mqedi ka ...?... <sic> of the Nkwanyane; Magonondo ka Kondhlo of the Mazibuko; and many others.

The big doctors were Dibanto, Becwa, Jiyane, and Manyelindhlela. These were the ones who *carried the calabash*.²⁴ (They were used) for *doctoring the army* and also the *king himself*.²⁵ These and the foregoing were all doctors who *treated with medicine*.

Mpande's *izangoma*: Mpezulu ka Ntshona of the Magwaza; Nongwaleni ka Msindo of the Gabela; Siyotwana ka ...?... <sic> of the Masuku; Juba ka Mkulutshana of the Gabela; Puzi ka Mahawana of the Mpungose; Nondhlovu ka Nodhla of the Vilakazi; and many others.

30 Mpezulu was the smartest and most famous of the foregoing. He was the one who, after other witchdoctors had been at work and failed, would come and at once ascertain the truth and come to a decision.

I remember a *smelling-out* being held at Nodwengu. All the *izangoma* were called. Madhlodhlongwane ka Jaja of the Dhludhla was ill. All doctors came and *bula'd*, but Mpezulu excelled them all because he found out the truth of the matter. Mpezulu contradicted the other doctors who were smelling out different people. Mpezulu said, '*They speak falsely; those of the house are alone harming one another; they are contesting the patrimony*' (i.e. the sons who aspire to the succession). This indeed was the case. The person above mentioned then got (well),²⁶ for he was not being killed by *abatakati* as asserted by the other doctors. It was simply a *dispute*, for the one who was asserting his claims provoked Madhlodhlongwane and so caused his illness. Hebe was the one who was asserting these
31 claims. This man was not killed; he is still living, and is of the Tulwana regiment. Mpande would not have killed any of those who had been *smelt out*. All *escaped death*. Madhlodhlongwane got well almost at once. Hebe was a *favourite*²⁷ of Cetshwayo. Mpande did not have him killed, as he, Mpande, was afraid of Cetshwayo. This happened shortly before Mpande's death (say in 1871).

I was present at the *smelling-out*. Our regiment was there; so was the Tulwana regiment. We had gone to *provide a hearing*. A circle was formed, the doctors being *consulted* being in the centre. The *smelling-out* was held on a hill. Doctors were called one by one. Siyotwana, Juba, Msindo, were each called separately. One doctor entered at a time. He would strut about, *sniffing out* with his nose. He would then call on them to *strike and bula*. They would *strike the ground with short, heavy sticks*, and dust would
32 rise. He (the doctor) has his *assegaïs* and is standing. He says, '*Tshayani!*' and they respond, '*Izwa!*'²⁸ And as soon as he *smells out* the person, he leaves the circle in a hurry and *runs away*. Then the other doctors come. One doctor is quick in coming to a decision. Another may be cleared out; it is said that he is *talking nonsense*. He then leaves without coming to a decision. When one comes to a hot point, people shout out, '*Izwa!*' very loudly, for then he has got to the truth. Another doctor is in the circle a long time before deciding. Sometimes two doctors entered the circle at a time, and *bula'd* as separately as possible there. But sometimes a doctor refused to go in with another. This

putting of two in at a time was done if there were many doctors.

33 When a *smelling-out* was coming on, the doctors would be summoned at great distances. On their way to the royal kraal they would *slaughter* a beast wherever they slept, of so great importance were they.

The doctor who *smelt out* and ran away would be afraid of being stabbed by the person he had *smelt out*, who might of course be in the assembly.

The *smelling-out* was held about 1 p.m. and would go on till sunset. The king would not be present, but at home. He sent us *izinceku* to listen and report as to where the *izinyanga pointed*, i.e. to which of the regiments that were present at the *bulaing*.

Mtonga's mother was Nomantshali ka Zigulana of the Ntuli. [Illustration of Nomantshali in Colenso, *First Steps of the Zulu Mission*, p. 115.] Her father lived at *Mgabi's kraal*, where Mabinati's son Matendeka lives. Mgabi was *chief of the Langeni*. Nomantshali was very beautiful, yellowish in colour, tall. She was Mpande's *favourite wife*. She used to live at Nodwengu. Nomantshali poisoned the mother of Cetshwayo, Ngqumbazi ka Mbonde ka Tshana of the Zungu. She caused a *tuft of hair* to grow over Ngqumbazi's right eye, on 34 her forehead. Nomantshali was killed by Cetshwayo along with her son Simpoiya. She was killed at Mdumezulu. A *force* was sent out. It was to kill Mtonga and Mgidhlana, but both these *escaped*. They came to Natal. They were fetched from Nqutu. They were brought back, but after a time Mtonga returned to Natal. Mgidhlana remained.

When Mtonga was at Nqutu, four men were sent to put him to death. When they got to the neighbourhood of a kraal which was near Mtonga's, a mist came on. They then shouted to ask the way to the kraal. They were presently led to it. On being asked where they were going they said, 'To Ndengezi's kraal', a little way ahead, that being the place where Mtonga was. They said they had been sent there by the king and wanted Mtonga. These people then told the four to clear out. They went off and after they had gone, warning was sent to Mtonga, who immediately escaped and fled into Natal.

Cetshwayo sent a *force* to Nomantshali. He gave Ziwedu orders to 35 send it. It went, but Mtonga escaped. The *force* killed Nomantshali and Simpoiya. After this, suspecting Mtonga had taken refuge at Nodwengu, the *force* under Mnyakanya ka Mandondo of the Xulu came in search at Nodwengu. Mpande was there. 'What is it you want, Mnyakanya?' said Mpande. 'I am searching for Mtonga,' said Mnyakanya. 'Come in and find him then.' Mpande went on to say, 'Mnyakanya, is it you who are doing this, coming to seek Mtonga from me? For you too it will not go well.' They looked, and failed to find him. Some little time afterwards Mnyakanya broke his ankle - snap! - which was regarded as having reference to what the king had said.

Nomantshali had a temper. She used to *alarm people with her rage*. Nomantshali was killed because she was the mother of Mtonga whom Mpande was appointing as his heir. Mtonga's mother was Nomantshali; Mgidhlana's (mother) was another woman of Nomantshali's house.

36 Mdumezulu was Mtonga's kraal; it had *separated* from Siklebeni. Nomantshali went to Mdumezulu with her son. Nomantshali did not

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come to Natal or to Bishop Colenso.

Mnyakanya was *induna* at Mangweni. He took with him the *impi* of that kraal. The *impi* assembled at Bazeni, under Ziwedu. The Bazeni kraal was north of the Black Umfolozi, near the Tatiyana donga. After gathering there the *impi* went to Mdumezulu.

Nomantshali was originally one of the *umdlunkulu* and had been presented to the king by her father. Mpande then married her. She was a very great favourite. (We *izinceku* used to carry meat and beer for her from Nodwengu to Mdumezulu, even though a storm was on.) And we were ordered to hide the food in baskets so that people could not see what kind of food it was. The object was that Mpande's other wives were not to see what was being sent.

37 Another sign of her being a favourite was that a special beast used to be sent to her, as well as to her son Mtonga, by Mpande. These cattle were driven, with others, by us *izinceku*. We took them along the streams etc. so as to be out of sight as much as possible. There would be only the two beasts; the other cattle were simply used for the purpose of facilitating the driving of the two. After handing over the cattle, the others were driven back.

Nomantshali wore neck rings as well as arm bands of brass. Only the king's wives wore neck rings, not all the *isigodhlo*. This would have been the case in Dingana's time too.

Dingana had no wives. He had only concubines and these were called the Beje. They had a kraal built for them on the upper side.²⁹ These girls would not have worn neck rings, as still being unmarried.

Dingana had no children. Girls who did not bear children were called *imvoko* - named after the men's regiment *Imvoko*.³⁰ Such girls were the Beje.

It was only in Cetshwayo's days that girls were made pregnant;³¹ formerly people were far too much afraid to do so.

13.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, p. 38.

Also present: Mangqayi?

38 Baleni says one of the *izinduna* that went up with Tshaka from the Mtetwa was Sandanezwe ka Mbango of the Mpanza. Tshaka's great *induna* was Mdhlaka ka Ncidi of the Kanyile of Langa. Mdhlaka had his kraal at the Nsuze. Its name was Nhlonga. Another of his kraals was Kwibi. Both these are still standing. Mdhlaka's principal son was Ndwandwe of the Ndobakawombe regiment. Ndwandwe is dead. He left sons who are still living [but Baleni does not know their names].

14.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 38-48.

Also present: Mangqayi

Nobamba is the oldest of the Zulu kraals; originally it was quite a small one, for the Zulus at first had no adherents. Ndaba, Jama, and Senzangakona all belonged to Nobamba. There are about

five sites of this kraal, all in one and the same locality. Hence it differed from other royal kraals which were often re-erected a long way off the original site. I feel certain Nobamba was originally erected by Ndaba whose father was Bayeni. I do not know the names of either Punga's or Mageba's kraals. In former days the Zulus were quite a tiny tribe. In later times the following clans sprang from it: the Gazini, the Mandhlakazi, the Mataka, the Fakazi.

The head of the Fakazi section in Senzangakona's day was Mkasana, referred to (above). They lived at Sihlungo hill near Babanango. The foregoing four sections of the Zulu tribe all came or sprang from Nobamba. The Mataka section is one to which Mkanyile and Mbopa ka Sitayi belonged, though the latter two are spoken of as Zulus. But Mataka himself was of the Gazini section of the Zulus. Mkanyile was the son of Zivalele ka Jama. Mbopa was the son of Sitayi, which was another name for Zivalele. Mataka was also a son of Zivalele. Mapita was the son of Sojiyisa ka Jama. Masipula was a member of the Gazini section, which again is related to the Biyela. *The Ntombela are one with the Gazini and Biyela.* The Ntombela people originally lived with the Zulus at Mahlabatini. (Zwana was father of Lukwazi of the Ntombela tribe.) The Biyela are also an offshoot of the Zulu tribe.

The Zulus speak of themselves as abaNguni,³² and they speak of us Mpongose as being amaNtungwa as we *originated* at Nhlazatshe along with the Zungu tribe.

I can give no idea as to where the abaNguni came from. The abaNguni do not refer to ever having descended from the north; they say they *originated* here, i.e. in Zululand. The amaNtungwa, however, descended from the north *ngesilulu*.³³

The Zulus had a characteristic of killing cattle, and people of other *communities*, seeing the meat, went to *konza* them. The Zulus *were wealthy in cattle* and so were able to kill freely. I do not know how they acquired them.

The *ikatazo*³⁴ grows in the Zulu district, but I do not know of their hawking it about anywhere. Still, they may have been 'hawkers' and so acquired the cattle referred to.

The people who came to *konza* built their huts within Nobamba originally, it being a small place. In time they *separated* and built their own kraals. This building *within* the chief's kraal took place because *there was a need for people*. This scarcity of people caused the chief to admit his followers into his own kraal and swell it.

Mpande's wives

Fudukazi ka Ngomane ka Mqomboli of the Caya people -
inkosikazi of Bulawayo, with Simunu, mother of Sukani
ka Mpande

Nobelungu ka Dingiswayo of the Mtetwa
Nomtobo ka Somangqepu of the Qwabe
Madhlamvuse ka Manqondo of the Magwaza
and others

It was Dingana who said that vultures had come to *attend the men's assembly* and must therefore be given food (i.e. corpses of human beings). He too said that a man who had been ailing for a long time must be put to death - *his illness was now making him*

suffer.

Nandi's death. I do not know the cause of death. (Mretsheni ka Mkiwane said to me, says Mangqayi, that Tshaka had himself caused the death of Nandi and insisted on others crying. They could not cry, knowing he had killed her.)

.... <Notes on a potential informant omitted - eds.>

- 42 Tshaka once said, '*Let us see how a child lies in the womb.*' This was done. The woman of course died.

Mpande's great *imbongi* was Magolwane ka Mkatini of the Jiyana people. He was killed at his kraal at Ntabankulu. He used to call out to the king, '*Weh, Mpande! Weh, Mpande! The cattle are leaving you!*', meaning by that *that there should be war*.

An *imbongi* might *bonga* at night. Or he might get up with the dawn and *bonga*, leaving off only for meals, and go on all day long till sunset. He would *bonga right at the upper end of the cattle enclosure* and close to the *isigodhlo*. The *imbongi* repeatedly *bonga'd*. And when given cattle he would *bonga* those. He would *bonga* till his voice failed.

When cows came back to be milked one of them might go on lowing persistently. This caused *warriors* on both sides of the kraal to dash into *the cattle enclosure and do a war dance at the place of assembly* (not too near the *isigodhlo*), and there they danced in great numbers. Later the king might attend and *war be discussed*.³⁵

- 43 The lowing of the cow would remind them of war. '*We fought to the death for them in that place,*' they would think. They would shout out, '*Bellow, cow of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place!*' If an ox bellowed the men might shout, '*Hear the matter! Something is going to happen.*' This would be followed by *war-dancing*, for those dancing imagine that *war will break out* somewhere. The ox has heard something. It was only when a cow or an ox bellowed persistently that *dancing* followed, not in the case of a bull.

Mabanikazi ka Ndomba of the Nseleni people was a great hero. During Mpande's reign he was with a few spies in Swaziland, about an *iviyo*³⁶ of them. They saw some Swazis (also about an *iviyo*) and decided to attack them. He said, '*I pick the inzota shield*' (dark brown, speckled slightly with white), referring to the colour of one that was showing. A conflict occurred in which Mabanikazi succeeded in killing one of the enemy. The Swazis were chased off. Seeing them run, Mabanikazi found the man running away carrying the shield he had selected. He made after him. The two had hand-to-hand combat. The Swazi stabbed Mabanikazi over the right eye, which caused blood to pour out and almost blind him. In the scuffle their assegais dropped. Mabanikazi was thin, owing to privation, whilst the Swazi was fat and strong. They rolled over and over. Mabanikazi gradually worked his way to an assegai he had seen on the ground. At last, hardly able to see, he got it and stabbed his assailant. The other Zulus in the meantime had gone off after the other Swazis, so Mabanikazi was left to fight or die with his

assailant.

Cetshwayo's great *imbongi* was Manxele of the Butelezi of the Mangweni. He was a great *imbongi*, but not equal to Magolwana.

Magolwana was killed simply because he was the possessor of so many cattle, given him for the most part by the king. Mpande had him killed. As soon as the force had surrounded him at his kraal on this side of Ntabankulu, they found him in his hut. He said, 'Please leave me to eat before I go. Move off, you scoundrels, and sit over there.' A large fire was thereupon made and the flank of
 45 was brought to him and he drank. When he had had what he wanted, he said, 'I have finished'. They said, 'Well, are we going to kill you inside the hut?' So they went outside. He said, 'Kill me quickly. Do not tie me up.' He went outside and they shot him with a gun. They seized his cattle and took them to the king. His people were then allotted cattle taken out by the king. They were expelled from their lands at Ntabankulu and came here to Gaozi. They remained here, subjected themselves to the king, and became favoured dependants.

<It seems that the following was supplementary information given by Mangqayi - eds.>

He also asked permission to lie with his wife. His wife, a daughter of Mangena, refused. She said, 'Has anyone already claimed by death ever said such a thing?' He also asked if he might recite the praises of the king. This he proceeded to do at great length. He continued until near sunset, when his voice gave out and he said, 'Now you can kill me,' upon which the man in charge of the force said, 'It is because your father so orders. If it had depended on me, I would have let you go'. Had Mpande himself heard him bonga he would have spared his life. He was then put to death.
 46 Magolwana was of the Bekenya regiment at Dukuza (built at that time at Mahlabatini). Magolwana, however, used to stay at Nodwengu. He was of medium height, dark brown, and had grown fat. He was well on in years when killed.

[The above story is told by Mangqayi. Baleni does not know the precise reason why Magolwana was killed. Nyaka was Magolwana's son, but is dead. Cengezi, another son, also dead, had an excellent memory. There is another son, Mtshayankomo, living under Mlokotwa.]

Baleni says: I was present when the Tulwana and Ngobamakosi fought. It happened on the day of the *umkosi*, at Ondini. This occurred when they were leaving Ondini on their way to the king at Nodwengu. The Ngobamakosi and Tulwana were stationed at the same barracks at Ondini. Orders were given that the Ngobamakosi were to leave and proceed to Nodwengu, but they did not stir out of their huts. Upon this the Ngobamakosi and Amamboza (Tulwana) armed, went out, and entered the cattle enclosure. The Ndi, or Tulwana, left
 47 first. No sooner had they got outside the kraal than the Ngobamakosi regiment left, and they threw themselves at each other company by company. They fought in front of the kraal. The Ngobama-

kosi drove the others back to the kraal. Before they had entered, the main body of the Ngobamakosi charged the main body of the Ndi (Tulwana). They fought round the gate; then both forces went outside the kraal. When they were outside, the Tulwana unfastened the bands on their forearms and took up their assegais. Hamu³⁷ gave the order for them to take up assegais and stab their opponents. They armed and went outside. The Ngobamakosi went out, and crossed the Ntukwini stream, which enters the White Umfolozi, on their way to Sitshwili to prepare themselves. The Tulwana followed them, carrying assegais. They stabbed them and stabbed them, and carried on stabbing until the sun went down. The Ngobamakosi came back and put up at the Gqikazi kraal. They did not go to the *umkosi*.

48 When the Tulwana stabbed them they drove them into the king's oxen. The king's oxen stampeded and came back to Ondini. No sooner did the oxen turn home than the Ngobamakosi also turned round and followed the Tulwana. They chased them, overtook some, and took their assegais and used these on them. This went on till dark. On the following day the Ngobamakosi did not go to the *umkosi*, but remained in the hills.

Many were killed on this occasion. Nearly all were of the Ngobamakosi regiment. This happened about 1878, shortly before the Zulu War.

The Ngobamakosi turned the Tulwana out of their huts, saying it was they who should sleep there. All the Zulu said that it was Cetshwayo's fault for letting the boys (i.e. the Ngobamakosi) sleep at home, at Ondini, and not making them build shelters at the river. That is what the young regiments used to do. This was the invariable rule. A military kraal would be built for them when they were adult. All the Zulu said it was due to Cetshwayo's favouritism, i.e. allowing the 'boys' to sleep at home.

The regiments were latterly only called up when there was an *umkosi*. Owing to the Zulu War coming on there was no further gathering. After the above-described conflict the regiments dispersed, and the few Ngobamakosi that used to stop at Undi went there, as also some of the Tulwana.

14.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 2, p.1.

Also present: Mangqayi?

1 Senzangakona was dark and not very tall. He did not put people to death. He had a kindly nature.

Tshaka was illegitimate. He was born in his mother's home among the Langeni. Nandi was subsequently married to Senzangakona. This is Zulu custom for girls to bear children (before marriage, e.g. Dinuzulu, Kambi (Hamu's son), Madakavana (Hamu's son), and Manzolwandhle). Manzolwandhle's mother, Mfumuta ka Qetuka of the Magwaza people, was a girl who had been presented to the king. Cetshwayo cohabited with her during his captivity and she bore the son. Mfumuta had been placed in the *indhlunkulu* at Cetshwayo's kraal.

Dinuzulu's mother, a daughter of Msweli, belonged to the king, for she was forcibly possessed when her father Msweli was killed at Mangweni. She was taken to the *isigodhlo* at Mangweni, and became pregnant there while still an unmarried maiden.

15.5.1914

File 55, nbk.2, pp. 2-20.

Also present: Mangqayi

- 2 I lived most at the royal kraals of Nodwengu and Gqikazi. I began at Ndabakawombe, then (went) to Gqikazi, then to Nodwengu. There are several sites of Nodwengu, but all are at Mahlabatini. It was Masipula ka Mamba of the Mgazini who was the first to use the name Nodwengu for one of his own kraals. Mpande then told him he was going to take over the name and Masipula was to discontinue using it. Masipula discontinued accordingly. *Nodwengu* means to make extraordinarily wide.... [The root idea is doing the thing over handsomely, larger than really necessary, lavishly, with profusion.] <Stuart's detailed linguistic notes omitted - eds.>
- I *klesa'd* at Ndabakawombe, then built at Mahlabatini. Msiyana ka Mhlane of the Xulu people was *induna* of that kraal. There were very many huts indeed in the kraal. There was an *isigodhlo*. The *inkosi-kazi* was Gudayi ka Mqomboli of the Mdhletsheni people. She was Mpande's wife. The Izingulube regiment, and also the amaPela, were housed at Ndabakawombe, and also of course the Ndabakawombe regiment.
- The big *induna* of the Izingulube was Mahwanqa ka Tshekimbuya of the Sibiya people. The big *induna* of the amaPela was Diyikana ka Hlakanyana of the Mbata people.
- I was a number of years at Ndabakawombe. I grew up there. We cadets of the Dhloko regiment were known as the Inyati. I can assign no meaning to the word Dhloko [but, says Mangqayi, there is a snake known as *udhloko* which rises on its tail and *chases people*, so that no one any longer goes up that way. This snake is yellowy-brown in colour and has horns on its head. This is the *indhlondhlo* or *udhloko*].
- When I *klesa'd* my father was already dead. My mother at this time was living at our home at the Mfule.
- 4 We used to *drink milk from the udders of the king's cows*. We used to sleep in huts *nga kwesikulu*, i.e. on the right side going in, and near the gate of the cattle enclosure. There were very many indeed of us. The cadets of the Dhloko (Inyati) *klesa'd*, of course, at all the royal military kraals.
- We *drank from the cows* at midday and at sunset, for there were two milkings. What happened was this. The cattle would all be driven into the great cattle kraal. Those for the king's or *isigodhlo's* use were driven to their accustomed spot, a little way up the enclosure, whilst the main lot stood below. After a time, the king's milk pail would emerge from the *isigodhlo*, carried by the *inceku*, who would whistle out loudly. This whistle would be heard and responded to by several in different parts, who would shout, '*Zi jubekile!*'³⁸ Upon this, whilst the king's or royal cattle were being milked, we cadets would make for the main herd and proceed to *drink from the cows*.
- Mangqayi says: I am of the Mbokodwebomvu regiment. We never *klesa'd*. I never saw boys *drink from the cow*. I herded cattle at home. Dinuzulu *buta'd* this regiment. Dinuzulu called the regiment by this name. He said, '*Imbokodwebomvu ka qonda buso.*'³⁹ This

BALENI ka SILWANA

regiment *faced the Mandhlakazi*. This was the regiment that succeeded in routing Zibebu, and this routing occurred at Ndunu. It was the Mbokodwebomvu and Falaza that defeated Zibebu at Ndunu. I, however, belonged to people south of the Mhlatuze, and so was on the Government side.

I remember Cetshwayo's installation by Somtseu in 1873. I remember also the death of Mpande.

Cannibals. There used to be a saying as the sun was setting, '*Oh! It is going to be devoured by cannibals*', for the impression was that *cannibals* lived to the west.

Nonqeta ka Silwane of the Mpungose tribe is a well-informed man, with a better memory than Baleni, but he is somewhat sickly. He is of the Dhloko regiment. He is a brother of Baleni. He knows a good deal of Tshaka. He does not require to think of things, as Baleni does.

- 6 | Baleni continues.) Anyone who sees *the milk pail* come from inside the *isigodhlo*-might shout, '*Zi jubekile!*' There would be one, two or three boys to *drink* at one cow, for they stood all about in the *cattle enclosure*. There would be no rushing at the cattle, for the cows had all been appropriated. The calves would be let out on the above signal being given. All the cattle which the *boys of the kraal drink from* are king's cattle. They are all herded by these boys. The oxen were kept separate; they were herded separately in the field by men. These men used to be given *the foreleg of the animal* on a beast's being killed. Many boys *herded the cattle* (cows). Those for the *isigodhlo's* use *grazed separately*. They were herded by two boys.

The cadets used to collect firewood (and thornbush for the *isigodhlo*). The thorns are very painful. *The thornbush would surmount the isigodhlo fence*. Cadets also *hoed the fields, carried the amabele when it was being reaped, and threshed it*. That was about all.

- 7 | They used to perform war dances at the meeting-place in the *cattle enclosure*. They would do this alone. They have no assegais, only sticks and small- and large-knobbed kieries. They also practised stabbing at plant bulbs while herding at the river. They used to eat lung. The fat on top of (a beast's) heart is *ubedu*. This was eaten only by the leading herdboys. The *ubedu* was cut up into small pieces, until it was finished. Those who were not principal herdboys ate the lung.

Cadets *kleza'd* for two or three years, when they were *butwa'd*. They would have their *kraal* built. They would be given a name. When first *buta'd* they would go to the king's kraal to attend the men's assembly. This would last only one day. The king would present them with cattle which they would take off to their military headquarters and there slaughter. It would be after that that they would come together and build their kraal. The giving of these cattle is to make them mature; they are given meat.

Practices such as these took place in Tshaka's day, also in Dingana's.

It was Tshaka who proclaimed that only one assegai was to be carried by each warrior. He said that there was to be no throwing,

8 but every warrior, was to *stab at close quarters*. All his troops accordingly carried only one assegai, viz. the *isijula*, with a nine-inch blade and about a 14-inch haft. Should a man break his assegai when in conflict, he was to grip the other with his arms and *fight for the one* carried by his assailant.

In Dingana's day a number of assegaïs were carried by each warrior. This was due to the fact that it was *another king who now ruled*. Dingana ordered that all were to *carry assegaïs* and to *shower* their enemies with *izinti* (i.e. with assegaïs having long hafts. The *isijula* haft was quite short.) He, Dingana, said *they should attack them with a flight of assegaïs*, i.e. a kind of volley, or simultaneous throwing, *distract their gaze*, and whilst the enemy were busy *warding off these assegaïs* (i.e. those being thrown), they were to rush in and *stab them at close quarters*. (*When they have got up to the enemy, the man who fights at close quarters is a man who does not let go of his assegai but stabs with it, still having hold of it.*)

9 In Mpande's day the assegai was handled as in Dingana's time. Dingana's and Mpande's wars were only with people with whom Tshaka had already fought. It was Tshaka who first conquered the whole and brought them together. I think Tshaka's method of having only the one assegai was the most effective.

After *klesaing* for two or three years, I was *butwa'd* with the rest of the Inyati at Gqikazi. The king was at Nodwengu. The *induna* of Gqikazi at that time was Madwala ka Sotshingose of the Tembu; the *inkosikazi* was Ngqumbazi ka Mbonde ka Tshana of the Zungu (mother of Cetshwayo). Gqikazi was the kraal assigned to us and there we lived as a regiment. It was from here that the king *removed me to go and milk the royal cows at Nodwengu*. I accordingly went and *milked the cows of the king at Nodwengu*. I *led the oxen and tilled with an ox-drawn plough*. I was taught to plough by 10 Nzimela, i.e. Rev. Robertson. He taught me at Nodwengu; he had come there on a visit.

I was many years at Gqikazi before I went to Nodwengu. Our regiment went from Gqikazi once to *attend the men's assembly* at Nodwengu. The king saw me with others of my regiment and said, '*Come, you will milk my cows.*' I gave praise.

Our regiment frequently visited Nodwengu. Some time after we had been *butwa'd*, it was proclaimed, when we were drawn up in *circle* formation at Nodwengu, who were to be *izinduna*. I was made one of these. The *induna* called out the names on behalf of the king. The *induna* (smaller one) was Mfinyeli ka Nguzalele of the Xulu people and was the one who called out. The 'bigger' *induna* was Ndungu-ndungu ka Nokokela of the Zulu. All those who were made *izinduna* afterwards gave the king an ox as thanks for having been so appointed.

I do not know how I came to be appointed an *induna*. All I know is that my grandfather Gaozi's people were mine;⁴⁰ hence it was 11 proper I should be an *induna*. My brothers were Mswazi, Nkuna, Sigonyela, and Ngengema, but these were not *izinduna*. Mswazi and Nkuna were made *inceku* responsible for milking the cows at the upper end of the enclosure.

I was appointed an *inceku* after being appointed an *induna*. I

used to come out with the bucket from the *isigodhlo*. It was kept covered with another small, carved vessel. This is a sort of cup, ornamented by being burnt with an assegai or iron. The king's *pail* was about 18 inches high by eight inches in diameter at the widest part. This *pail*, as well as the two *milk vessels* previously referred to, used to be taken along to any *military kraal* the king happened to visit, e.g. Siklebeni, Dukuza, Bulawayo, Mlambongwenya, Mdumezulu, Ndabakawombe. These were the ones visited. Mpande used not to visit Gqikazi. That was too far north of the *Black Mfolosi*. The king's cattle (milking) were also taken to the *military kraals*.

- 12 The *pail* was placed in a food basket when travelling, and this again was covered over with another basket. There was only one royal milking *pail*. It was of *umqwenya* or *umncaka* variety, i.e. of one or other of these trees.⁴¹ When the *pail* had been milked into and milking was over, it was carried back to the *isigodhlo* at arm's length above the head, so as not to come into contact with any filth or impurity. Before milking into the *pail*, one was obliged to milk a little onto the ground, i.e. the first-coming milk. This was the constant or invariable practice. The same applied to cooked meat. The first pieces cut off were invariably thrown onto the floor, i.e. when the meat was being cut into small pieces. It is the practice of kings.⁴²

- The king's meat was cut up in his cattle enclosure at the upper end and out of sight of the ordinary public. After skinning, but before cutting up, those skinning will cut off a small piece of flesh from the chest and, a fire having been made nearby, will proceed to roast a strip (it was cut into strips), and forthwith consume it. This was done for fear that anything should have been done by *abatakati* to the beast. It was a precaution. The flesh was then cut up and passed through the gates into the *isigodhlo* on wooden trays. The king may be looking on whilst this cutting up or skinning is going on. He might there and then present any of those present with a piece of the meat.
- 13

Water was given to drink to the king by the *calabash* being held by the *inceku* to the king's mouth. The king would drink without in any way supporting it with his hands. After finishing, the *inceku* must take care not to let any of the water fall on the king; were he to do so it meant that he would have to pay a forfeit of a beast for spilling water on the king.

- I used, with others, to fetch water for the king from the river. At Nodwengu I used to get it early in the morning and a long way off, from a patch of bush. We had to dig for it in the bush. Once it was known the king's water was got there, no one was allowed to walk on that hillside.
- 14

Water for the king to wash with is drawn by men who do not participate in war,⁴³ and they use an earthenware pot about 12 inches high and 15 inches in diameter for the purpose. The king's drinking water, however, was got in *calabashes*. These *calabashes* were very fine ones, so if one by any chance got broken one would have to go a long way to one or other of the *military kraals* to get another. They were grown by Langazana at the river. She had a beautiful variety. The ordinary kinds were not good enough for the king.

Drinking water was fetched daily. There were three gourds, one

an old one for actually drinking from, the others newer and not drunk from until *the pulp*, i.e. the inside soft stuff, had all come away and the vessel had ceased to smell. The *isigodhlo* girls drank ordinary water. That water was fetched close by. Girls used to get it for themselves.

- 15 Men were strongly prohibited from entering the *isigodhlo*; they were killed if they did so. I have seen very many of them killed. They used to meet in stealth with the girls by the river or elsewhere, and be seen sooner or later by someone or other. I remember these as having been killed: Ndabezimbi ka Paqa, Makanjana ka Manyosi, Fokoti, Ntshumayelo ka Notshwilo, Fokoti, Dundu, Nkonzo, Mtetiwananga, and many others. Many of the *isigodhlo* girls, too, were put to death if caught contravening these regulations.

- Ndabezimbi was accused of *lying with girls of the isigodhlo* at Siklebeni; the same (happened) to Makanjana ka Manyosi. As regards Ntshumayelo ka Notshwila of the Dhloko regiment, he had connection with *girls of the isigodhlo*. He was observed by *izinceku* near the upper end of the kraal. He entered the *isigodhlo*. Fokoti ka Mgulgulu went wrong at Gqikazi. The girl of the *isigodhlo* qeta'd⁴⁴ by leaving and going to him in the huts of the men in the lower part of the kraal at Gqikazi. The girl had been shut into the *isigodhlo* in the ordinary way, but got out at night. She must have gone in this way a number of times, but was eventually found out. Either 16 she was observed by the guards at the *isigodhlo*, or those with Fokoti felt they were being implicated and so told tales as to what was going on.

Those *lying with a girl of the isigodhlo* were beaten to death or shot, and their bodies thrown into the river.

People were killed at Kwa Nkata in Mpande's day. This was near the Pate and overlooking the White Mfolozi, to the east of the wagon road. The place is simply bush country. There is no cliff, but it is close to the Umfolozi. It was *abatakati* who were killed there, or any ordinary person sentenced to death. The place was quite close to where the Pate stream enters the Umfolozi. *Vultures and hyenas* used to gather there to eat corpses. To this day the spot is strewn with bones.

Cetshwayo used, when at Ndhlayangubo,⁴⁵ to kill at Kwa Ndongande. That is a bush area with small *dongas*. Cetshwayo had Nkonzo ka Mazamelele, Mkokwana ka Nomo of the Mtetwa, and Novela ka Nkomazana killed when he was at Mahlabatini.

- 17 *Isigodhlo*. The girls wore girdles of *ububendhle* leaves⁴⁶ about six inches long and nicely cut; also beads round the loins above the girdle; also large red and green beads round the loins. They also wore *ulembu* after having their courses.⁴⁷ The *ulembu* might also be worn, if they liked, on other occasions. They wore *single isongo* rings on the arms. The neck ring was worn only by the *amakosikazi*, the wives of the king. The *amakosikazi* also wore the heavy armband, on the right arm, not on the left. Round the neck girls of the *isigodhlo* wore beads of various sizes.

The *imfibinga* was given to the *amakosikazi*, and was not worn by the girls.⁴⁸ The *imfibinga* was of two kinds, (a) of beads, (b) of

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brass rings. The beads were of a pink colour. The *rings* were marked like the *heavy arm band*, only not so heavily (deeply). Such *rings* were worn by the *amakosikazi* and girls that were liked by the king.

- 18 The girls had bright green or black blankets to wear on cold days. The *amakosikazi* wore *skin skirts*. These stopped just above the knee. (They wore *bands of beads* in white or other colours round the head.) *Brass rings* were worn on both arms, i.e. on the upper left arm, or, in the absence of the *heavy arm band*, on the forearm of the right arm.

All their ears had been *pierced*. They might wear *beads or thread* in their ears, i.e. put through and through the hole of the ear.

They wore *fibre belts*. The *breast cover* of *duiker* or goat skin was put on by *betrothed or newly married women*. (The *cowhide skirt* was also worn.) I do not know of the other kind of *skirt* worn for instance among *Embo* people in *Natal*.

The king's favourite wife wore only what the others wore. There were formerly no *ubusenga rings*, not in *Mpande's* day; they appeared in the time of *Cetshwayo*. All girls and women *smeared* themselves with *fat*. All the women wore similar ornaments. The chief wife wore just what the others did.

- 19 All the women slept in the *isigodhlo*. All the gates were shut up at night, the inner and the outer ones. There were many *guards*. Their huts were close to the gates of the *isigodhlo*. They were outside the *isigodhlo*, not inside. They looked after what went in and what came out of the *isigodhlo*. The king was the only male in the *isigodhlo* at night time. I know this well. On winter nights we *izinoeku* might be called into the king's hut to talk to him and while away part of the long nights. When this happened the women would be sent away to sleep in their respective huts.

Cowdung candles were used, i.e. mixed with hard cow fat. These candles were about one and a half or two inches in diameter, and about ten inches high. It would be stood on a *potsherd* and in the *hearth*. It *smouldered slowly*.

The king used to sit on the left or women's side of the hut. He sat on a *reed mat* rolled up and up to make a bundle some 15 inches high. The floor was very slippery and shiny, for it had been rubbed over with fat. There were *cockroaches* in the hut. Only small things were put at the *back*, such as mats.

- 20 Any women who slept in the same hut with the king would carry their mats off in the mornings, leaving only the king's things there.

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File 55, nbk.2, pp. 20-4.

Also present: *Nkantolo ka Situlumana, Manqgayi?*

The *isigodhlo* girls used to occupy themselves by making beer and food. They brewed the beer. This beer would be drunk by the king and by *other people*, i.e. those called to the king's hut or those seated at the *men's assembly place in the cattle enclosure*, having perhaps just arrived.

The girls *cultivated their fields*, also those of the king and those of *Mpande's children*. They *wove sleeping mats and threaded*

beadwork. They also made *eating mats*, and moulded earthenware pots.

It may so happen that when a beast has been killed and its meat is being eaten in the *isigodhlo* by the *amakosikazi*, the king would come along and, remembering some little thing that had been done by one of the women for which he wanted to reprove her, he would proceed to address her in the presence of the others, blaming and censuring her. She, like the others, might be in the act of chewing a piece of meat. This she would stop chewing, or refrain from swallowing any juice in her mouth, until all present had finished eating (for it is *contra bonos mores* to spit out before the others whilst eating). Then she would spit it out, her reason for not having swallowed being that had she gone on eating and swallowing after being found fault with, it might so happen that, on a later occasion, the king would find fault with her, when (if she had formerly swallowed the meat), she would be regarded as being contemptuous and daring, and would be killed outright. Thus the piece of meat would be retained and be spat out long after, when all eating was over.

The king was sometimes *scolded* by one or other of his wives. She would have some cause for grievance, and she would lash out at him in the wildest manner and aloud, the reason being that she wanted him to consort with her. (She had not been 'called'.) He, unable to face this, would go out to the men and, quickly finding fault with them about some trifle or other, have someone put to death on the spot. This sort of thing was due to intense jealousy; others were 'called', she not. She might in her fury even say, 'Let the king take me and put me to death on the spot.'

The *amakosikazi* each had her own *clay pot* to drink from. Quarrels often arose among the women at a beer drinking. One might accuse the other of *insulting* her. One woman might say she was not liked by the king. The other would flash up. The king, perhaps present, would not utter a word, but lie quite low.

I have often seen the *amakosikazi* quarrelling. I remember Nomantshali quarrelling with another *inkosikazi* at beer drinking. 'You shelter yourself behind your husband's love for you, do you?' They feared nothing, these women. Nomantshali could say nothing, as the fact that she was a favourite was true. This happened at Nodwengu, before Nomantshali had her Mdumezulu kraal built.

Nkantolo ka Situlumana, who is present, says: Even with two wives, an ordinary man has great jealousy to contend with, and has to be very circumspect. If the husband has been away, the two watch where he enters, i.e. which woman's hut, and, if he has brought a *titbit of meat*, which person it will be given to. So acute is the feeling.

Baleni: The *amakosikazi* passed the time doing absolutely nothing in the *isigodhlo*. The girls cooked food for them. They also had *izinceku* who waited on them.

On entering the *isigodhlo*, one did so *stooping* until one actually got to the spot where to sit down. The *izinceku* also stooped but they did not go on all fours. Everybody who was called in *stooped*, even men of high rank.

At Nodwengu, Mpande had only one hut he used to live in - a very large one - but there were others in the *isigodhlo* as large.

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24 The king washed in his small cattle enclosure, on the left side of the cattle kraal looking towards the gate. The king used to go there to wash on alternate days. That was his practice. He had two men who washed him. One poured on the water and the other rubbed him over. He was rubbed over with white clay. It was taken from the river. There was no soap used, on the ground that it 'smelt'. It was blue mottled soap that was in use in those days. This was used by the isigodhlo girls.

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File 55, nbk. 2, pp. 24-46.

Also present: Mangqayi?

*Inkata yezwe.*⁴⁹ This, in Mpande's day, used to be kept at Langanana's at Siklebeni. It was about 15 inches or 18 inches in diameter, and circular. It was woven with strings made of umviti grass, i.e. grass that commonly grows on cattle paths. The inkata was made by men, i.e. izinduna, like Masipula and Ndhlela. It was woven by izinduna. A beast would be killed and the inkata would be formally presented with praises to the ancestors in the cattle kraal.⁵⁰

25 The inkata never left Siklebeni. The inkata was never thrown away. For instance, Dingana would have inherited and used that of Tshaka, Mpande that of Dingana, and Cetshwayo that of Mpande. When Cetshwayo came to the throne, the inkata was removed from Siklebeni to Ondini [or Elundini, as Baleni says]. The reason it was moved was that it was now going to his own place. Cetshwayo's mother was at Gqikazi. She had a kraal called Emangweni. It was to this latter that Cetshwayo went and stayed, and it was from there that his Undi, Qwageni, Babangibone, and Bizeni kraals separated off. The Undi was his own great kraal, hence the place to which he belonged. All this time Cetshwayo's mother remained at Gqikazi where she eventually died. At Ondini the inkata stayed in the chief hut. It was burnt by the Europeans. This occurred in the Zulu War.

In Dingana's day the inkata stayed at Nobamba. In Tshaka's day the inkata would have been at Bulawayo, i.e. at the great kraal. The inkata in Dingana's day was at Nobamba because that was his own place. Cetshwayo's own kraal, Undi, separated off from Emangweni whilst his father was still living; hence it differs from Mgungundhlovu, which was built after the builder's father's death. Dingana's own kraal did not separate off from Nobamba; it remained there. Senzangakona's inkata must have been at Nobamba.

The inkata's purpose is to keep our nation standing firm. The binding round and round symbolizes the binding together of the people so that they should not be scattered.

26 The king did not wash standing on the inkata yezwe. Mpande did not wash on top of it, nor did any other king. Mpande used to stand on a mat of rushes rolled into a large roll. It was on this that he sat whilst being washed. The water fell on it, but it was shaken out when he went off, washing being done.

The inkata was suspended from the top of the great hut, at the back. It was never taken down, but always stayed there. Mpande's so remained, at Siklebeni.

It is quite wrong to say the Zulu king ever stood on the inkata when being washed.

The *inkata* was not brought out on the occasion of the *umkosi*, nor even when war had broken out.

27 The *inkata* was often added to, and in this way. When the king intended attacking some foreign people or tribe, orders would be given for the regiments to assemble at the royal kraal, viz. Nodwengu in Mpande's day. A day would be fixed for them to perform *ritual vomiting*. Two holes would be dug under superintendence of the doctors, close to each other. Into each of these would be placed grass which the doctors had taken from a large number of huts in the principal royal kraal, i.e. drawn out of the grass at the top of each doorway (a few straws here and there), that which people rub against when passing in. Medicine (liquid) would be given to the troops to vomit with; what drugs it was of I do not know. Only very little was partaken of and therefore the *vomiting* was of very slight duration, simply a bringing up of a mouthful or two of the liquid, and all was over. Thus every man vomited into one or other of the holes, and so onto the grass that had been placed there. After all was over, the doctors took the grass and gave it to the great *izinduna*, by whom, in Mpande's day, it was conveyed to Siklebeni where the *inkata* was. The great *induna* would then carefully bind up this grass with the rest of the *inkata* and again restore the *inkata* to its proper position at the back of the great hut.

This *ritual vomiting* took place whenever an *impi* was about to leave on a warlike expedition, i.e. on the king's initiative. When the Zulus themselves were attacked, this ceremony was not observed, e.g. just before the Zulu War (1879).

The *ritual* did not last the whole day. After it was over the regiments would go off to eat the meat of a bull cut in strips.

28 The Siklebe kraal was Senzangakona's kraal. When he separated off from Nobamba he built that kraal. The Siklebe did not exist in Jama's or Ndaba's day. I am quite sure Siklebe was Senzangakona's and not Jama's or any other king's kraal.

The medicines used for vomiting with, as above referred to, stood on stones where this purification was going on. They did not stand on *izinkata* but on flat stones of the river. The two holes referred to were on either side of the stream, viz. the Ntukwini, and not as far as where that stream enters the White Umfolozi; they were near the ruins of the old Siklebeni. The holes were only five or six yards off the stream on either side.

There was nothing whatever done with the *inkata* beyond what has been mentioned. It was not used when killing beasts for the spirits, or when eating cattle slaughtered for the spirits.

29 Assegais were made at the Black Mfolozi, also among the Cube people, also by Mlaba of the Nxumalo and by Ntunisa of the Cube. Mlaba lived on the Black Umfolozi near where the present waggon road goes to Nongoma. He was on the south side of the Black Umfolozi. He made for all the regiments. Assegais used to be made and brought in a large bundle at a time, and handed over to the king, who would distribute to the regiments. The smith used to be given say three beasts each time he brought a bundle. Mlaba got the iron from near where he was. Nombamba ka Gamede became a smith in Cetshwayo's reign. He lived where Chief Mkungu is now.

The metal for brass ware came from the Tonga.⁵¹ It was not

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mined for in Zululand. This applies to *umdaka* which is only the *unworked metal* in the form of long bolts.

Whenever the king ordered *brass neck rings* to be conveyed as a present to any man of importance, the carrier would be given a beast by the man to whom he had brought it. The beast was for the carrier, not for the king.

- 30 Burial of Mpande.⁵² I was at Nodwengu when he was buried. When he was about to die, I was sent, along with Sinkwasomsutu ka Man-yosi, by the *induna* Mundula to go and report to Cetshwayo that his father was very bad and there was no hope of recovery; *he was now very weak*. We went to Undi kraal which at that time was at Ndhlayangubo.⁵³ Cetshwayo, who was at the upper end of the cattle kraal when we arrived, received us there. We delivered the message. '*Ndabezita! Amanga!*',⁵⁴ we said. '*It has now come upon us.*' Cetshwayo expressed his sorrow, and asked the position more clearly. He then, finding there was no hope, said to me, 'You must not leave the kraal or I'll kill you.' *Why was it that people who buried the king used to be killed as part of the purification ceremony?*⁵⁵ He went on to direct that the boys of the regiment known as Mcijo were not to leave, but stay there at Nodwengu. Were they to do so, the people would become disturbed. He went on to say we were to look after the girls of the *isigodhlo* and see that they did not run away.
- 31 When we got back we found the girls outside the kraal and becoming alarmed. We turned them back.

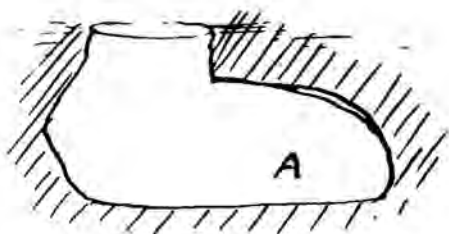
After a few days the king died. As soon as he had died, the fact was reported to Cetshwayo. A beast, a young red steer, was killed and its skin was used to wrap the king's body in. After the body had been tied up in the hide, the king was buried. After the burial, Cetshwayo directed that a small herd of oxen should be slaughtered in order that those at Nodwengu might partake thereof. The cattle were slaughtered, consumed, and finished.

After a time Cetshwayo moved from Ndhlayangubo to build his Undi kraal on a hill in the Mahlabatini valley. The first Undi was a small kraal; the second was one of vast dimensions and became his capital. The Zulu nation gathered there at the new Undi in due course, and two kraals, Zinhlendhleni and Landandhlovu, separated off and were erected at the same time.

- 32 Mpande had not quite died when I went to report. He died a few days after my return. There was no crying or lamentation on the death of the king. Such a procedure was in accordance with custom. *A king is not mourned for.* (Nandi was the only one who was mourned for.) The women, i.e. Mpande's wives, shaved their heads, and cattle were killed for them to eat. There were no praises offered to the spirits. The women did not leave the kraal. There was no purification ritual. Cetshwayo said there was to be no killing. '*Must people be destroyed?*' he exclaimed, bearing in mind what had happened in Nandi's time. Although the king was dead, there was singing and people called out, '*Here is the great one*', even though he was no longer there. It was the custom to conceal this great fact. And it was done to enable the new king to establish himself before the information became public. Such concealment was practised to mislead the people. It is the duty of those at the kraal where the king dies, though knowing the king is dead, to

pretend that such is not the case. There was, however, a lot of whispering that the king was dead, the various inmates of Nodwengu secretly informing their relatives, but, being kept secret, it did not matter.

- 33 Mpande was buried *above and outside the cattle enclosure, between it and the isigodhlo*. He was buried within the site of Nodwengu, *there at his home*. I and a number of others were spectators at his interment. Ntinto ka Mavama of the Xulu people, Mundula ka Nomansala of the Ndwandwe, Mvubu ka Gwazindhlu of the Xulu, Kwabiti ka Tiwana of the Sibiya (same man who used to live near Mahlabatini magistracy), and Mpezeni ka Gala of the Biyela were the five (the only ones) who buried Mpande. No people were put to death on that occasion. He was buried shortly after sunrise and on the fifth day after his decease. The smell of his body was by that time observable. Those who buried him *wore old loin-coverings. They shaved themselves*, but that was done after the burial. A number of people deserted from Nodwengu when the king died, as they were afraid of being killed. On this account there were but few at the kraal on the day of burial, and of those no one but the principal people knew the burial was to take place when it did. There were very few spectators and these consisted only of the *izinceku*. The shape of the grave was like this:
- 34



It was seven or eight feet deep. The body was handed from above to those who were already standing in the grave and it was put in that section marked A above. It was there *propped up with stones*, these about one foot square each. (Then) the grave was filled in with soil to the top.

The king's grave was dug and completed in a day. I did not assist to dig because it was my duty to *carry the king's pail* and I was therefore disqualified *from digging*. The digging was done by means of hoes whose hafts had been let into short lengths of small poles.

- In ordinary, everyday graves, a *frog* is inserted if the digging of the grave has not been finished on the day on which it is begun.
- 35 On resuming digging the following day, the *frog* is taken out. This was not done in Mpande's case as the grave was begun and finished the same day.⁵⁶

As soon as the soil had been filled into the grave, the grave was *fenced off with branches and poles*. This was very thoroughly done, the branches and poles being put close against one another in the strongest manner. And this work was extended well beyond the actual grave and so prevented anyone getting at it.

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It so happened that one night a man attempted to get to the grave. The dogs followed him up and caught him. I, with others, gave chase and found the man, who entered a hut high up on the left side of the kraal. On lighting a *grass torch* we saw the man. '*It is this fellow!*', we remarked on seeing him. '*So it is you.*' Mngqongqo of the Nzimela people was his name. Mbopa ka Ngotsha ka Wolizibi helped him escape as dawn was breaking. He went back to Mbopa's kraal at Hlabisa. As a matter of fact he could not at that time
36 have been killed for Cetshwayo had not then arrived at Mahlabatini. He must have been going to scoop up some earth to poison people with. The king's dogs caught him. They gripped him by the bottom as he was entering the hut. This man, it turned out, used to be smelt out by doctors in his own tribe, and on that occasion or those occasions Mbopa protected him.

The ceremony of the assegai being held at the side of the grave was not complied with. *Who was to carry it?* Cetshwayo was the only one who could have done so, but he was at Ondini, at Ndhlayangubo.

Those who got into the grave, three of them, viz. Mundula, Ntinto and Mvubu, were naked, but they had their *iminowedo*⁵⁷ on. All five were *amakehla*.

The king's personal belongings were buried with him. They were all thrown into the grave, except his assegais which were *thrown into a hole among the rocks in the river*. They were not buried with him, for they would be used by Mpande, when a *spirit or snake*, to stab
37 people. Four assegais were thus thrown away. They were thrown away at the cliffs at the Ntukwini.

The things buried with the king were *mats, blankets, and loin-covers. Calabashes were burnt and pots were buried in the ground* outside the kraal. The king had four chairs, two made by a Zulu and two made by Bishop Schreuder (Mankankanana?). All, as far as I know, were burnt. The man who carved the two chairs was Mtomboti ka Mangcengeza of the Mlaba people. He lived on the south side of the Black Umfolozi, near the assegai-smith Mlaba. The wood used was *red ivory*. He was presented with cattle for *carving* these chairs. I don't know where Mtomboti got the idea of carving the chair, which was all of a piece.

A large quantity of property was buried with Mpande. *Arm rings and arm bands were buried with him, and beadwork.*

An ordinary headringed man has his ring cut off when dead; that of Mpande was not removed. He was buried with it.

The red skin referred to was tied round the king with rope, I
38 think of *umviti* grass. His head, however, was not covered by the skin. Nothing was said by an *induna* or anyone when the king was being buried.

I was not present when Cetshwayo was buried. I was at home, near the Mhlatuze. Nor was I present when Dinuzulu was buried.

Isigodhlo continued. There used to be jollification to a great extent inside the *isigodhlo* for there were *many rows of girls who would sing as they performed the hut dance*. This was done with the moon at the full. They also performed other dances. The spectators were the *amakosikazi*. The king, however, did not go.

There was a *white and a black isigodhlo*. The former bordered on

the huts of the other inhabitants. The arrangement was:



39 A and C were the white *izigodhlo*; B was the black. The black used to be occupied by the king and the *amakosikazi*. The white *izigodhlos* were each presided over by *amakosikazi*, the 'mothers' of the king. The girls all slept in the white *izigodhlo*. In the black used to sleep not only *amakosikazi*, but *umdhlonkulu*, that is, the girls who carried the king's food. The king's food, his meat, milk vessels, and beer, used to be kept in the huts of the girls, not in the huts of the *amakosikazi*.

Mpande was spoken of by his women as *inkosi*, and that only. They called the root of anything when having occasion to refer thereto in ordinary conversation as *ingxabiyo*.⁵⁸

The performing of the hut dance took place in the respective *izigodhlo*, not all in one place.

Mpande was able to sing. He also danced. I saw him dance at Siklebeni. A dancing competition was being held, with very many there.

40 The first Nodwengu site was at Nhlungwane, the next at Ntukwini, the next near Siklebeni, another near Siklebeni, then back to near Ntukwini, then four more times about or near the Ntukwini. He died at the ninth site. After his death, Cetshwayo had a kraal built where the kraal was when the battle of Ulundi took place. Mpande was buried on the left of the road going to Nongoma and not far from the store.

The girls used to urinate in clay pots. It was the little girls that used to go out and empty this. The pots were kept in the *izigodhlo* but outside the huts. The girl used to sit on the pot. All in the *izigodhlo* used pots. The king, however, urinated into a calabash. The small girls used to empty this.

41 When a woman got pregnant and her time of delivery approached, she retired to the little kraal above the main kraal and had her baby. Other women attended her confinement. The king used to express his pleasure on hearing that any of his women had had a baby, saying, 'She has laboured well!' A beast might then be killed for her. There were four men at Mapotweni. Their huts were at the gate. When pregnant women went there, they slept there instead of retiring to the *izigodhlo*. There were girls who always stayed at Mapotweni to look after and wait on *amakosikazi* who came to lie up. The woman who had had a baby would stay at this little kraal until the baby had grown up a bit and was able to walk about. She would then go back and live with it in the *izigodhlo*.

The girls used to leave the *izigodhlo*, three and four at a time, to cultivate the fields. When there was *amabele* to be carried from

the gardens one might see a large number of girls going out to fetch it. They used to be accompanied by say one *inceku*. I never accompanied them. My work was to *milk, cultivate, and draw water*.

There was never any dancing in the main kraal at night time. There used, however, to be singing by the warriors etc. in their respective quarters, where people gathered together, but there was no big festive gathering of a night.

42 That was a splendid mode of government. I was delighted when the king gave me cattle. Or I might go out and shoot *guinea fowl*. On coming back with what I had shot, the king might allow me to drink beer from his *clay pot*. I used shot in killing the birds. The king did not eat *guinea fowl*, only *partridges*. I used also to kill *partridges*. There were very many about there.

Mpande was very stout indeed. He had *breasts*, so fat was he. He was about medium height. He had an ordinary voice. He sometimes *tefula'd* but that was done wilfully. He was very well up in *bongaing*. He used to *bonga* when beasts were sacrificed to his ancestral spirits. His dogs had a beast killed for them; there were many of these dogs. Some of these were kept in the *isigodhlo*, and one or two in his own hut. Some of these would bite people.

43 Mpande spoke easily; even when angry and excited he did not speak hastily. He ornamented himself to a great extent. He had many *imiqubula*, in which he would be completely covered.⁵⁹ He would have on a small *umqubula* about his neck, as also *ox tails*, and these things were so profusely put on as to cover him from sight. He wore a *crane* feather, one, about two feet long. The feather would be stuck in the *head band* in front, with a *loury crest* on either side of his head. He also had a *bunch of black ostrich feathers* falling down the back of the head.

He carried a white *war shield*, with a single patch about nine or ten inches in diameter. He had his four *assegaïs*, all *long-bladed*. Below the knees he wore white *ox tails*. He had on, hanging from the head, *strips of monkey skin*, falling so as to touch the top of his chest; but these extended from where the *head band* was fastened at the back to the top of the chest. These *tassels* at the temples were of about normal size, and also of *monkey skin*.

Leopard skin was not worn by him; it was worn by *izimbongi*. Mpande had no *leopard skin loin-covering*. Nor did Cetshwayo wear *leopard skin*. Some *izinduna* wore *leopard skin*.

44 Mpande did not wear *sheepskin* or eat (*mutton*), nor did Cetshwayo eat it. The *Zulu* do not eat *mutton*. Cetshwayo used, however, to wear *sheepskin* - a *girdle of lambskin strips*.

Mpande did not wear the *skin skirt*. This was worn only by *izinduna*, viz. Mfusi ka Manyala, Silwane ka Sikakana, Mbokojwana of the Mpungose people. These were big *izinduna*. Only those who had been allowed by the king to wear the *skin skirt* might do so.

Mpande wore a *head band of otter skin*. He wore an *arm band* on the right arm, with four *arm rings* on the left upper arm. There would be no *rings* on the right arm. The *arm band* burned; the burning was kept down by water being poured in. *Pieces of softened cowhide* were inserted between the metal and the arm so as to allow the arm to 'cool'. These were not inserted until the dancing was over.

The king carried no *knobkierie*, only a little stick. Nhlanguano ka

BALENI ka SILWANA

- 45 Kabayeka of the Ntuli used to *shave* the king.⁶⁰ He used to *shave* him whilst standing; the king was sitting. This might be done whilst the king was speaking to people, only one motion at a time, to await a suitable opportunity every time. This shaving took place every two months or so.

When walking from one *military kraal* to another his shield (for shade) would be carried in front of him. The carrier, if the king was sitting, might get sleepy with holding it. When going from one *kraal* to another the king would (not) leave without having partaken of food (for no food is eaten *outside, in public*).⁶¹ The king's *milking cows* (about 40) would be driven ahead; then beer in *baskets* followed in the rear, and should a shady tree be found the king might sit for a time and partake of his beer.

- 46 Should a bull *mount* any *heifer* kept for meat, it would be *slaughtered*. If such a *heifer* was *covered*, it would not get fat. The object was that it should simply get fat for killing. Should the bull of any person approach the king's heifers, it would be seized and *castrated*. Should a man's bull get among the king's *beef heifers* and *mount* them, the king would not be told because he would then order the whole of that man's stock to be seized. The *heifers intended for eating* were kept apart at another *kraal*. The *udder of the heifer* was eaten by the king.

18.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 2, pp. 46-8.

Also present: Mangqayi?

The king's *snuffbox*, black like all others, used to be carried in a *small basket*. It was carried by an *inceku*. The *basket* is covered by another, with the *snuffbox* inside. The boy *pours* the snuff in his own hand, when wanted, and then *pours* it in the king's hand. This boy, when the king is *sitting in the men's assembly*, will sit to the side, quite close to the king.

The king's *headring*, used to be rubbed. This was done by the man who shaved him and was done in the *men's assembly*.

The shield, for shade, was always carried so that the shade fell on the king, particularly when walking. When sitting, the king might have a cloth on him, thus:



- 47 that is, tied round at A-B, and the shield (would not be used if the sun was not hot, as in winter. The man holding the shield constantly shifted his position according to the motion of the sun. When walking in front of the king, he moved in a sideways fashion, with neither his face nor back fully to the king. When a shield-bearer got tired, he would beckon with his eyes and face, not speak, to

the one who was at hand to relieve him, for there were two of these men. The stick might have been pressed against the stomach or body of the holder, had he desired, but he usually carried the stick, which was long, free of other contact than that of his hands. The stick



marked A, that projects beyond the shield, is about four feet in length. No *fur trimming* is used at B; nothing at all is put there. The stick does project. The whole shield is black, jet black, with no mark of any kind. No other-coloured *war shield* was carried. It was *slit* just as other shields were.

The king never *drank* or ate in public;⁶² he ate his food in his quarters. Those who have been given food and drink, do drink etc. in the king's presence. The food would be brought to *the men's assembly* by *izinceku*; girls don't come there. It would then be partaken of, and as soon as finished there would be a general exclamation of '*Bayede!*',⁶³ all raising their arms.

48 When the king was sitting with *the men's assembly* at the meeting place in the cattle enclosure there were none of his wives there. They did not come. Nor did the chief wife or king's 'mothers' attend. It was contrary to practice for them to appear even in the *isigodhlo* when men had been summoned there by the king. As soon as men came they left the hut.

The king never *courted* a girl. He would simply take a girl and marry her.

Isangoma. These were either men or women. The latter would be called too when a *smelling-out* was held. They too *stood* when they entered the circle to *bula*. The beating of the sticks would be on the ground. There was no clapping of hands. They, however, shouted, '*Izwa!*' as they beat the ground. *Dust rose*. The *isangoma* would enter carrying his *shield* and *assegai*s in the left hand. In the right he would hold up an *assegai*, say a large-bladed stabbing *assegai*, or any other variety. He would move about smartly and urge them all strongly. '*Vumani! Vumani!*',⁶⁴ he would say. He has a goatskin cloak round his chest, gall bladders, and python and mamba skins - these drag along the ground. The skin of the python is very long. The man wears a buttock-covering, with ox tails on the forearms and lower legs.

18.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 1-3.

Also present: Mangqayi?

1. As soon as the *isangoma* has finished, another is sent for. They are all out of sight of the place of *bulaing*. They are hidden and do not see one another. Those who have *bula'd* do not mix with those who have not done so. There is no offence in singling out the wrong,

man. If an *isangoma* points out the wrong man, an innocent man who does not *takata*, he may be made to pay reparation for having libelled him. His cattle may be seized.

The *isigodhlo* girls have no chance of consulting the *isangoma*. No *bulaing* took place in the *isigodhlo*. It was done outside, and not in the dwelling place. Something might and did occur in the *isigodhlo* necessitating *bulaing*, but (the *bulaing*) took place outside the kraal, not quite so far off as where a smelling-out was held. Matters *bula'd* about were sickness, i.e. if anyone was ill in the *isigodhlo*. The girls too might be smelt out. Only the *izinceku bula'd* for any matter in the *isigodhlo*. The girls, though greatly concerned, did not attend. The doctors thus smell out a girl who

- 2 has not been present even to hear the charge. This practice whereby only *izinceku* attended, instead of the girls most concerned, was established by the king.

At a smelling-out an *isangoma* might dance or make sport for the company. He might leap about; another *isangoma* might not do so.

The *inkundhla* is the whole inside area of a cattle enclosure. The space marked A where cattle stand is also the *inkundhla*.



The *isangoma* threatens the people *bulaing* with the assegai in his right hand. He does this repeatedly. The woman *isangoma* also carries a shield and assegais, and threatens the company with an assegai just as the men do. The woman *isangoma* has on a skin skirt but she too wears tails at the biceps and just below the knees. Round the ankles she has seeds of the lala palm; these sound as she moves. These also may be worn by the man.

The younger *izangoma*, men and women, smear their faces with red ochre, but the elderly ones do not do this. Those my age (75) would not do this.

- 3 I remember seeing Mbuyazi. He was tall. He was dark brown in colour, with hair in the small of his back. 'Elephant with a tuft of hair' - this was a praise-name, not an insult. Cetshwayo was very dark in colour. He was of medium height. Mbuyazi wore dress made of monkey and genet tails.

There may have been girls of spirit in Zululand, but they were afraid to show their spirit. They were afraid of the king.

Notes

¹This is the line of the Mpungose chiefs. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p.29.

²Formed c.1858; age-group born c.1838.

- ³Possibly formed c.1816 by Senzangakhona. The informant's father would thus have been born c.1790. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, and Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 240.
- ⁴Early in 1840.
- ⁵One of several regiments formed between 1821 and 1827; age-group born c.1801-7.
- ⁶Formed c.1823; age-group born c.1800.
- ⁷The original Zulu, which Stuart has underlined, reads, '*...ngoba ba tand' umbaso*'. Literally this means 'because they like fire'. For 'Zwide' in the first sentence of this paragraph read 'Tshaka'?
- ⁸Mbelebeleni was the headquarters of the Mbelebele regiment. This sentence in the original could also be translated as, 'The Ndwandwe destroyed the Mbelebeleni kraal.'
- ⁹This parenthesis appears in the original as a marginal note.
- ¹⁰The word used in the original is *amankengana*, which has the derogatory connotation of inferior, poor, low-class outsiders.
- ¹¹Presumably outside the original Zulu chiefdom.
- ¹²The hill of execution at Mgungundlovu.
- ¹³In a marginal note in the original, Stuart draws attention to evidence given by Tununu, another of his informants. This will appear in a later volume.
- ¹⁴Slight modifications have been made to the original structure of this list and of the list of regiments that follows in order to present them in a standardized form. Stuart's renderings of these names have been retained throughout.
- ¹⁵This list includes regiments formed by members of the Zulu royal line from Senzangakhona to Dinuzulu. A marginal note in the original indicates uncertainty as to the order of the first eleven names.
- ¹⁶Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 207 and 329, distinguishes between the umKhulutshane (pl: imikhulutshane), the isiKhulutshane, and the isiGulutshane. In his list of regiments subsequently published in Olden Times, pp. 645-6, he distinguishes between the umKhulutshane and the isiGulutshane, but does not include the name 'isiKhulutshane', which in all likelihood was simply his corruption of 'isiGulutshane'. In Olden Times, p. 645, he identifies the isiGulutshane with the Ndabakadengizibone, and in his Dictionary, p.207, he describes it as having been incorporated with the umKhulutshane.
- ¹⁷The five regimental names given by Gezindaka appear in the original as an arrowed insertion.
- ¹⁸Literally, 'in the open space'.
- ¹⁹Modifications have been made to the original structure of the three following lists in order to present them in a standardized form.
- ²⁰The word used in the original, *itusi* (*ithusi*), may mean brass or copper. To avoid clumsiness in the translation we have used the former sense throughout.
- ²¹The grammatical construction of the original is faulty and its meaning obscure. Our reconstruction may be misleading.
- ²²Heavy metal band worn on the lower arm by warriors as a mark of royal favour.
- ²³The word used in the original is *amanhluwenga*, which has the derogatory connotation of 'worthless foreigners'. It applies particularly to certain peoples living to the north of Zululand.
- ²⁴i.e. the ones who prepared the medicines for strengthening the king at the *ukweeshuxama* ceremony which preceded the *umkhosi* celebrations.

- ²⁵ Marginal note in the original.
- ²⁶ In the original the word is 'ill', but from the sense of the rest of the passage it seems clear that it should be 'well'.
- ²⁷ The word used in the original is *isilomo*. Bryant describes the *isilomo* as men favoured at the royal court though holding no special office (*Zulu People*, p. 463).
- ²⁸ 'Tshayani!' ('Shayani!'), literally, 'Strike!', was the *isangoma's* call to the people participating in the 'smelling-out' to beat the ground, or *bhula*, with their sticks. They would respond, 'Izwa!' ('Yizwa!'), literally, 'Smell!'
- ²⁹ The Bheje *umuzi* was attached to Mgungundlovu.
- ³⁰ According to Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 682-3, *imvoko* is used for 'persons who are not their own masters' and for 'children born of the Zulu king'.
- ³¹ i.e. without the king's permission to marry.
- ³² Stuart notes Baleni's use of *abaNguni* rather than *abeNguni*.
- ³³ The literal meaning of this phrase is 'by means of or on account of the grain basket'. Its historical connotations are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 20-2, and *Dictionary*, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 467. A possible meaning may be that the Ntungwa came down carrying their provisions with them.
- ³⁴ A medicinal herb.
- ³⁵ The original does not make it clear whether it was a specific campaign or war in general that was discussed.
- ³⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 682, gives *iviyo* as a company of men about fifteen or twenty in number.
- ³⁷ Half-brother of Cetshwayo.
- ³⁸ Literally, 'They have been set apart', i.e. to be milked for the king.
- ³⁹ 'The red grindstone of him who keeps his face to the enemy.'
- ⁴⁰ At the beginning of his statement of 10.5.1914, Baleni referred to Gaozi as a brother, and gave his grandfather's name as Ndhlovu. This anomaly adds further confusion to an obscure statement.
- ⁴¹ Wild plum and red ivory respectively.
- ⁴² These practices were carried out for the ancestral spirits.
- ⁴³ See also under 12.5.1914, where Baleni distinguishes between those of the king's *izinceku* who may participate in war, and those who may not.
- ⁴⁴ We have been unable to establish the meaning of this word. In a marginal note in the original, Stuart writes: 'Qeta'd - this is the word for what girls did'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 534, gives *qeta* as 'to sit at ease' in Zulu female style.
- ⁴⁵ The name of an *umuzi* founded by Shaka. See Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 757.
- ⁴⁶ The *ububendle* is a species of shrub the white underskin of whose leaves was used for making fringed girdles.
- ⁴⁷ *Ulembu* is the name for any fine, soft material, e.g. linen, cloth, cotton gauze as originally traded by the Tsonga, spider's web, or river moss.
- ⁴⁸ The *imfibinga* was an ornament of beadwork or metalwork.
- ⁴⁹ An *inkata* (*inkatha*) is a grass coil placed on the head for carrying a load. The *inkatha yezwe*, literally 'the grass coil of the nation', was a national emblem.

- ⁵⁰In our interpretation of the original Zulu sentence we have followed Samuelson's account of the rituals connected with the making of the *inkatha*. See Long, Long Ago, p. 401.
- ⁵¹As note 23 above.
- ⁵²In a marginal note, Stuart refers to the evidence of Ndwandwe ka Masipula in another notebook. We have been unable to locate this evidence.
- ⁵³See note 45 above.
- ⁵⁴*Ndabezita!* (*Ndabezitha!*) is a term used when addressing royalty. *Amanga!* indicates, 'I beg your pardon.'
- ⁵⁵It is not clear in the original whether it is Cetshwayo or the informant Baleni who poses this question.
- ⁵⁶Authorities whom we have consulted about Zulu tradition have been unable to shed any light on this custom. Stuart, File 74, p. 98, records the following statement made by Zulu on 19.12.1898: 'Should a man fall into a trance, be taken for dead, have grave dug and come to after the grave had been dug, a toad (frog?) would be got and thrown into the grave, which would then be partly filled up.'
- ⁵⁷The *umncwedo* (*umncedo*; pl. *imincedo*) was the cover of leaves worn over the end of the penis.
- ⁵⁸The word *impande* means 'root'. The women's use of the word *ingxabiyo* when referring to a root is an example of the *hlonipha* custom of showing respect by avoiding the mention of words containing the radicals of the names of persons of rank.
- ⁵⁹The *umqubula* (pl. *imiqubula*) was the dress for dancing, consisting of three girdles made of monkey tails. One was worn over the buttocks, another about the waist, and a third over the shoulders, thus covering the body from neck to knee.
- ⁶⁰i.e. the circular patch of hair inside the headring.
- ⁶¹The word 'not' in this sentence was omitted in the original.
- ⁶²cf. Baleni's statement, 17.5.1914, that the king, when moving from one military headquarters to another, 'might sit for a time and partake of his beer'.
- ⁶³A form of salutation used only when addressing the king.
- ⁶⁴For '*Izuka!*' see note 28 above. '*Vumani!*', literally, 'Agree!', was the call made by the *isangoma* to the assembly to answer his divinations.

BAZLEY, WILLIAM

25.6.1907

File 65, item 4, pp. 74-6.

74 I met Fynn in 1853 in Richmond. He was not living there and may have come from Pietermaritzburg. I was living in Richmond then.

I have seen his ordinary diary, covered with the skin of an elephant's ear. It is large quarto size, short foolscap size, over 300 pages, and about two and a half inches thick. He carried it in a sack or flat skin bag. The paper was not all alike. Narrower sheets were inside. All was in his own writing. He told me it was from memory; he said the original was buried with his brother Pobana.¹

Fynn gave me a neck ring - I now have it - taken from a woman who was cut open by Tshaka to see if her child lay as in a cow. After she was cut open and Tshaka satisfied, he ordered her to be
75 killed. She had this thick ring round her neck. Her head had to be cut off. Fynn told me this story and gave me the ring - of copper - about two inches wide. I still have this ring. It weighs over a pound.

Fynn had to use a white flower which, if bruised, turns blue-black, as ink. He told me he had to use this.

When I came to Ifafa, my father went to fetch the rest of the family from Richmond. I was left to thatch some houses. I was alone with a kaffir boy. This was at Nil Desperandum. Fynn arrived from Umzinto, where he was magistrate, on his way to the Inyangwini (just south of the Mtwalume). He had a big round hut there. He went to see Dr Struthers who also lived at the Inyangwini. Fynn was looking after a cotton plantation. This was in 1860.

76 Fynn said, '*Hullo, my child. Where do you come from?*' He nearly always spoke to me in Kaffir. He spoke more freely when he spoke in Zulu.

Fynn told me of three cannibal kraals in the vicinity of Nil Desperandum. I said I could shoot, but Fynn said the cannibals would not give me a chance of shooting. He said they would eat me. He described how they got their victims without risking anything themselves. He told me of Sosingata, a noted cannibal, who lived near the bank of the Umzinkulu, about two and a half miles above the present ferry drift, now covered with cane.

<25.6.1907>

File 65, item 4, pp. 78-117.

78 Sosingata, Fynn said, had a long stick, about 10 feet long, of light wattle. It had a loop of *gonoti* (creeper), at the end about

14 inches in diameter and tied to the stick firmly. Round the loop was a noose of *uzi* fibre. Sosingata would take up a position along-
 79 side the path about eight feet from the edge thereof, in a thickish place, among the *jikijolo* (brambles), so as not to be seen. The stick would be kept upright as if growing, and when the last of any party passed he would slip the noose over the head, pull the string, choke the victim, and draw him or her into the wood and then eat them.

Sosingata lived at this place for over 18 years on the south bank of the Umzimkulu, opposite Brudewold's estate Eidswold, and about 600 yards from the river. He used to watch his victims cross the river. It used to be thought that wolves or hyenas took the victims off, whereas it was Sosingata.

Fynn told me this in 1860. In 1881 I was at the Umzimkulu, resident there. I sought out the site where Sosingata used to break
 80 open his victims' skulls to get the brain, and bones to extract the marrow. I saw a patch of stone or rock about 20 feet in diameter. This stone is still to be seen there. All round this stone, wherever one cared to dig, one would find, as I found, bone mould and pieces of skull, leg and other bones. The bones had been broken so as to extract the marrow. So extensive were these remains that one can only conclude that hundreds of human beings had fallen victims to this man. He brought up his family on them. His granddaughter is my washerwoman, and has washed for us for years. She is a Christian. She is now about 40, married. She knows of these incidents.

I sent a paper to Mr. Woodhead of the Mercury before the rebellion.² This he still has and it contains many references to Fynn.

81 Sosingata was killed about 1863 or 1864 for eating boys and girls. He was brought up as a cannibal. He was killed by the inmates of several kraals near the Mtwalume. They watched for him to come back to the pots where he had a fat little boy cooked, and caught him. They smashed his head into a pulp. He had lived at the Mzimkulu till about 1850; he then moved to the Mtwalume near the mission station - north of it (Rev. H.A. Wilder's station).

I went with Dr Struthers to interpret. Struthers was a retired doctor (for many years a hunter); he had been sent to look into the killing of Sosingata and report on the injuries received. I was at
 82 Wilder's when this affair took place. Dr Struthers wanted Wilder to go and interpret for him. Wilder asked me to go in his place. I saw Sosingata. He was not headringed and was bald-headed. I do not know his *alan* name. I am sure this man is the one Fynn told me about.

I have found scores of places where cannibals have occupied the caves or overhanging rocks. I noticed a place at the Umzumbe where Vangeni used to eat people, on the Ngawanguba range of hills, south of and on the bank of the Mzumbe, about five or six miles above the railway.

The first time Fynn came to my father's place, Nil Desperandum, he was on his way to the Nyangwini. He stayed the night with me. I had just come back from putting in some beacons. He asked me if I was not frightened of the cannibals. I said no, I had a gun and
 83 could shoot, and would blow their insides out. He said that was all right if they gave me the chance. He said, 'My child, you don't know

the risk that you are running.' He said that after we had had something to eat he would tell me how cannibals caught their victims and how impossible it was for the victim decided upon to escape. He then gave me the account given above re the long wattle. I then first realized the danger. Though I had been amongst the kaffirs for years - from childhood - and had heard them talking about their experiences with cannibals, I had always looked on it as an *insu-mansumane* or fairy tale - *old women's* stories. We talked over the matter. He then sent off a messenger - I did not know at the time
 84 why he did - to a headman, Tayiza, of the Nyamvini tribe that lived about four miles away. Next morning the messenger returned with *izinsizwa*, two of them, strong, named Mnyaiza and Soplayisi (Surprise). Fynn gave instructions that one or other of them was to keep me in sight until father returned; they would be paid their wages of 7s 6d a month each. He said they were to stay and work on the place, and he would hold them responsible for my life. They would not let me stir 10 yards without following me. I was alone at that time for months. The boys stayed with me until my father returned. Fynn visited us also when my father was there.

Fynn's character. He was as kind-hearted a man as I have ever
 85 known. I could not have fraternized with him as I did, because I would have been frightened of him. If he had been stern and hard-faced I would have feared him, but he was kindly. In proof of this he was respected and loved by every native in the country. They used to call him their father who took them out of the bushes and hiding-places, and fed and protected them. And when rumours of his death got about in 1861 they came in hundreds to my father's place to inquire if it was really the truth that their father, Mbuyazi, the father of the people, had really passed away. Without exception every one was deeply affected and showed the sorrow on their faces,
 86 and for months they mourned for him on their own accord. When the famine of 1862-1863 came on, and the natives were dying all round, they used to say, 'Mbuyazi our father, Mbuyazi our father is dead. It doesn't matter what becomes of us.' In fact, never in my experience, and I have had a good deal among the natives, have I seen more sincere sorrow expressed and shown. The boys used to be thrashed when they made a noise, and girls stopped singing at the offerings of the first fruits when they went to throw the *young plants* in the river, for Mbuyazi was dead, Mbuyazi was dead.

Further away in distant Pondoland, both eastern and western, the name of *Mbuyazi we Teku*³ is held in reverence today. Any native of
 87 Pondoland, when I happened to be in the country (as I have been many times, even as late as last January), would smile and come forward if I mentioned his name, and tell me that he was their father, who protected and sheltered them against Tshaka so that a residue of the people were left. 'Tshaka was great,' they said, 'but Mbuyazi was greater, because Tshaka listened to him. Faku was a wise chief and Mbuyazi was his father,' meaning that Faku listened to Fynn.

This was before the days of Thomas Jenkins, who has been a factor for good in Pondoland. Jenkins and his wife took up Fynn's mantle and became the protectors of the people. In proof of this,

88 let anyone today visit Emfundisweni mission station, and see as I have seen how Jenkins and his wife, Mrs Jenkins, in their last resting place, are surrounded by over 700 graves of Pondo people. Anyone knowing the native character must be struck with the affection shown by the people in allowing their dead to be buried away from their old homesteads and the bosom of their tribe, around the graves of the missionary and his wife. This speaks more eloquently than words can. Jenkins's native name was Marwanqana.⁴ His wife was commonly known by the whites as the Queen of Pondoland. She survived her husband by many years. This seed of affection was sown by Mbuyazi, for it was owing to Fynn's influence and the affection the natives all bore him that Faku and the Pondo people so quickly recognised the value of having a white adviser amongst them.

Fynn, I know for a fact, saved thousands of the homeless wretches who were wandering about the country, a prey to wild animals and, worse, wild animals of their own species - cannibals.

I have always felt the injustice that has been done this man in the Government not giving him a large, free grant of land in the country in which he had done so much, contributing so much in making Natal what it is today. Fynn carried his life in his hand. If justice cannot be done to him then it ought to be done to his children.

90 Get 4th February 1907 and 4th March 1907 issues of Natal Witness - giving letters by me correcting misconceptions regarding the fate of the Grosvenor survivors.⁵

He was a fearless man. He took his life in his hand as a religious, God-fearing man. I cannot give his height; he was strongly built. [His height was six feet in his socks - H.F.F. jr.,⁶ 7.6.1908.] I am one month younger than H.F. Fynn junior.

Fynn lived with natives for 18 months when he first came, so as to learn their language and customs, i.e. when he went to Pondoland etc.

I was secret agent for Sir T. S.⁷ in regard to native affairs.

91 Fynn used to write his accounts of adventures himself. His one trouble was that his second diary was written from memory. The first diary was put in Pobana's grave. (I put the stone up myself years after.) The diary was buried by the natives with the deceased in accordance with the native custom.

My native name is Gwembeshe.⁸

I do not know what became of diary no. 2, written up from memory. It was bound up in the skin of an elephant's ear. I saw this at the Ifafa. He left it with me for months, as I was so interested in all these things. He took a fancy to me. If I had been wise I would have taken extracts.

92 Death of Nandi. Fynn, Mopo, Vuwana, Vuwana's eldest son Mpohlo (living), Mantaza (an old *widow* living at North Shepstone about

200 yards from where I lived) - all these testify to the fact that Nandi's death was due to Tshaka.

The story goes: He, Tshaka, questioned her about a son that one of the women had had. He supposed that Nandi was hiding this son away. Some say she denied it and turned round to get some straws or wood to feed the fire with, the hut being dark, and he in his rage, stabbed her up the fundament with a sharp stick, through her leather skirt. This penetrated some inches up the anus. He told her if she divulged it he would have her torn limb from limb and eaten by the dogs of the kraal. So it was always supposed she died of enteric fever or typhoid, which natives call *intsheko*. Natives, however, say, 'How could that be when she was supposed to be well when Tshaka left?', i.e. how could she contract the disease and die in that time? After stabbing her he went off next day to hunt. This hunt had been organized before he stabbed her. A messenger was sent to say Nandi was dead. As a matter of fact she was dying. As soon as he received the news Tshaka cried, and natives said, '*The evil-doer cried like a little girl.*' I heard this part from Fynn but chiefly from the old natives.

Tshaka was called Mpisintshonga because he had prominent front teeth - the two front teeth.

Fynn, when he gave evidence before the commission of 1852, suppressed the fact that Nandi was killed (given her death wound) by Tshaka, for fear of what people would say in England.

The sharp stick he used must have been the shank of an assegai. They were often about 14 inches in length.

Mopo was engaged somewhere as a servant in Pietermaritzburg. He told me all about the first battle of Ndondakusuka.

95 I handed the diary Fynn lent me back to him; he took it when he passed.

Ndongeni rode with Dick King; he told me he went. Dick King also told me this. Ndongeni did not cross the bay. King picked him up at a kraal at Wentworth. King came across the bay at this kraal, having previously left him on the farm at Isipingo. When the fighting began Ndongeni moved to the kraal at Wentworth.

Mrs Jones (formerly Miss Calverly), recently living at Amanzimtoti on the old wagon road, knows all about Dick King's ride. She heard all about it from her people.

96 I landed in Natal with my father in 1850. After landing, we walked a mile or so when we came to a man standing alongside the road with a flour-sack apron on. My mother said, 'Can you tell me, sir, how far it is to the town of Durban?' He replied, 'God bless you, mum, you're in the middle of Durban now.' This spot is near where Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn's place is now; it may be on the Durban side of it.

I went to see Callaway in or about 1868. He was then writing up Nursery Tales.⁹ I interpreted for him for some days. Blair did the printing at Springvale.

97 The killing of Lukilimba. Pobana then had a big kraal at the

farm at Mzinto (now belonging to Sidney Abrams), called Mzinto Lodge. It is all under cane now. I fancy H.F. Fynn then lived at Mahlongwa. Henry F. Fynn's, i.e. Mbuyazi's, father and mother were buried near Ezimbokodweni at the back of Qusted's. I do not know when they came or died. Mbuyazi told me he would have been a rich man, and would not have required to be in this part of Africa, had it not been for certain specie that ought to have been shipped at Cape Town but wasn't. There was something wrong about it. The things that interested me most were what he told me of Tshaka.

- 98 After the death of Tshaka Fynn knew that Dingana would destroy all Tshaka's European friends, '*the swallows*'. He and others then decided to move into Pondoland and get under Faku's protection. They started. Now it so happened that among Fynn's followers was a man called Lukilimba. [He was one of my father's servants but turned traitor - H.F.F. jr., 7.6.1908.] This man was one of Dingana's spies. Fynn had been warned this man was not true, so he ordered Vuwana (or Kofiyana) to shoot him. Kofiyana was one of Wohlo's (Ogle's) men, and father of Mbotshwa. (I have been to the spot where Farewell was killed at Tafamasi in Pondoland, but I could not find the site of the grave.) Kofiyana was a good shot. Joyce (Bob) and Kofiyana were in the first Ndongakusuka battle and
99 escaped by getting into a clump of bush with *palms* in it and keeping up a fire. The Zulus abandoned them owing to the risk involved.

- Fynn ordered Vuwana (or Kofiyana) to shoot Lukilimba in the back as he walked on in the path in front of him, for all were on the move, trying to escape from Dingana. Fynn said, 'Shoot him'; he did not say, 'in the back'. The man went up behind, pulled the trigger, and the gun did not go off. Fynn, seeing this, called Lukilimba, saying he wanted to speak to him. Fynn was riding on horseback at
100 the time. He told him to put his head close to him as he did not want the others to hear what he wanted to say to him, as it referred to how many cattle he was to have. Lukilimba was on the left side of the horse. He put up his right ear; Fynn began whispering and in the same instant pulled out his pistol and fired at him, shooting him through the head, remarking, 'Such should be the death of all dogs.'

- (This man's skeleton and skull with a bullet hole through it were seen by Charles and George Sinclair many years afterwards, between 1860 and 1870. I heard first from them that the skull lay not far from the path or old track. Feeling interested and knowing
101 Lukilimba's history, (I outspanned our waggon, on the flat north side of the Ilovu river under the shade of a big strangler banyan or *umtombe* tree under which Fynn used to hold his court. This was known as Fynn's tree. I went to look for *unsimbiti*¹⁰ trees for spokes. I looked for Lukilimba's skull. I found it and several leg bones. This was between 1860 and 1870. When I found the bones I did not know they were Lukilimba's until I found the skull C. and G. Sinclair had told me about. I left the skull there. I noticed a bullet hole through the upper part and top of the ear.)

- 102 Fynn and his party then moved along the coast until they reached the Mbilanhlola. They could not travel fast because of the women and children, cattle, impedimenta etc. They camped between the big and little Mbilanhlolas. These two streams are t'ere about 800 or

so yards apart, i.e. on the beach. They camped in an open glade behind two high sand dunes, something like the Nsandhlundhlu or North Sand Bluff. The two sand dunes were on the south side of the larger Mbilanhlola, within sight of the lagoon and sand bar. One of the boys had a wet dream and went down to *wash* in the early morning, 103 just before daylight. When he stooped down on the south side of the lagoon and on its edge, he saw the sand bar that ought to have been white covered with a black moving mass. He ran back and gave the alarm but too late. The Zulus were on them and had closed in. The fight and massacre then commenced.

Fynn's party could not do much. They got scattered by the sudden attack, and a running fight followed. Fynn himself escaped round the end of the south sand dune out onto a point of rocks on the sea beach where he took to the water, swimming round and landing on the 104 sand bar on the mouth of the Mbilanhlola behind the enemy, who by that time had passed on in pursuit of the party. The mouth of all these little rivers is blocked up with a high dry sandbank. It was on this bank that the enemy had crossed. Fynn got into a bush on the north side of the Mbilanhlola. He stayed there till the enemy went back with the cattle and loot they had captured. He then crossed to the site of his old camp, finding four of his children on the edge of the northern sand dune. They were dead and covered over with a blanket. His eldest daughter Nomanga was found hung up by the neck and stuck in a bush. She was alive and crying. The woman who was 105 carrying her had thrown her away into the bush in her fright.

When they were camping, Kofiyana or someone else came to Fynn and told him there was a man amongst them who was a spy and had been trying to loiter behind to bring the enemy on. This made Kofiyana suspicious. Fynn said, 'Kill the dog,' but one of Fynn's wives - possibly Nomanga's mother - said, 'But why kill him; what harm has he done?' Fynn got angry, turned round and picked up a dry stick from a bundle of wood that had been gathered as firewood, and hit 106 her with it, saying, 'This is not time for women to talk.' (This was a black woman - Fynn had four or five black wives.) 'Women have no business to mix in men's affairs.' He hit her again with the stick. At the same time the man (the alleged spy) jumped up and ran for the lagoon. He got across the water and along the sandbank into the bush, the same bush Fynn had escaped in, and got away. This was about 5 p.m. and not long before sundown.

Fynn then felt uneasy. He called his principal followers together and told them he thought they ought to move on - what I am saying now was told me by actual actors in the affair - and move out of the course along the coast inland for about a quarter of a mile, and 107 there hide so that the enemy on coming along would pass them. Fynn had no means of knowing the strength of Dingana's army. His force was not organized enough to set up a staunch resistance. The women and some of the men objected, saying, 'We are tired and the children are crying for food, and we cannot go any further.' Fynn himself was too astute to be caught napping that way, but he was overruled by the bulk of the people, not knowing the enemy was so close at hand. He always regretted having allowed himself to be overruled by women and children and his people in spite of his own better judgment. I have seen Fynn with tears in his eyes when telling me of all this. 108 This explains how they came to be dawdling there whereas they should

have been further on.

In my essay to Woodhead of the Mercury, I gave him an account of the amaDunge (cannibals), amaKanywayo, and Izinkumbi tribes.

H.F. Fynn knew a good deal of medicines. My father once cut his leg very badly with an adze; it bled very much. I got very frightened. He got quite pale. I could not stop it. Fynn arrived. I told him my father was dying. Fynn jumped off his horse, went in, looked round, and saw no spiders' webs. He came out and said, 'Billy, run down to that boom tree and get some cobweb.' He had noticed the cobweb as he passed. I ran, clambered up, and got three or four
109 handfuls of web, and brought it. He took it, rolled it all into a roll or ball, and pulled the ends out a little - as long as the wound. He applied this to the wound and tied it up. In 10 minutes the bleeding was stopped. Father went to sleep from weakness. This was at 4 p.m.

Fynn was going on to sleep at Mr Wilder's at the Umtwalume (north side), and from there to Nyangwini next day. (Nyangwini is a range of hills near the sea where he had his cotton plantation. He had a big kraal there.) He told his boy to saddle up. When he looked at me he said, 'Why Billy, what are you frightened at?' I said, 'What shall I do if father dies in the night?' For as his breathing was so
110 light I was not sure what might happen. I felt downhearted. Fynn looked straight at me and said, 'Poor boy, I feel sorry for you, and I won't go away if I have to wait for a week.' He then called to the boy not to saddle up, saying he would sleep there. He then sent a boy away to go and get some herbs. The boy returned with them and Fynn had them pounded together. He told me that that was what was called 'kaffir medicines', some of which were very powerful, and that I would within the next two days see the effect of the medicine he was going to put on my father's leg. He put a poultice on the wound on top of the web, and said it was not to be touched for four days. He told me to keep it moist. On the fourth day poultice and web should come off together and leave a clean wound. He stayed the
111 night. My mother was not there then. Next morning he went on to the Nyangwini after breakfast and said he would call in three or four days.

In the meantime my father got up before he was strong enough or fit, and wanted to go on with his work. As he was working - we were flattening sticks for laths to thatch on - I noticed he sweated very much, due to weakness. After a while he sat down to smoke; in half an hour he talked hoarsely. He went and lay down. In half an hour I went to see him. He was bad, with a sore throat. I sent the next day at about 3 p.m. for Fynn, asking him to come as soon as he could. Fynn arrived at 9.30 p.m. the same night. It was pitch dark and I did not expect him till the next day, for the distance was
112 seven miles. He sent a native to a neighbouring kraal for a particular drug. He made a decoction and with a feather painted the part of the throat affected. After a while father got on the mend. Fynn remained a day or two and went on to Mzinto, my father then being able to sit up. This is why I have such an affection for Mr Fynn.

He spoke Zulu splendidly. He also spoke Pondo and Xosa, but he preferred Zulu.

When Fynn found his children and many of his party murdered, the bulk of them had gone, carrying on the wounded, including a son of his, wounded in the side. This son died and was buried on the Nsandhlundhlu ridge. Fynn then went on with his people into Pondo-
 113 land. He located them there under Faku's protection, and then he felt, as he had felt all along, an intense desire to settle accounts with Dingana. He told me himself that he had made up his mind to go and beard the lion in his den and shoot him dead. Dingana, in the meantime, was told by his own *impi*, when it came back, that it had finished Sifile¹¹ and all his people. This was a lie, so that when Fynn turned up all at once, Dingana thought he had come back from the dead. Fynn could only account in that way for Dingana's fear.

Zabutshana of the Malanga tribe and Maduli, also the Malanga tribe, were old men who had escaped when Bebeni and Mzobotshi were
 114 killed by Fynn's orders by the Mahlongwa people. Zabutshana and Maduli were living close to our place at Ifafa in 1860. These are the men who told me what had happened and so corroborated the story I had heard from Fynn himself.

Fynn told me that when he came into Dingana's presence he drew his pistol and held it in his hand and asked, 'Why have you killed my people?' Dingana said, 'Oh Sifile, it was not me; it was Luki-
 limba, Mzobotshi and Bebeni.' They told lies about him to the effect that he was about to steal the king's cattle. Now there were cattle of the king missing but these had been taken by Bebeni and Mzobotshi from a *cattle post* on the Ngololo, a range of hills close to the Ifafa on the south side.

115 Dingana said, 'Sifile, you have already punished Lukilimba. I give you Bebeni and Mzobotshi. Kill the liars and don't spare them. I give you a present of cattle.' (These turned out to be nearly 200 in number.) 'These are to heal your sore heart for the loss of your children. *Go well, Sifile; finish them off so that nothing remains, not even a dog,*' said Dingana.

Dingana watched Fynn driving the cattle; he looked over the fence at him. After Fynn had gone out of sight he ordered a regiment to follow him to see that he did not come back and that there was no treachery in the thing, and that Fynn went straight. These men
 116 followed him in a crescent formation behind, but not within sight. Fynn did not know he was being followed. He was followed as far as the Umgeni.

Fynn then came on to the Mahlongwa people at the Ilovu. He told what had happened, ordered the killing and eating of the cattle, and that the skins were to be cut into shields. This was done. They then *armed*, made assegais (those who had no assegais made *unsimbiti* assegais), and then moved forward to destroy Bebeni and Mzobotshi and capture their girls. Fynn went some way with them and told them to go on and kill these men off, which they did. Mzobotshi, however, escaped. Bebeni was killed. Zabutshana and Maduli were boys and also escaped. Fynn went on and joined his people at Sikisiki in eastern Pondoland.

117 Fynn was a very brave man and kind-hearted. The only thing that caused him fear, as he told me, was the snarl of a hyena at his rear in the dark. It used to make him feel cold down his spine.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone was always very down on Fynn.

BAZLEY

27.6.1907

File 65, item 4, pp. 117-8.

Mr Bazley (not Bazeley) is most anxious that anything he has said in regard to Mbuyazi's family or domestic affairs should (not),¹² do any of his name at present living any injury.

118 He is preparing a full account of the wrecks of the Bonnybrook and Grosvenor. He said the latter was wrecked in 1782 and the other, I think, 'eighty years before'. His trouble is in tracing the history of the descendants. He found a very old white woman living exactly as a native between Springvale and Highflats somewhere between 1860 and 1870 or so, she then being about 86 years of age and speaking only Zulu. He could not get her name, but thinks it must be Hosea. He got full accounts of her having been saved from drowning and then concealed by natives. The relief party that came failed to find any of the survivors in consequence of natives being loath to deliver up wives so cheaply secured.

[Have asked him for: 1) Diagram of massacre of Fynn's family etc.; 2) map of coast, Durban to Pondoland, giving native names of hills, notable kraals etc.; 3) any other recollections of Fynn and Tshaka; 4) paper he sent to Woodhead.]

Fynn was fearless and quick to go to anyone's assistance no matter what the risk - see p. 63, Isaacs's book, vol. 1.¹³

Mpholo is living. He used to live at Sikisiki with Fynn. He is about 80 now or more. He lives on Brudewold's place, on the opposite side of the river to me.

Notes

¹ Frank or Francis Fynn, a younger brother of Henry Francis Fynn.

² Presumably the Natal disturbances of 1906.

³ 'Mbuyazi of the Bay', one of Henry Francis Fynn's praise-names.

⁴ Mahwanqana, i.e. the little man with whiskers.

⁵ The letters were written by Bazley.

⁶ Henry Francis Fynn, junior.

⁷ Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

⁸ i.e. the bow-legged one.

⁹ The Rev. H. Callaway was the author of Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus (1868), and of The Religious System of the Amazulu (1869).

¹⁰ A species of coastal tree with very hard wood.

¹¹ One of Henry Francis Fynn's praise-names.

¹² Omitted in the original.

¹³ Nathaniel Isaacs, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, London, 1836.

BIKWAYO KA NOZIWAWA

11.10.1903. Sunday evening.

File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 5-12.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 5 Bikwayo - son of Noziwawa ka Mzizima ka Mahlantula ka Zangwa ka Lalalingumnguni (ka Mntungwa ka Siwela ka Mdhlayo ka Mpezeni - the sequence of these is doubtful but their names were all used when *bongaing* cattle). Bikwayo is of the Ngobamakosi regiment.¹

I live under Sikonyana ka Kuhleka. (Bikwayo's *clan-name* is *Ntuli*.) Cetshwayo *tunga'd* me.

- My grandfather Mzizima was made *king's messenger* of all the low country of Tongaland, i.e. that of the Amarubu or *amanhlwenga*.² The Amarubu fought at Gingindhlovu and were cut to pieces there. They
6 were *stabbed* with bayonets as they tried to force their way over into the laager. I was *induna* of the Amarubu and that is why I was caused to put on the headring. The Amarubu were made up of various tribes.

Cetshwayo gave the Amarubu permission to help themselves to people's food supplies, gardens etc. when going to Delagoa Bay (kwa Ndinisa) to fetch guns and gunpowder.

The Portuguese leader there was 'Mis Hofumana', who gave us guns, gunpowder, and caps, also spirits.

The guns were of the following kinds: (a) *ibala*, (b) *imbobiyana*, (c) *iginanda*, (d) *umhlabakude*, (e) *igodhla*, (not as long as the *ibala* gun), (f) *umakalana*, (g) *isinqwana* (for *close-range fighting* if the *impi* ever approached to close quarters; it was a very short gun, about 18 or 20 inches), (h) *ifili*.

The *ibala* gun was very long - up to my neck - five feet.

The *imbobiyana* was a large-barrelled gun.

- 7 The *idhlebe* or elephant gun came from the Boers, not the Portuguese, in the early days of Mpande's reign.

The *umakalana* was a double-barrelled gun and only given to men of position.

The *ifili* had a long range, and a small bullet and small cap, the same size cap as the *umakalana* gun. The *ifili* was a small gun, as long as the *umakalana*.

I have not seen Ndinisa, only Hofumana. The last time I saw this man was before the Zulu War.

I used to go to Tongaland with my father - as *mat-bearer*. My brother Mnyaiza (deceased) used also to go. We used to go for *genet*

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skins for the warriors' dancing girdles; blue monkey skins for the strips worn at the side of the face; leopard and otter skins for the
 8 warriors' headbands; blue cloth to be worn by the king's *isigodhlo*; large red beads, and lion and leopard claws worn by chiefs; elephant tusks (for the king who would send them on to the Europeans); rhinoceros horns for making snuff boxes of the type carried in the ear lobe (for the *amakosikazi*); beads; calabashes, gourds, etc.; beer baskets, food baskets, *ubusenga* rings, ornamental sticks and knob-sticks, and many other articles - ostrich feathers, and *umampabane* beads³ worn by chiefs.

We would go and demand these things. If people refused we would stab them. They had to pay tribute with these things in Zululand - that is, the nearer, smaller, low-country tribes.

Amagulugulu are the long green beads used for *lobolaing* with - of which I have samples.

9 The things I procured were carried by Tongas etc. to the king. *Noziyingili*⁴ would be given cattle, say those of some man who had been killed off, including the bull, with goats and sheep. The carriers would have beasts killed for them, part of which they would carry away.

We always slaughtered a beast wherever we slept, for the king's goods were sprinkled with gall.⁵ People did not greet us until a beast had actually been stabbed. (The chief, would then come and tell us our various huts. We would pull his fences to pieces to get firewood for our fires.

Noziyingili *konza*'d the Zulu king, and so allowed us to behave as stated. No-one ever resisted us.

I have been three times to Mzila's country.⁶ Mzila's father is
 10 *Sotshangana ka Zikode ka Ndwandwe ka Nyamande* - praise-name: the black one of the *Lutuli*.⁷ Mzila's son is *Ngungunyana*.

.... <Praises of *Ngungunyana* omitted - eds.>

I have seen *Ngungunyana* at the *Emkontweni kraal* - Mzila's military kraal.

Tombolo is the *inkosazana* who followed in age after Mzila. People swear by her.

Ngungunyana's country is *kwa Gasa*.

I have seen Mzila; I have eaten and drunk 'grog' with him, procured from the Portuguese - and *Banyana*'s.⁸ Mzila had *tunga*'d. He spoke the Zulu tongue, but his followers' tongue has now changed.

I went to Mzila's to fetch skins of blue monkey, genet, leopard, and otter, and gunpowder, caps, and lead when about to fight against
 11 white people. *Cetshwayo* asked for these things.

I would go in the winter and return in the summer. *Noziyingili*'s land has disease; not Mzila's - it is open country, it is sweet, it is rich, i.e. a man likes the women there. A person coming from Zululand would be made an *induna* of a regiment and would be presented with an elephant tusk or cattle seized in war, and this tusk at a later date would probably be bought back with four girls.

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Ndukwana says that Mtokwana has gone up to Ngungunyana's.

- 12 I have seen Noziyingili, Zambile, and Ngwanaza, but not Hluma⁹ - he was before my time. Makasane's¹⁰ grave is at Mtinkulwini, a forest where *the kings are buried*. This forest is on the Usutu river and is a large one. All the kings are buried there. People are sent to *clear the undergrowth* there. No fire is allowed to burn there. If a buck, even though wounded, gets into the forest, it is allowed to go.

I have very frequently visited Tongaland officially. Cetshwayo sent me mostly. I have gone on various journeys for the British Government to Sambana, Mbikiza, Mtshелеkwana, and Ndhlaheni. I also went to Ngwanaza, Luvico, Mjindi, Fokoti, Ngcamana, Sibonda, Hlawukana ka Tobo, Hokoza ka Nopangwana, Masuku ka Mduku, Mavuso ka Mgwazi, and Mayiwana ka Sonkope.¹¹

Noziyingili's great kraal was Ngonyameni; Zambile's was Mfihlweni.

The rule in Tongaland is to face a kraal either east (seawards) or northwards, not south or west. A man would be killed for doing this.

12.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 13-19.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 13 Ndukwana and Bikwayo: *The messengers* who went from the Zulu kings to Tonga country were:

(a) Magwegwana of the Hlabisa people. His grandfather was Wolizibi, but I do not know Magwegwana's father. Mpande's mother, Songiya, was daughter of Ngoja (Ngotsha) of the Hlabisa tribe. She was sister of Somfula (deceased); Somfula's son and heir is Zofa (quite a boy).

(b) Mabi ka Sipotsho

(c) Sobofu ka Mteti

(d) Mpisikayihlangulwa ka Sipotsho, who went and remained at Sotshangana's

(e) Mazipo ka Wolizibi, who also remained at Sotshangana's

(1) Nongqiwu ka Mgobozi

(2) Sidhlebe ka Matula

(3) Gongoda ka Sidhlolo

(4) Gungu ka Sipepo

(5) Noziwawa (my father) ka Mzizima

- 14 The biggest of these last was Sidhlebe, but he was killed by Mpande before he had children. Sidhlebe had *plundered amanhlwenga* cattle and taken them to his kraal, including some white ones. No one was allowed to *steal* any beasts.

Those from (a) to (e) above were attached to Nodwengu in Mpande's time, whilst nos. 1 to 5 were attached to Mlambongwenya kraal. Nongqiwu was an *umumzana* and of high rank (see further on). There were no other Tongaland *messengers* but those at the two kraals named. The above were all Mpande's.

Cetshwayo's were:

Gawana ka Nongqiwu

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Mnyaiza ka Noziwawa (my father). I was put in Mnyaiza's place when he died.

Ndhlumbi ka Silwana. (Ndhlumbi was killed by Cetshwayo. He appropriated *genet skins intended for the king* and sold them for cattle and then *lobola'd women*.)

Somkamba ka Gongoda

Nqabeni ka Mhunjana

Madhlozi ka Mtekelezi

Silo ka Gege

Somfula ka Mazaza

Somanti ka Madolo

15 Mvubuyi ka Mfulateli. (Killed by Cetshwayo, for he *stole* cattle seized from chief Sambana ka Nhlongaluvalo.)

Matshobana, Mvubuyi's younger brother, succeeded Mvubuyi, but he was afterwards killed, for a mamba got under Somkamba's mat as he lay asleep, and tried to work its way through and bite him. He woke and killed the snake. He reported to the king, who directed *bulaing*. The diviners stated that Matshobana had caused the snake to come, whereupon the king ordered him to be put to death, asking as he did so why he desired Somkamba's death, seeing he, Matshobana, also got presents of cattle from the king. After this, Matshobana's younger brother Mgulule succeeded.

Madanduyana ka Masiya was killed by Noziyingili. His story ran thus: The king sent him for *genet, blue monkey, leopard, mongoose, otter* and other skins. Noziyingili collected 600 of them and handed them to Madanduyana. The latter refused to accept on the ground that Noziyingili had *insulted the inkosikazi Ngqumbazi*, the king's mother, by saying she was a *woman who had borne an illegitimate child, a woman who smelt of the vagina, a woman already used and rejected who had been married to Tshaka* (for she was a sweetheart of Tshaka's). As a matter of fact Noziyingili had not said this. Madanduyana left and reported to Ngqumbazi who wept tears, reported to Cetshwayo who grew angry. Cetshwayo then sent Mnyaiza (my brother) to ask if he had *insulted 'the heavens above'*,¹² and to ask if Cetshwayo could think of engaging in a fight with him. Mnyaiza went to Noziyingili, who denied it, and said Madanduyana had told lies. 'How can I *insult "the heavens above"*? Why, I would not think of *insulting* even Mapita,¹³ who is of smaller rank in Zululand.' Mnyaiza went back alone and reported. Cetshwayo sent him back to say he would be prepared to forgive him (Noziyingili) on his seeing him arrive to explain, by which was meant the payment of a heavy fine (of cattle) and sending of men accompanying them. Noziyingili then sent cattle etc., but he complained of Madanduyana. The king agreed with Noziyingili, the old Zulu Tonga, and fined Madanduyana.

At a later time Madanduyana was sent back to Tongaland with a party of 16, including four *mat-bearers*, to demand more taxes. Noziyingili saw his opportunity. He caused Madanduyana and the whole of his party to be put to death. No one escaped, and their heads were taken and stuck on sharpened posts which were stood upright on either side of the cattle kraal gate of the Ngonyameni kraal. As soon as this happened, Mngiwana, father of Ngcamane, went off and

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18 reported to Cetshwayo. Mnyaiza (my late brother) was then sent to find out if it was the truth that his men had been killed. Noziyingili *admitted it* and said he had done so. He said he knew that when the Zulus entertained ill-feeling against anyone it was great, and he therefore took time by the forelock by killing the man who had maliciously told lies about him, who was an *irresponsible trouble-maker*, so that if he himself were killed he would have the satisfaction of knowing that he had put the man to death.

Noziyingili now sent numbers of cattle, skins of all kinds, gun-powder, guns, caps, lead, etc. to the king to atone for his offence. The king in the end accepted the things and Noziyingili was pardoned.

I am wrong in saying all the party of 17 were killed. It so happened that Madanduyana had sent one, Maziya (of the Mboza regiment) ka Hlombe to get *ukusuya* or the beer made from the lala palms. The massacre took place in his absence, so he escaped - the
19 only one who did escape. At first in Zululand they thought he too had been killed, but he turned up eventually.

Bikwayo says: I and two others were sent by Cetshwayo afterwards to *fetch calabashes* in Tongaland, work which Madanduyana had previously performed. This we carried out, the *calabashes* being distributed to the various *military kraals* throughout the country.

It has to be observed that much of what has been stated took place whilst Mpande was still king but when Cetshwayo was fast acquiring power. Ngqumbazi was already dead when Cetshwayo came to the throne.

13.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 19-24.

Also present: Ndukwana

20 There were others who used to go on missions to Tongaland, men whose names I have forgotten, e.g. Zondwayo ka Luvalo, who belonged to Mlambongwenya, where I did. Nongqiwu, aforementioned, was the great *induna*. He was the *umumzana*, and those stated as belonging to Mlambongwenya were under him. Of those previously named, Sidhlebe was the greatest. When he died Sobofu became the greatest, and when Sobofu died Nongqiwu became the principal *messenger* to Tongaland. Sobofu's son did not succeed him for he, the son, became an *isangoma*.

There were no *messengers* to Swaziland for the only thing ever done there was to send to ask for rain, when a small herd of black oxen would be sent. I do not know who went to Swaziland for rain. They were not particular *messengers*. Mahlatini ka Sojaba of the Zungu and Mpungana ka Mquba of the Tembu were sent by Cetshwayo to Swaziland, viz. to Mbandeni. Mpungana was *induna* of (the) Kandempemvu and *induna* of the place of the people of Mkosana, the great *induna* of (the) Kandempemvu. Mahlatini was an *inceku* of Mpande at Gqikazi (Ngqumbazi's place). He cooked for Mgqumbazi.

21 These two drove off cattle (oxen). They took *inkumande* oxen, the name of the king's black oxen. One or more of these oxen were slightly speckled white underneath.

The things used to be fetched from Tongaland after *reaping and threshing* took place. It was said that in summer they should be allowed to *set traps* and kill the bucks. The *calabashes* too would be dry and the seeds taken out. The *beer baskets and other baskets* would also have been made.

- 22 The persons who gave the various things were not presented with anything by the Zulu king. The demand used to be made of the Tonga king, who would send out men of his own to collect and bring to us, we in the meantime having cattle killed for us and being given food. We would not collect ourselves. And when the things were ready the Tonga king would furnish men to accompany us with the things to Zululand, they acting as the carriers.

Things were fetched from Tongaland year by year. No year passed without this being done. *Dancing girdles* were always wanted, also ostrich feathers, which got out of order etc. and required to be replenished.

The Zulus could not *trap buck*; they were trapped by *amankengana*¹⁴. Tongaland was the great supplying country for Zululand, but, Ndukwana remarks, the *ostrich and crane* feathers were got from some place in the north, from the abeSutu and from Mlambo (I think an umSutu).

Bikwayo says: The *secretary bird* feathers were also fetched from Tongaland.

Tshaka began this great commerce with the Tongas, although Dingiswayo may have actually started it.

- 23 The demand for *dancing girdles* caused so many skins to be got from Tongaland. It is doubtful if Dingiswayo ever wanted *dancing girdles*, and if so, to anything like the extent that Tshaka and later kings did. *Genet tails* were required for *war shields and ordinary shields*. I do not know who Tshaka's great Tonga messenger was. It might have been the man Sidhlebe whom I have already named.

- The messengers were sent to various and particular chiefs by the king. The king knew all the *amankengana* chiefs. And the duties of the messengers ended with the chiefs sent to. Noziyingili of course gave the largest number of things, 100 to 200 men being required to carry them. The other chiefs like Ngcamana, Sibonda, Manaba, and Tobo ka Mabuya would furnish say 30 to 40 carriers. Sambana furnished 50 carriers. He supplied *monkey skins* chiefly, not many *genet skins*, nor would he give cloth as the Tongas did.¹⁵ Mjindi would give 20 to 30 carriers.

Noziyingili not only furnished the things referred to, but gave *cloth* and European liquor in *amagalafu* [carafes?] - bottles covered in wickerwork obtained from the Portuguese.

In some years the numbers of carriers among certain chiefs would be less than stated, sometimes only five or even four.

The Zulu king would treat the carriers very hospitably, giving them food, and then Noziyingili would be given say 100 or more cattle, and other chiefs would also be given cattle. The carriers were given *fat, string made of sinew, small shields*, black ones, white at the lower quarter but of the common kind; also *the bushy ends of ox tails*. The chiefs would be given better shields. They in their turn would send back messengers to *give praises at the royal household*. These chiefs for the most part have never even seen the king. The king becomes an *object of veneration*.

BIKWAYO

13.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 33, p. 1.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 1 Bikwayo says: I was once stabbed with a *stabbing assegai* in my left leg (thigh), high up, the wound going out near the anus.... <Non-historical material omitted - eds.> I was stabbed in a fight between Mandhlakazi and Usutu shortly after the Msebe battle¹⁶ and before Cetshwayo's death, and when Cetshwayo had returned to Zululand. I fought then for Zibebu.¹⁷

.... <Note on ophites omitted - eds.>

15.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 33, pp. 2-20.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 2 Rainmaking. Our king allowed men to practise as rain doctors. All Zululand gave a black sheep or a beast to a professional man. Our *government is hard*¹⁸ - we recognize no one as having power, and yet there are persons who can *make rain*. There would be rain.

In time of drought black oxen would be killed at Nobamba and at Siklebeni. At Mpangisweni we *were saved* by Mkanyeli ka Zivalele. He used to take oxen and send to Maboepa ka Mlotsha (a rain doctor

- 3 living at Pondwana Hill in Hamu's district. When we *appeared* we heard that Madungudu ka ... <sic> (a woman) caused rain, *good rain*, not storms, steady rains, *among Somapunga's people in Ndwandwe country - it was good rain*.

Maqabisi (a woman) is a rain doctor still living. She lives among the Mtetwa, also at Ngoye. (She) could cause rain, *just a drizzle, a good rain*, but now it is forbidden (she) cannot do so. Bikwayo has seen her.

We frequently sent to Swaziland, but not every year. Their sky *thunders greatly*. Three years might pass by, (and we would) go in the fourth year, and so on.

Mmangaliso ka Tanga (is now) deceased. [Fokoti, his (Mmangaliso's) son, is living.] (Mmangaliso) lived at the Mkuze, near Ngcamana and Luvico. Mmangaliso was a noted rain doctor. Those people under Fokoti no longer ask for rain.

- 4 Ndukwana says Mgumule sent to Fokoti several years ago. He refused to cause rain, but it did rain a little in fits and starts, for Mgumule's land is high land.

The Swazis tell us they get rain *from among Dokolwane's people* near the Nkomati river. It does not *storm greatly*.

It is a great misfortune natives who can cause rain being directed not to attempt to do so. Now we are afraid of the Government for it does not allow this. We cannot understand this as the Government would benefit because their trees would grow, and people *would be free from hardship, having enough to eat*, and be better able to pay money.

Ndukwana: Rain doctors are just those who should not be disallowed. The Government would not be required to pay anything, for we have our things indoors. Year by year we look to agriculture. We reap and look forward to next year's crops. We depend on what

- 5

comes out of the ground. We do not preserve or store anything.

Bikwayo: The Government *keeps* us from that *occupation*, and food. We have not money to buy food from us. We pay tax, and have only sufficient for that. People will die. And yet the Government will demand money. 'I will demand even from those who are still living even if others are dead.' People are going to die.

The Government ought to be considerate in so bad a year as this is, and allow us to endeavour to find a *last way out*. If that were allowed there certainly would be rain.

Ndukwana: The *medicine pegs* were *driven into the ground by out-*
 6 *siders*. In time of drought all the inmates of a kraal, girls etc., would go out and hunt in the fields and on the hills for *pegs driven in* by strangers. Anything found would be taken and thrown into a river or stream, even though a cloth or *piece of knotted grass*.

When lightning or a thunderbolt strikes and kills cattle or people, the inmates will call to a neighbouring kraal and say what has happened and send for a doctor.

Pegs will be *driven in* all about the kraal. The position of these will be known by the kraal people, and when rain is wanted the sticks will be taken up and thrown into the water. Rain then comes.

The doctor comes and washes them so that they become 'white' and
 7 can mix with others. He *purifies* them with medicine.

Those killed by lightning are not mourned for, on the ground that the king has killed them. *The heavens, the king, has descended; the bird has descended on the home*. The king can do as he likes, and if there were mourning the king might repeat the same thing and establish a dangerous condition of affairs.

The *inyanga* will give them *pegs* which will be thoroughly *smeared* with medicine and given to the inmates who will *push them in* all over the hills to keep off the lightning. When ..., ¹⁹ all will be *worked loose, pulled out*, and thrown into water. The sky has been '*pegged*' all over Natal. There are numberless *stakes* about on top
 8 of huts which keep away rain, and they are rubbed with *medicinal powder and red ochre*. There are also *potsherds* ²⁰ on top of the huts in Natal - not in Zululand. There are no *stakes* in Zululand.

When the clouds are very dark and heavy, threatening a thunderstorm, heaps of grass will be taken *above the kraal* at the back and there set fire to. No special drug will be thrown into the grass, but the *umhlonitshwa* or *uhlambihlotshwana* ²¹ will be put in, not to prevent the rain, but to prevent the lightning from striking about the kraal.

Other plants used are *insingo* and *ingoino*. The *umhlonitshwa* is also put *above the doorway on the grass door screens*, and *insingo*,
 9 *uboqo*, and *ingoino* are also put there. It prevents *fierce storms*, so that the sky does not thunder and does not strike the houses.

In Natal, *crocodile fat* is used to ward off lightning. Here they call down lightning on one another, as if it were a game. A man who owns property puts in many *pegs* - 'I must take precautions, so that they won't call down lightning on me.' The *bewitching* won't stop; they kill one another by it. Those born grow up in this evil cunning. In Zululand we drove away those who burnt medicines, put in *pegs*, etc. Under the Queen and King we have come to great trouble. We are

asked, 'Did you see yourself being *takata'd*?'

At the beginning of the rainy season the sky was watched for storms.

- 10 The complaint is very general against the European, for the heavens are to be feared and people cannot propitiate them. If we sprinkle medicine, people threaten to send us to gaol.

- This is a very considerable affair. Not everyone had the power of calling down the heavens. A person who prevented rain from falling was killed. Vendevede ka Mziya was killed by Cetshwayo for preventing rain by beating his *isimbiya*.²² (An *umtakati* uses this.) Tshinaza ka Hlomisa saw him and reported this. Tshinaza reported to Muti ka Mfusi, who told the king. No *bulaing* was done, for the man was seen. He was put to death, and then rain came. He said, 'Nguni people, are you indeed killing me? Do not throw me out on the hill; throw me into the water so that it will rain.' He was an *isi-konkwane*.²³ It rained that very day. Cattle were called in at once; 11 boys assisted, for cattle may be taken by the gale and swept over the cliffs.

The king said that nothing of Vendevede's was to be plundered, but was to be carried away and thrown into the water - spoons, huts, and everything.

Bikwayo: Mbete ran away; he left us Mangwe. We were told to head him off at the Mhlaturu. Mapita's people reported this.

- Ndukwana: Mbete was of our people at Gqikazi. He was a doctor to make rain. I once went to him to ask for medicine, for I was a messenger. The *amabele* at Muxazibana's place gave us stomach pains. The people had put in *umakukumesana*²⁴ when the *amabele* was in heaps. 12 *Umakukumesana* may also be put in seeds so that they swell and become plentiful. I asked for medicine for such *amabele*. Mbete gave me drugs. He gave me powder of charred herbs. Take a few grains of *amabele* and grind them very fine; take a potsherd, and mix aloe with a little hot water (like beer) in the sherd, pour the powder in, and then suck the mixture from the fingertips.

Mbete, a man from Natal (Stanger), would keep the rain away. [His son is Chief Gqayinyanga.] He would cause the *isigodhlo* to follow him to the Ivuna. (He was at Gqikazi). He would pound up his medicines at the stream, then sprinkle them with a grass broom in the path as he went homewards, carrying water. Girls followed him, clapping their hands together, until they got home. The sky would then become red, and so put rain off.

- Then a steenbuck was seen with a red cloth fluttering from it. 13 It was said that Mbete had tied it on. A hunting party went out, and surrounded it, but the buck would get up behind them each time. We would ask, 'What strange omen is this?' There was nothing superstitious about the steenbuck.

- Mbete had a tall man and an *insizwa* with him. These two went to the Mandhlakazi²⁵ and were there arrested as spies. Mbete, who remained at Gqikazi, said, 'Those are my people. I told them to go and look for medicines.' Mbete then left, as we thought, to fetch his friends, but he disappeared. The alarm was raised. It was said 14 that he was in the bushveld, and was coming to cross over where the two branches of the Mfolozi join. Every effort was made to catch him, but he escaped.

Bikwayo: He passed by while we were asleep there at the Mhlaturu.

We heard from *izinceku* early next day that he had *crossed over* - three persons' footprints. He entered the Ngoye (forest) and so escaped.

- Maqwebelende, a man, came several years after Mbete. He was arrested, for he was a *spy, and unknown*. He said, *'Let me go, and I shall make it rain'*. He was allowed to go, but watched. It rained, but when he saw that he had been allowed to go free he stopped the rain so that all the crops burnt up (dried up). He was caught and then killed by order of Cetshwayo. He was killed near Mangweni, near the Mhlatuze. When first promising to bring rain he said, *'Let it be said that the sky is "anointing", not that it is raining; it is anointing the girls of Maqwebelende.'*

After this Mlozi came. He too was a stranger. He was found by a party out hunting. He said to the hunters, *'Do not stab me.'* 'Why shall we allow you to go free?' 'Because I will cause rain to come for you.' This was reported to Cetshwayo. *'Let him be watched, and let him make rain then.'* He stayed at Maqubandaba, the kraal of Madhlebe. A little rain came. But after this, seeing he was no longer watched, and having established his right to be an *inyanga* of the king, he then refused to make rain. The king gave the order for him to be killed. He was killed.

- Next came Zinkuni; he came from Natal. He went about putting medicine pegs. He was caught by a hunting party of the *Biyela*, in the bushveld at Lumbi. He asked them to leave him alone. 'I will make it rain for you. *We have been sent out; we are many*', he said, 'but I am the great bull, and if you allow me to go, it will rain.' No rain came, so he too was killed by Cetshwayo. He was killed in the bushveld, in the open space round the kraals near the old Mfolozi magistracy.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

- Somanxiwa ka Nomageje ka Gaqa: this man turned round and said he could make it rain. He was of the Dhloko regiment. The king said he was to be left alone. He was allowed to practise. He asked for four young men (aet. 20 to 21). A boy, Njakadamsiya, son of Somopo ka Sikala, was chosen, and Mahungqu (chief) ka Mkokwana, Masusimpisi ka Mndhlovu, and Bikwayo (myself). We then proceeded with him to where the rivers all meet, viz. the Inseleni, Ipose, Imbabe, Icwaka, Kula, Intiwe, and Mhlatuze. All these met at the place of the people of Jokozele ka Mdhlekedhlana.

- Somanxiwa told the king, who was at Mangweni, to find a black ox. He directed that it should be fetched from Odwini, one of Cetshwayo's kraals. It was fetched. He said a completely black ram must be fetched from Gobipombo, a kraal of Cetshwayo's. These were driven to the streams. First the sheep was caught (the ox eating grass), and was killed. We were told to kill it with our bare hands. We did not stab it with an assegai. He pierced it in the side, on the side on which a cow is not milked. He took out the liver and gall bladder, for that is what was required as medicine, also the tail. He told us to drive the ox up to him. (We had had to select a very quiet, fat

and stupid ox, which would not startle.) He had a *stabbing assegai* which he had *sharpened*. He went up to the beast, *patted* it (scratched) and suddenly plunged the assegai into its left side, far back, in the small intestine. The beast fell at once and soon expired. He cut it open with an axe and took out *the liver and gall bladder*.

- 19 He then took off both *livers*, stuck a stick through both and, with an *empty calabash*, went to a black, unfrequented pool full of alligators and seacow. Suddenly he dived down, and remained so long down that we believed he must have been carried off by alligators. The water in the meantime waved and eddied, so much so that the alligators moved about and the seacow bellowed. After a time we heard him away in the distance, saying, '*Kubili ku konye nje*,'²⁶ He then swam towards us with the *calabash*, which was full of mud. As he did this an alligator approached him. Again he dived, and the next we saw was his coming up close to where we were, saying, '*Kubili ku konye nje; nga ngi nenhlaba; kayi kuhle [kuhli?]*', a praise of the Dhloko regiment of which he was a member. He then came out and directed us to call up all the girls and boys who had not arrived at
20 the age of puberty, all women and old men, all women who did not menstruate. They came. It was to *roast* the meat in question that they came; as a matter of fact it was to eat it.²⁷ The ox's flesh was cut up as one does that of a pig, with the skin on. The beast was duly consumed.

We were two days at this place. The third day rain came, even though this was the man's first attempt, and it rained all the way as we proceeded on our homeward journey.

Notes

¹Formed 1873; age-group born 1850-53.

²*Amarubu* (*amahubhu*) literally means 'liars' or 'deceitful persons'. *Amanh lwenga* means 'beggars', and is a term of contempt, connoting 'worthless foreigners', applied by the Zulu to the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples living to the north-east of Zululand.

³Medium-large red beads.

⁴A Tsonga chief. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 306-7.

⁵To ensure protection by the ancestral spirits.

⁶Mzila was ruler of the Gaza kingdom, which at its height extended from near Delagoa Bay to the lower reaches of the Zambezi and inland to the south-eastern districts of present-day Rhodesia. His capital was at Shimanmani near the headwaters of the Buzi river.

⁷In the original the praise stands as a later insertion. It is not clear whether it applies to Ndwandwe or Nyamande.

⁸We have been unable to identify this name.

⁹Personages in one of the southern Tsonga chiefly lines. Hluma's son Noziyingili married Zambili, a daughter of the Swazi king Somhlolo. Ngwanase, who succeeded Noziyingili, was Zambili's son.

¹⁰Father of Hluma

¹¹Of the names given, most are those of minor chiefs who lived between the Zulu kingdom and Delagoa Bay.

¹²*izulu eli pezulu* in the original - a play on the word *izulu*, meaning the 'sky, the heavens'.

¹³Putative grandson in the male line of the Zulu chief Jama, and

cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande. His son Zibhebhu was to achieve an ascendancy that enabled him to rival Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu in the 1880s.

¹⁴This word has the derogatory connotation of 'inferior, poor, low-class outsiders'.

¹⁵The distinction drawn between Sambana and the Tsonga chiefs probably derives from the fact that Sambana was chief of the Nyawo, an Nguni group occupying the Lubombo mountains between the Phongolo and Ngwavuma rivers just to the west of the Tsonga chiefdoms.

¹⁶March 1883. The Mandlakazi and the Suthu were the followers of Zibhebhu and Cetshwayo respectively.

¹⁷See note 13 above.

¹⁸i.e. the Natal colonial government.

¹⁹Illegible in the original.

²⁰For burning medicines to keep away the lightning.

²¹Species of small veld flowers.

²²A bamboo musical instrument said to be used by *abathakathi*.

²³Literally a peg, stake, stone or other object used to influence the skies. By extension, in this context, a rainmaker using his powers for evil purposes.

²⁴A creeper with poisonous red berries.

²⁵See notes 13 and 16 above.

²⁶The import of this praise and of the extended version given a few lines below it have been lost. A literal translation of the extended version would be: 'It is two in one; I had an aloe; it is not pleasant'. The aloe is associated with bitterness.

²⁷Possibly for ritual strengthening purposes.

BOND, MR

9.6.1914

File 63, item 2(a), pp. 54-5.

- 54 Per Mr Bond, of Bond's Drift.
 Jack Hill (is the same person as) Black Jack. [Referred to by Lyle yesterday. See my note.¹]
 Dick Pierce (grandfather) looked on at Ndondakusuka.²
 Dick Pierce (father) looked on at Ndondakusuka.
 Joe Pierce (son) is called Matu by the natives.
 John Dunn took part in the battle.
 Paul du Pre (Tekwane - Zulu name) took part in the battle.
 Biggars took part in the battle.
 Tönnesen was away at the back of the battlefield.
 Dunn told Hill to keep his boat ready on the day of the battle.
 Jack Hill lived just below W. Lyle's house. That was where his boat was.
 Tambo is the name of a tributary of the Tugela at Bond's Drift on the Zululand side.
- 55 Mr Bond settled at Bond's Drift just after the Zulu War, i.e. in 1880. He, however, visited this part of the country first in 1864.
 John Dunn and Jack Hill had to knock natives on the head who had clutched the boat. There were so many that they nearly swamped the boat.
 Bond says he never heard of any natives getting across the river above Bond's Drift during the Ndondakusuka action.

Notes

¹W. Lyle was another of Stuart's informants.

²Battle between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbulazi fought near the mouth of the Thukela in December 1856.

BRU-DE-WOLD, COL. H. T.,¹

<1.12.1906>

File 44, item 22, p. 3.

- 3 The natives were without leaders in the last rebellion. That is a lesson they have learnt and will know how to provide against next time. Necessity provides the man - an invariable rule. Had they had a man who organized their forces, the result would have been different. Moreover, they differed from the Zulus of 1879 in that they were not in a state of organization.

Note

¹Bru-de-Wold was Commandant of Natal Volunteers from 1902 to 1907.

CANE, CHRISTIAN

3.10.1907

File 62, nbk. 87, pp. 8-13.

Also present: Matshikiyana Gumede

- 8 Christian Cane, alias Lavuta. I was born in Dingane's reign. My father was John Cane. I am aged about 68 or 69.

Ezintongeni¹ - this is a grove or bush at Nyenyezi on the south bank of the Umzinkulu, where Arab houses now are. This bush arose in the days of Nandi's *ihlambo*.² All the Zulu army carried *fighting sticks* and brought them to the south of the Umzinkulu and put them in a heap, Tshaka placing the first there. The heap became a very large one indeed. The bush then grew up and is now called Ezintongeni and is still existing. This happened when Tshaka *attacked the Mpondo*. Tshaka had ordered that all were to *cut sticks for his mother's ihlambo*. They were then all green. They were not stuck in the ground but simply laid there. This was done to cast away the death. These sticks represented the throwing away done when any king died. A hunt was sometimes called and even though one buck was killed the purification was held to have taken place. This *evil omen* was to be *cast* in the amaMpondo country, not in Tshaka's, i.e. *on the enemy, in order to put a spell on them*. The evil omen was cast on to the enemy so that they might be overcome. The *ihlambo* was performed whilst they were still going towards the Pondos.

9

The battle of the game-pits. This is Dingane's *fight* with the Boers. The Boers dug holes. This occurred on the old drift that crossed the Umtshezi³ river on the way to Ladysmith. The *pits* were holes the Boers had dug for the purpose of entrapping the Zulus and getting them to fall in them should they attack the Boers. The Zulu *impi* fell into the trap. They were caught in the way that bucks are caught.

- I live at Sikisiki in Pondoland. Mashingana, a son of Mbuyazi (H.F. Pynn), has a book in Zulu, full of Zulu history, also Dingana's *izibongo*. I do not know the author. This book belonged to my sister Nanise [Norman Nembula says 'Nancy'], now living beyond Mabedhlana.⁴ She never bore children. She used to look after the children of the Basuto race. She is the oldest, *the first-born*, in our family. She used to interpret for the missionaries at the old Inanda school. She knows English well. She is living with her husband Ndamane ka Mkelo [Damane ka Mkele, per Norman Nembula], a Basuto. Nanise had a box full of books.
- 10

My father's kraal was at Sinyameni. This was near the Botanic Gardens. The cattle grazed at kwa Malinde.⁵ I could point out the

site.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

My father was killed at Ndondakusuka.⁶ He went with Biggar who, having just arrived from England, wanted to get cattle, as all the others had them.

- 11 My father came from the Cape. He was a Scotchman. Bazley (Mahalavu) knew him well. My father had a son called John Cane, who was a European. This brother of mine came up driving waggons when Captain Smith came to Port Natal. I do not remember what my father was like. I hear he was tall.

I remember that Ndongeni accompanied Dick King for part of his journey to the Cape. Cato saw them across the bay. I was at Congella when the fighting between Boers and British took place.

I have a half-brother (a half-caste), Charlie Cane, now living near Phoenix. He is the same age as myself. He has a kraal and three wives. He knows English very little. My mother and Charlie's mother are both dead.

My father had a square house on top of the Berea. After his death Wohlo⁷ went into his house and burnt all his papers. He did this to destroy evidence as to the inheritance. Wohlo (Ogle) was a builder. My father was a fighter.

.... <Praises of John Cane omitted - eds.>

- 12 I was born at Mbizane, whilst my mother was out on a hunting expedition after buffaloes. She, although pregnant, went to do the cooking. As soon as my father was killed, my mother ran off and took refuge with me among the Tuli under Mnini.⁸ I entered the service of an Africander, Stadler. He died; then his wife married Vech [Vig?].

I remember the incidents of the conflict of English and Boers in 1843⁹, but I ran away when the fighting began. (At the time of) hostilities I was in Lodewyk Vech's employ at Congella. I *tended the ducks*, looked after the fowls, worked in the house, etc.

We fled on the very night of the fight. Vech did not fight; he was an Africander (Cape Boer). He ran away with his womenfolk.

- 13 I heard Boers talking of Dick King having escaped to the Cape. It was stated he had got away with a native, who afterwards turned out to be Ndongeni. I heard Mr Sesfelt talking about this. This talking took place when Cato, Beningfield etc. had been arrested and put in the stocks. I saw them actually in the stocks. I was told they had been put in the stocks because of King and his native having escaped to the Cape to give the alarm and get help.

Charlie Cane is 'own brother' to Nanise. Nanise grew up under Rev. Lindley.

Notes

¹Literally, 'the place of the fighting sticks'.

²The final purification ceremony held after the period of mourning.

³Or Bushmans river. See also Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 69.

⁴Mabedlana ('small breasts') is the name of two hills near Nhlazatshe in Zululand, and also of two hills near Ixopo in

CANE

southern Natal.

⁵The Greyville flats.

⁶A battle fought in 1838 between the Zulu and a force led by Port Natal traders; not to be confused with a battle fought at the same place in 1856 between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbulazi.

⁷Henry Ogle.

⁸For a brief biography of Chief Mmini see Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 13-14.

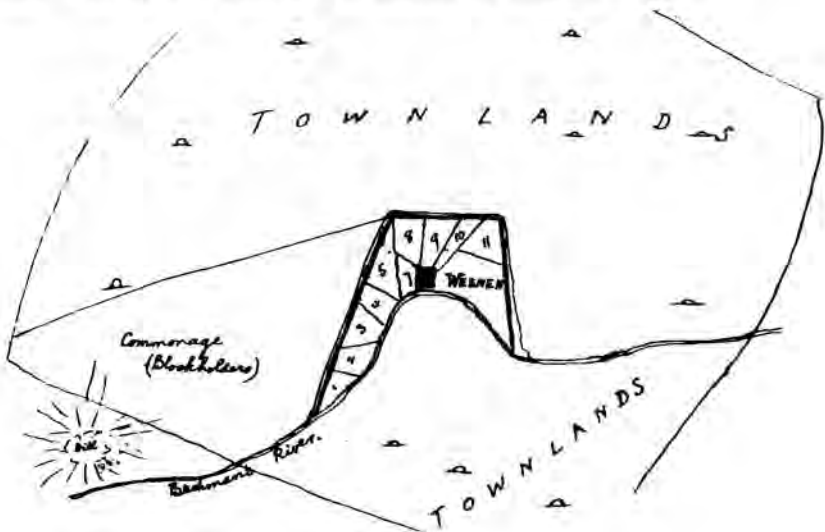
⁹1842?

COLENBRANDER, H. J.

20.12.1900

File 71, pp. 27-9.

- 27 Conversation this morning, about 11.30 to 12.30, with H.J. Colenbrander, chiefly with regard to settlement of natives at Weenen. He was magistrate (acting) and clerk there several years, and had otherwise special cause to interest himself particularly in the matter. He says Weenen was laid out as a township by the Boers in 1845, being called Nobamba after the famous Zulu kraal. The following is from a very rough sketch by Colenbrander:

Notes.

• = Native kraals.
 Blocks = 150 acres each.
 Commorage and Townlands = 23,000 acres. —

- 28 There are about 100 kraals on the town lands, situated here and there. The natives, it seems, were refugees from Zululand in 1857 after the Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fight. Sir T. Shepstone arranged with the Boers living at Weenen that these refugees should be permitted to live on the land round about Weenen (23 000 acres) on condition that they should provide labour to those living in the

COLENBRANDER

village. Both townsmen and the natives agreed to the arrangement, which was authorized by Sir T. Shepstone on behalf of the Government. This was in 1857.

At first, Mr Macfarlane, the Speaker, had practically a monopoly of the labour. He led a furrow from the river through what are now blocks marked on the sketch as 1,2,3,4,5 to 8,9, and 10 where the chief part of his cultivation was done. The furrow now runs round the main boundaries of blockholders' land, as shown on the diagram. In course of time the 'commonage' was laid off for the benefit of the blockholders. The town cattle are not allowed on this commonage, nor are blockholders' cattle allowed on town lands. There are frequent disputes about this. The natives living on the town lands have to furnish labour both to those in the town and the blockholders. They are paid 10s a month for a man, and 5s for a boy or girl. Formerly it was 5s and 2s 6d.

A number of years ago Mr Paterson, when magistrate at Estcourt, authorized the people at Weenen, townspeople and blockholders, to form a committee to arrange as to how the labour of the kraals was to be allotted. There were two townsmen and two blockholders on this committee. As a result of this there was a general rearrangement or allotment of the native kraals. There would have been and there are now some 60 Europeans entitled to the labour; to some, two kraals, under the new plan, were apportioned; one kraal to another; part of a kraal to another. Under this system it would sometimes happen that a European would not require all the labour his kraal or kraals could give him. He would take, say, a girl, and tell the man he would excuse him from working provided he paid so much. Under the new plan natives formerly attached to certain Europeans were attached to others, which caused confusion. There were applications for ejectment, several of which Colenbrander himself granted.

Colenbrander was directed to report on the matter and submit recommendations. He said there were four alternatives: (a) to eject natives, and three others, named, but forgotten by me. The papers were detained for some months, then Colenbrander went to Moor, Secretary for Native Affairs, and asked how matters stood. Moor, in a huff, said the papers were with T.K. Murray, Minister of ... <sic>. To Murray, Colenbrander went. He looked at the papers etc. Colenbrander said something to the effect that Moor could not deal straightly with the matter as he was an interested party, being Member for Weenen etc. Murray replied that however many votes a Government might lose on account of its policy, such fact did not affect the action of the ministry, and all of them acted together. Colenbrander saw he had made a mistake.

And yet, Colenbrander believes, the natives do go to the wall by Moor's policy. He may or may not be strong, but he has not sympathy for the interests of the native people as a whole, however much he may display for individuals. He will appoint Marwick at Johannesburg to arrange as to pay etc., but nothing is done in respect to the morals of the people. He is very lazy. Colenbrander believes in his do-nothing policy, but thinks steps ought to be taken to improve the natives. The natives are in themselves an enormous power which is a danger unless properly managed. A combination of natives would produce disastrous results. Natives living on the town lands at Weenen pay only the ordinary hut tax. They belong to various tribes,

COLENBRANDER

there being only five chiefs in Weenen Division. J.W. Cross, Colenbrander says, would have plenty to tell me about Weenen. No rent is paid, the natives giving labour instead.

COLENZO, Miss

15.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 43, pp. 14-15.

- 14 Saw Miss Colenso¹ today, who tells the following: Tshaka was one day seated in his hut. It was the duty of one of his many girls or women to make the fire, but although there were many in the hut the one whose duty it was to make the fire was absent. Tshaka then said, 'Make up the fire.' No-one moved. 'Don't you hear me?' he said to
 15 those seated in the hut. And still no-one stirred. 'And what do you think I did?' said Tshaka when telling the story to others. 'I had to get up and make the fire myself!'

Miss Colenso heard the above from William Ngidi,² who knew Tshaka's affairs well. Many papers, books etc. were burnt in the Ekukanyeni (Bishopstowe) fire.

Notes

¹Probably Harriette Emily Colenso.

²A convert of the American Zulu Mission who became a catechist and one of Bishop Colenso's assistants at the Ekukhanyeni press. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 71; Rees, ed., Colenso Letters, p. 93n.)

COOPER, A. W.

27.6.1907. Victoria Club,
Pietermaritzburg.

File 65, item 4, pp. 119-27.

119 If the Byrne matter¹ had not been muddled there would have been no outbreak then. The police left Thornville junction early in the morning - about the 8th or 9th - and went through Richmond and Byrnetown. They went over 30 miles and only got there (Mjongo's) about dusk. I was then at Isipingo, but as I afterwards defended Mjongo I got to know all the facts. I also had many other opportunities. I got back to Richmond about 13th February.

120 If the police had gone from Thornville junction to Henry Hosking's farm, on which farm Mjongo was living, they would easily have arrived there (at Mjongo's) by the middle of the day. I very much question if the affair that took place would have happened at all. They went the wrong way - they were, I understand, told to go to Hosking's farm. They must have jumped to the conclusion that it was the Ethelbert Hosking of Byrne. I think it was a mistake. There was no outstation out at Byrne. Mjongo was not living on Gordon's farm.

I defended Mjongo before the Supreme Court. I was retained to defend Mjongo at the court martial. When it was decided that he was to be tried before the Supreme Court because of his bad health, he asked me to defend him before the Supreme Court. A couple of days before the trial came on before the Supreme Court, Miss Colenso retained Renaud of Durban on behalf of Mjongo with me.

121 Mjongo was charged with murder and rebellion. I was satisfied with the finding. He was found guilty of murder. In his evidence Mjongo said he could see only seven or eight yards as it was dusk. Later he said he saw a policeman thrown from his horse as the police were leaving his kraal, and when asked how near he was to the police he said he was a long way off. I believe this told heavily against him with the jury.

There had been no talk of the settlement of Ethiopians² on Henry Hosking's farm. (E.J.B. Hosking, intelligence officer, is no relation to Henry Hosking.)

122 Causes of the rebellion. Natives had a feeling of being coerced and forced. They would have preferred to live on the land without being practically forced to work. Their requirements were growing and they were getting poorer. Their rents were increasing. There was growing dissatisfaction owing to their not leading the life they used to. The young men were getting out of hand, fathers losing control, and they were losing control of the women. The in-

mates of kraals were getting out of hand.

123 There was no real outbreak in our district, only the Mjongo faction. More than three quarters of the farms were practically deserted by the Europeans, and native servants were left in charge, and I only heard of two cases of theft in the district during the whole time - one theft of cattle, and one store was broken into. I believe natives remained on the farms and carried on the work. Two old natives I had known many years came to me and asked me what was the meaning of all these troops being turned out, and asked if they were going to be 'eaten up'. Although the Europeans were in a dreadful funk, I believe the natives were the worst, and my own opinion is that most of the natives who did arm did so because they thought that they were going to be 'eaten up' or attacked, for they thought the operations were against the natives as a whole.

Proclamation of martial law. I believe the whole of this affair was brought about by the action of the Government. The whole thing was forced on. I don't know if there was a smouldering fire which might have broken out later. I am unaware of any.

124 At the Cape there have been occasional outbreaks, and we may have got to a similar stage in Natal when an outbreak was a natural sequence of events. In the light of the information which I understand the Government had, I think the proclamation of martial law was justified. If there is any reason to turn troops out in anticipation of resistance, then, in a country of this sort, it was advisable to proclaim martial law.

It is a mistake, at the same time, to try cases by court martial if they can reasonably be tried by the civil courts; i.e. if the latter are sitting, allow them to administer martial law.

125 There was a good deal of inexperience in the taking of depositions. There was a great deal of trying to pay off old scores on the part of old native servants of Europeans on other natives. Some of the cleverer natives became engaged by the militia as camp followers, informers etc., and there were many cases in which cases were trumped up. I do not think it was due entirely to malice, but so as to put themselves in a good position and be thought loyal in the hope of favours to come. There was much inexperience on the part of the militia in dealing with alleged offences and in bringing natives to make depositions.

126 A great deal of evil rose from having men who were supposed to know the natives being put in temporary authority which they did not know how to exercise. There was absolute want of any judicial mind. The civil authorities were more or less ignored in our district, because of G.'s³ supposed leaning towards the natives. G. is an absolutely fair-minded man.

I think Tilonko and Sikukuku⁴ were appointed chiefs while too young. Sikukuku was son of a daughter of Mbandeni's (Swaziland).⁵ These two men were unable to manage their tribes and were simply appointed because of their hereditary position, and suffered from swollen heads; old men do not care to give sound advice which they think won't be palatable.

127 I saw Mjongo brought in to Richmond. He was brought in a cart, and was lying on top of two dead natives. Mveli's⁶ people brought the cart in and were in charge of it. No European was with the cart. Ernest Hosking (son of Henry Hosking) was present when Mjongo was

COOPER

captured. Mjongo was only in a semi-conscious state. Mveli arrived with about 150 men. Mjongo was a member of Mveli's tribe. Mveli formerly had a case against Mjongo and party. He fined them for contempt of court. This was appealed to the magistrate, the Native High Court, and then the Supreme Court, ending in Mveli's decision being quashed.

Notes

¹The murder of Sub-Inspector Hunt and Trooper Armstrong on 7 February 1906, the most important of the initial acts of African defiance in the 1906 disturbances in Natal and Zululand.

See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 174ff.

²For a brief account of the Ethiopian movement see Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, pp. 38-43.

³Very probably J.Y. Gibson, magistrate at Richmond during the disturbances.

⁴Mbo chiefs living in the Richmond-Ixopo area.

⁵Mbandzeni, Swazi king, 1875-89.

⁶Chief of the Fuze.

COVENTRY, G. H.

30.10.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 121.

Mr. G.H. (?) Coventry, field cornet since 1881 of Acton Homes, tells me today he does not think Langalibalele¹ instigated 'boys' of his tribe to get guns, but he knew there was a law that natives could not possess guns without permission, and as the 'boys' had brought guns into the colony and retained them, it was tantamount to Langalibalele's having infringed the law, and he felt he deserved to be punished under the law. He was afraid therefore of bringing them forth when called up to be registered, because he felt punishment was behind registration, which was merely a kind of blind. After he had got onto the hills (mountains) and fired the first shot, he dispatched four messengers to Putile² and other chiefs to say hostilities had begun, and to ask for their assistance. This assistance (which was not given) would have been given, Coventry thinks, but for the fact that the messengers were seen, fired upon, and killed. Coventry was with the volunteers under Captain Lucas. Lucas was soon afterwards removed from Ladysmith, and so convinced were the volunteers he had done no wrong that they at once handed in their arms and disbanded, and no attempt to raise another corps was successful until the siege of Ladysmith over 25 years later. Coventry has lived in this division for 31 years. His age is about 62 I should say.

Notes

¹Hlubi chief involved in the disturbances of 1873.

²Phuthini, Ngwe chief, brother of Langalibalele's mother.

DABULA KA MGINGQIYIZANA

2.6.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 79-91.

- 79 Dabula ka Mgingqiyizana ka Boiya ka Mdakuda ka Zibi ka Ngwabini of the Dunge people. Dabula was born in the year of the Zulu War (1879). He is now a ricksha puller. He is not at all smart, but as seen from the genealogy (below), he is of high rank in the tribe.
- Kotsini ka Faku ka Donsela ka Boiya ka Mdakuba ka Zibi ka Ngwabini of the Dunge of Ciliza. These (foregoing) are chiefs of the Dunge tribe.
- Dunge and Ciliza were *twins*. Their mother was Matumbela. I don't know whose wife she was.
- Our tribe is an offshoot of the Ngcobo tribe, and originally lived at the Mzinyati¹ - I do not know where exactly. [Bird, *Annals*, i, 132, says below Eland's Kop on the high lands between the Tugela and the Umvoti.] From there they were turned out by Zulus. They then went and lived *down the Mvoti*, somewhere between Greytown and Stanger. From there they went to the Mzinto to live there. Boiya is the chief that last lived near the Mzinyati. They passed through the Embo tribe, i.e. got protection from them, having relatives among them. The reason for going was to escape from the Zulus.
- I know of the Mkatini people. They may have been related to us. Many live among our tribe near the Mzimkulu. [See Bird, *Annals*, i, 132.]
- Boiya was the one who took the tribe away from the vicinity of the Mzinyati. I do not know if he actually got to the Mzinto. I fancy not.
- 81 <Praises of Boiya ka Mdakada and of Faku ka Donsela omitted - eds.>
- 82 *The disappearance of Sikonyana. A son of Donsela went off to work in Mgungundhlovu;² his name was Sikonyana. He lost touch with his people. Later it was heard from people that he was there, in the Mgungundhlovu of the whites. Some men went off to look for him, and encountered Gova. When they asked his name he replied, 'Sikonyana'. They asked, 'Where are you from?' He said that he was from among the Dunge people. They then took him and returned with him.*
- Donsela immediately saw that it was not his son. The men said that it was. They quarrelled, and Donsela left and went off to establish his kraal at the Ncalo.³ After this he went on to Pietermaritzburg to say that the youth was not the person for whom they had been searching; he was not his son. He wanted to leave with his
- 83 people. After being given a permit, Donsela moved on to the Mzinto.

Then it was said at the Mzinto, 'Treat Gova well; do not fight with him.' Indeed the chief did not fight with him. He arrived to find that he had already fled down to the Ndwebu, on this side of Port Shepstone. He then sent out people, saying that he should be looked for there. They arrived to find that he had gone. It was said that he had gone on to the Ntwentweni [river which enters the Mzimkulu low down] where the people of Nombiba had hidden him. After this they returned.

Then Donsela died, and Faku ruled in his turn. His brothers⁴ said they would not come, since he had left them and had not told them. They appointed Gova as chief. That is how the affair ended; today its effects are still being felt.

All trace of Sikonyana was completely lost. Even today it is not known where he went. He went off with others when he had grown up, saying he was going to work. Maybe he was taken off by his master to another part, with the knowledge of those he first came with to work, though they lost trace of him and he abandoned his people.

- 84 This happened just after the whites had arrived in Pietermaritzburg, when people were still earning five shillings a month. Some men refused to recognize Gova, saying he was not of their house. For they saw that the chief also refused to accept him as his son. Others said he was the chief's son, for they did not want Faku to be designated as Donsela's successor. They put forward the claim of Siboto ka Donsela. Donsela did not agree to appoint Siboto, but appointed Faku as his heir.

The men did not see any mark to show that Gova was the inkosana. Donsela said that Sikonyana had a deep scar, a wound that had healed, on the right side of his jaw. Donsela asked the men who were disputing with him where the scar was. They answered, 'It is he,' saying this because they were dissatisfied with Faku, claiming that he had a fierce temper. The real father of Gova was Njomane.

- 85 He came to the Mzinto to fetch him. He said, 'This child is mine.' Donsela said, 'That is what I have been saying, that this child is not mine.' So his opponents were defeated.

It became apparent that Donsela was ill. He was taken ill on his way to the Mzinto, coming back from Pietermaritzburg. He arrived home. It was said at the Mzinto that he should treat Gova well. He arrived to find that he had fled to the Ndwebu.

.... <Praises of Mdakuda ka Zibi, Boiya ka Mdakuda, Donsela ka Boiya, and Kotsini ka Faku omitted - eds.>

- 88 Kotsini is an *insizwa* and has one daughter who has married. He is of the age of the Mavalana regiment. He is going to *twanga* during 1917. He has three wives; one died.

My father Mgingqiyizana is still living, but is an *old man*, about the age of the Ngobamakosi.⁵

- 89 A great authority on Dunge tribal affairs is Mngeni. He was *induna* of Donsela. Mngeni's father was Noveza of the Dhlamini tribe. Mngeni is very old (he was born in the Dunge tribe), say (of the age of the, Tulwana regiment, or older. He lives at Ifafa on the coast. He pays taxes under Nkabi, son and heir of Gova. Nkabi was harassed by Kotsini this very year - he wanted to drive him away. This matter (of Gova) will never end, for he does not belong to their people. Mngeni sides with Gova, for he is *induna* there.

DABULA

Mngeni never worked for a white man. He has bad knees. I saw him this year. He has a headring.

Cannibals. I have never heard that Boiya was killed by cannibals. There used to be *cannibals* formerly, viz. the people of Mbambo. These people are to be found in our and various other tribes.⁶

90 *It is said that formerly the people here died of famine. There was a shortage of food. Wild figs were eaten, and also uomkizwana, a black creeping plant which exudes milky sap; others call it uboqo. (It grows spreading out and has tawny-coloured leaves. Its fruits are many; they resemble those of the sweet potato in the ground.) They used to cut them up and cook them.*

The people of Mbambo had no livestock, such as cattle; they were cannibals, and ate people. Some of them admit it; others do not, saying they are being insulted.

It happened that when the people were living at the Mkuuya⁷ a dispute arose. Our people contended among themselves over the apportioning of followers. Kadupi asked that he should be given the people of his own house. People were given to him. (He is, still living near Port Shepstone. Only the people of Ciliza were involved in the dispute.

91 *It is said that Ciliza and Dunge were twins. They were fathered by Sibakulu.*

Sticks used to be left at the place of Ciliza's people while Dunge, the senior twin, was still living. People would put down their sticks before approaching the chief, Dunge. The sticks were placed in a hut when people went to him; they did not take them into the presence of the chief.

Dunge and Ciliza were both chiefs. It came to be said that the people of Ciliza's house were the 'black' Dunge, while those of the chief's house were the 'white' Dunge.

Notes

¹Or Buffalo river.

²i.e. Pietermaritzburg. The great *umuzi* of the Zulu king Dingane had borne the same name.

³The Ncalu stream joins the Mzimkhulu river a few miles below the village of Umzimkulu.

⁴Presumably the brothers of Donsela.

⁵Regiment formed 1873; age-group born 1850-53.

⁶Bryant asserts that Bhoyiya was devoured by cannibals from among his own followers. The Mbambo were a sub-group of the Dunge. See *Olden Times*, pp. 377, 552.

⁷A prominent hill on the south bank of the Mkhomazi river east of Springvale mission.

DEARE, G. R.

17.7.1902 - <evidence given 16.7.1902>

File 71, pp. 232-3.

- 232 The Angonis. Conversation with George R. (Russell?) Deare (Major), 16.7.1902.

Yesterday inside the Post Office, Durban, at about 4.15 p.m., I met Deare and had the following conversation. He was formerly a sub-inspector of police, Zululand, about 1889 and 1890. I knew him there. He said he had occasion in 1896 to go on an expedition to the land of the Angoni people which lies to the west of the lower portion of Lake Nyasa. He went straight to the king, an old man of about 80 named Mpezeni.¹ (He lived with, or very near, this man for about 18 months.) He got very fond of the man, as the king did of him, and this was largely due to the fact that Deare had formerly lived among the Mtetwa people (viz. when, in Zululand, he was stationed at Dondota, Lower Umfolozi district).

He very frequently had long talks with the king on Zulu affairs. He learnt the Angoni were an offshoot of the Mzilikazi people who fled from Tshaka in the early part of the century. He cannot account for the origin of their name. The king declared that he was himself born in Zululand and had left there with his parents when a little boy, able to walk a little. Mpezeni had not *tunga'd*, though the putting on of the headdress was a custom of the people. The Angoni allowed the hair to grow high, and it was on top of that when done up high that the ring was sewn. Mpezeni evidently *buta'd* regiments. The principal or one of the principal kraals numbered over 1,200 huts, dotted about, not after the manner of the Zulus, but like a little village. The Angoni would number say 250,000.

- 233 Deare had to walk from Tete (where the boat from Chinde left him) to Mpezeni's through very hilly, broken, and swampy country, a distance of over 200 miles. He was assisted by carriers. The people had already begun to feel the nuisance of having white people among them, and wanted to arm and fight. Deare dissuaded the king from taking any measures to that end. It seems he wanted to form a league with one or two neighbouring states. The country did afterwards come into conflict with the B.C.A. Company. Mpezeni was captured, his son was put to death, and the B.C.A. are now governing, but over people who have scattered in many directions. Mpezeni died. Deare gave warning that as soon as he left there would be war, but the Company took no heed, imagining he was merely serving his own ends. Deare considers there is little or no trade to be done in the country.

There is a custom by which girls at a certain period are taken to a bush and 'stretched' with a mealie cob. Deare persuaded some native to take him and spy, which Deare did.

DEARE

On the whole the Angoni speak a language very much like Zulu; indeed it is Zulu with slight variations. There is no *hlobongaing* there. The customs are similar on the whole to Zulu ones, but differ in various respects. Shields are differently made. Livingstone's Zambezi and Its Tributaries is an excellent description of what is to be seen in that country. Had he been a good linguist, Deare would have taken down a great deal of what he heard from the king. When the conflict above referred to occurred, Deare, as one knowing the country, was asked by the Company to lead the forces in. This, on account of a promise to the king, he refused to do.

Deare met H.H. Johnston. He does not think much of the man, whom he classes with Baden-Powell as a self-advertiser. Johnston's books contain for the most part information he has gathered from other peoples' brains.

Deare did however keep a diary with notes of what he saw, and has maps, as well as a photo of his good friend Mpezeni. Mpezeni on two occasions saved Deare's life. Deare speaks of Ngungunyana's people² as an offshoot again of the Angoni above referred to. Higher up on Lake Nyasa, on its west side, is another country with Angoni. These people Mpezeni referred to in his talks.

Notes

¹A son of Zwangendaba; see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 466-7, and Omer-Cooper, Zulu Aftermath, ch. 5.

²The Shangana people of the Gasa kingdom.

DHLOZI KA LANGA

18.5.1902, Sunday - <evidence given 17.5.1902> File 71, p. 69.

Also present: Ndukwana

69 I had an interesting talk with Dhlozi and Ndukwana last night. I spoke of the prospect of peace between British and Boers. I spoke chiefly of the recent publication of my views on native affairs. The repeated way in which my views have been referred to in the papers (of which I gave him information) has impressed him, and he considers I have been 'accepted', as a young man by a girl. I pointed out that the native races could not hope to exterminate and clear the Europeans out of South Africa; they must therefore fall back on the best instrument of reform, viz. the spreading of knowledge, (as) all reform comes from within. There must be made an attack on European civilization in (order) to reduce that pride which makes an Englishman believe that his race and system of government is the best that can be created. Ndukwana observed that even if the natives contemplated attack on the Europeans, it could never be successful, seeing there is no unity among them. Dhlozi remarked that to Europeans' faces they pretend to be satisfied, whereas amongst themselves they speak discontentedly. Dhlozi adds that natives would never dare to fight, much as they would like it. At first Europeans were regarded as saviours from the oppressions of the Zulus, but now they are looked on as more tyrannical and oppressive than Tshaka's wildest schemes.

I suggested a vigorous attack on European civilization. I called up Rousseau's Contrat Social and his doctrine of 'back to nature', and said those who could read between the lines would see in my published views something very akin to Rousseau, though in penning them I had not got Rousseau in mind. Europeans must somehow be universally educated in regard to Zulu affairs, for only in that way can they arrive at a firm, right, universal policy. The sufferings of the Zulu people lie too deep for words; they feel, but cannot tell what they feel.

Ndukwana thinks my published words will go far, and Dhlozi is of opinion that a reference will be made to me at a later date, calling on my proposals for a remedy. I said my idea is to seize the opportunity which this unexpected publication of my views has given me, and, by writing fully all round on the native question, to induce inquiry as to my proposed remedy, and then, but not till then, to bring in the esoteric views lying behind. My plan is practical and I intend to go by the natural method of 'need and satisfaction' or

DHLOZI

'question and answer', which is simply the way in which things grow and develop.

10.8.1902. Durban.

File 72, p. 45.

Also present: Mkando, Ndukwana

- 45 Tribal marks. Per Dhlozi, Mkando, and Ndukwana. The amaBomvu people follow the practice of cutting the top joint of the little finger, left hand, in both males and females. These people, so Dhlozi says, formerly lived *below the Qude mountain* in the Nkandhla district. The late *induna* at Ixopo, Luhayi, belonged to the amaBomvu tribe, but his finger joint was not cut off, this being because when he was a child the Zulus sought out and killed the amaBomvu people.

<26.2.1905>

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 7-8.

- 7 Dhlozi's father was Langa ka Gobizembe. Langa was killed at the battle of Blood River, 16th December, 1838 (at the Ncome). He was of the Fasimba regiment,¹ and married after he had put on the headring,
8 and so was well on in years. Dhlozi was born shortly before his father's death, whom, of course, he does not remember seeing. Say he was born in January 1838, this would make him about 67 years of age. He is of the Dhlokwe regiment.² His mother is still living, but is in her dotage, naturally.

Notes

¹Formed c.1818; age-group born c.1795-8.

²Formed c.1858; age-group born c.1838.

DINYA KA ZOKOZWAYO

27.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 8-18.

8 Dinya comes from Ifafa mission station. Mr Wilcock is the present missionary. He is of the Ingulube regiment's¹ age - 78 or so years old - but was not *butwa'd* nor was he in Zululand when *butwa'd*. He was born at Mhlali. Magaye was Cele chief at the time. Many Qwabes *konza'd* the Cele there at the time, and *vice versa*. The father of Dinya was Zokozwayo ka Mancenga ka Tshwaku ka Belesi ka Ncwama ka Sishi ka Mahlobo ka Qwabe ka Malandela. I am not quite sure of the father of Mahlobo, but fancy it must be Qwabe.

My father died in the Balule *campaign* (Tshaka's). My father also went through the Pondo campaign.² He was of the Dukuza regiment.³ On the troops' coming from Pondoland to the Mkomazi, the princes
9 wanted to kill Tshaka. Dingane and Mhlangana wanted to kill Tshaka, but were afraid of the forces. It was now reported to Tshaka that Hlangabeza ka Mabedhla of the amaNtshali tribe had *deserted* and gone northward after Sotshangana, with people and cattle. The *impi* went on with Mdhlaka. Dingana and other princes went too. The object was to 'bring back' Sotshangana, though the more immediate object was to overtake Hlangabeza.

The Zulus accordingly pursued Hlangabeza, and eventually found out where he had temporarily erected his kraals. He built alongside a forest. Mdhlaka's *impi* divided into two after being *prepared for action* at night-time. One division advanced on the far side of the forest, whilst the main body came on before daybreak to make a frontal attack. The forces closed in simultaneously, followed by their *mat-bearers*. Every member of the amaNtshali tribe was put to
10 death, and cattle seized. Hlangabeza himself escaped and got to a pond where he tried to conceal himself by getting into the water up to his neck. He was, however, observed by the *mat-bearers*, who thereupon attacked and put him to death. Prior to this attack, the princes had returned to Tshaka at Stanger, their object being to kill him.

Dinya now gives an account of Tshaka's death which corresponds with Fynn's. He says, however, the Pondos had come from Faku with a small drove of oxen in order to tender their chief's allegiance; that some of these cattle were killed in order to be eaten; that Dingana, Mhlangana and Mbopa arrived at night-time; that seeing the messengers from Faku the following morning talking to the king (seated on his 'throne' or seat of kingship), he ran up to them and struck them with the stick end of his assegai; that he did this to rouse Tshaka's anger, Tshaka being of course helpless without his forces; that the Pondos ran off at once for their homes, leaving

- 11 their assegais and the meat which was cooking for them unconsumed; and that those who buried Tshaka probably never survived, for in accordance with custom they were *'stones for burying the king'*.

Tshaka said when stabbed, *'Is it the sons of my father who are killing me? How is this, seeing I never put to death any of my brothers ever since I became king? You are killing me, but the land will see locusts and white people come.'* He then fell. True enough, locusts and Europeans subsequently came. This is evidence of Tshaka being a prophet.

- The first white man arrived with Nhlamba at the kraal of Sinqila ka Mpipi, chief of the Amangati tribe (offshoot of Cele tribe). Sinqila went out to look for his beast which had *calved in the veld*. He found all his women and children running away from the wild beast, viz. a white man who was mounted on a horse. This man had, in
12 Sinqila's absence, arrived at the kraal, causing women etc. all to run away. They said his hair was like cattle tails, and the horse some strange bogey. (*Hasazi comes after Sinqila in order of birth. Hasazi's other name is Koviswayo.*) This European, Dinya says, must have been Fynn.

The extraordinary thing to the natives was this strange being on top of another strange animal. The white man was accompanied by Nhlamba, who acted as interpreter. Sinqila sent at once to report the incident to his chief Magaye. Magaye was then living at Mhlali in his Mdhlazi kraal. Sinqila gave a full account of the white man, saying how he was dressed, that he had an *imbenge*⁴ on his head, that something (a bottle in which he carried milk asked for at the kraals visited) was very peculiar, inasmuch as it shone, and the gun he carried. All these features were surprizing, and all this Sinqila, *having brought a gift of food for the small children*, reported to his chief (also of the Amangati tribe) as he (Sinqila) stood outside his hut.

- After hearing this, Magaye sent for the principal members of his
13 tribe. He called his *induna* Nhlasiyana ka Nomunga ka Mkokeleli, the *induna* Cunge ka Nodinga, Mvivinyeki of the Emanhlokweni tribe, and Mpangu of the Gumbi, a section of the Qwabe tribe which *konza'd* to the Cele. Others came in addition to these. Sinqila once more stated exactly what he had seen, causing a great impression on those who listened. Magaye proposed the man should be brought to him to see. Sinqila said he must not run away on seeing the monster. Magaye, after Sinqila went off to conduct the stranger to him, called up his regiments and set them on both sides of him as he sat *in the open space* in front of the cattle kraal. His children and relatives stood behind.

- Presently the stranger arrived, mounted on a horse, with hat on head, gun in hand, hair like cattle tails, and so forth. All present were moved with wonder and awe, so much so that the regiments shuffled back as far as the *fence*, whilst Magaye himself moved backwards with such vigour as to sprain <sic> one of the children
14 (girls) behind him. When the white man halted and got off and stood, the onlookers were reassured, the more so when he did as asked by Magaye through his interpreter, namely to remove his hat, to turn round and so forth in order that full opportunity should be given of surveying him well at a distance.

Magaye now ordered that an ox should be presented as food to the stranger. A *dark-brown* one was got and given him, and he was told to go and pass the night at Mziboneli's kraal, this man being a brother of Magaye and son of Dibandhlela. Mziboneli was much concerned at having to receive the monster into his own homestead, but did in accordance with orders, namely at his kraal known as kwa Mabola. Here the *dark-brown* beast (ox) was slaughtered. It was not stabbed, it was shot, and as the shot was fired all lay down on the ground. The white man proposed this, and after warning all to be on the lookout for a report like a thunderclap, fired at and killed the beast without touching it. He then cut its throat to let it bleed freely. He asked what part should be presented to the chief. They told him the *meat covering the ribs*, (as well as) the ear. So the white man, after having these parts carefully cut out, himself took and presented them to the chief. Magaye was much impressed with this stranger, and in view of what had occurred decided at once to report to Tshaka.

Magaye observed that he had previously heard of a stranger like this riding on a peculiar animal, when on a visit to the Qwabe tribe in Zululand, for his mother Siwetu was a sister of Nqeto. He had heard the white man had come from the Cape and was bound for the coast, and that he had been put to death by the Mtetwa people over whom Dingiswayo was chief. This is the white man of whom people sang, '*Ngqwabangqwaba, go away!*'⁵ to keep him from approaching their kraals.

Magaye was advised to go and report to Tshaka in person. He did so. He directed Nhlasinyana to take a *detachment* of 30 to 40 men with him and conduct the white man to Bulawayo kraal at which Tshaka was then staying, whither he would himself go on ahead and be present when the party arrived. When the party got to Bulawayo they found Magaye there, seated with Tshaka. They had been directed by Magaye to enter the kraal by both gates and then to advance up the *meeting place of the council* towards the *isigodhlo*. They were to halt with their charge as soon as they got a short distance off it, and then one and all to raise their right arms into the air and together exclaim, dwelling a long while on each syllable, as if singing, '*Magaye says that the cockroaches are crossing the council place!*' This expression was to be sung out three times, each time as before. [This is an expression meaning that good luck has befallen one.]

They did as ordered. No sooner did Tshaka hear them exclaim thus than he ran out of his hut, dragging his *skin cloak* with him, to see what it meant. He said, '*Hear, my people! Magaye says the white men have arrived in his country.*' He presently noticed the white object among them. He gave the bystanders various orders as regards making the white man do this and that. He took it into his head to cause the white man to undress and put on his, Tshaka's, *loin-cover*, which was fetched from his hut. Having a sense of decency, Tshaka ordered 30 or 40 men to stand round about the white man so as to hide him whilst he undressed. This was done, and Fynn presently appeared in the garb of a Zulu, his flesh as white as milk, only to be called '*Mbuyazi (Mbulazi) of the Bay, the long-tailed finch that came from Pondoland*', this being the *praise-name* made up by Tshaka. The *loin-cover* was of *blue monkey skin* with *genet skin* in front. He was told by Tshaka to take off the clothes which he was wearing - Tshaka spoke of course through the interpreter - and to put on the

loin-cover. He was hidden by the men out of respect to the *umdhlinkulu* gathered round Tshaka and looking on.

Durban in those days was spoken of as *Emateku* or *Esibubulungu*.

Tshaka presented Fynn with three lots of cattle which were driven to his home (Port Natal), one herd after the other, to enable Fynn to *set up a kraal*.

- 18 We draw the conclusion from what has gone before that the European was feared as much when he arrived as he is nowadays.

Hasazi was a younger brother of Sinqila and not of so much importance. He may and probably did accompany Fynn to Tshaka. Fynn was the first white man ever seen by the Celes. [The date would be about June 1824.]

28.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 18-20.

Also present: Mtinkulu, Dhlozi

Per Dinya, Mtinkulu, and Dhlozi.

Mtinkulu ka Tshotsho ka Duze ka Mnengwa ka Makanya ka Zingelwayo ka Simamane etc. (Qwabe tribe), aet. 54.

.... <Praises of Zulu ka Nogandaya omitted - eds.>

- 19 Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo is of the Amambili tribe, an offshoot of the Mtetwa tribe. The Amambili are now, for the most part, of the Fingo section. Ngoyi crossed into Natal and built between the Mkomazi and Mtwalume rivers. He was subsequently *driven out* by Tshaka's *amaMpondo impi*.

Mtinkulu thinks Xozas and Zulus and Mtetwa came down the east coast from Central Africa. The Xozas are spoken of as *abaNguni*.

*Isivivane*⁶..., *mtshopi*,⁷ *izinkuni zo bane*,⁸ *tshis' impepo*⁹ are essentially Jewish customs and (serve) to prove Jewish ancestry. *Izinkuni zo bane* are used for *impepo*, i.e. is incense.

We are anxious to find out where we came from. These Jewish customs of ours are evidence that we came from the north, for this evidence was in existence before we came in contact with the Europeans.

- 20 The Bacas built at Pasiwe, a hill near Greytown. The Bacas are part of the Zulu people. They ran off, and so were spoken of as *amaBaca*.¹⁰

The Xozas are said to have *driven their cattle to grazing grounds*. They drove along from one nice *plain* to another - a nomadic existence. These people used the bow and arrows, learning this from the Bushmen. It is said the Xozas sprang from the Qwabe people, who are also *abaNguni*. The Xozas are *abaNguni* <sic>. Xozas *went down* by going along the *Drakensberg* into the Cape Colony. The Zulus are *abeNguni* too, though they are *insulted* by calling them *amaNtungwa*.¹¹

On the whole it seems probable that the *abeNguni* came from the east coast, from Ngungunyana, Gasaland, and Lake Nyasa. Sotshangana, Nqaba, Hlangabeza, all turned back to Portuguese territory. This gives the impression that that was the route taken. The *amaNtungwa*

DINYA

probably came from the Mabunda people.

1.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Mtimkulu? Dhlozi?

- 21 The first Europeans who came to Natal were persons in debt or in poor or questionable circumstances at the Cape. They came to Natal, hunted etc., and became prosperous.

Fynn's great *induna* was Juqula ka Nqawe of Emapemvini section - I don't know of which tribe. Mjosingana ka Mboli of the Mkungweni *kraal* in the Cele tribe was of rank in the tribe. He was an *umunzana* living under Fynn. When Fynn ran away, Juqula went to live at Isipingo where his descendants still are. Mjosingana also lived at Isipingo when Fynn left.

- 22 After Fynn left Natal consequent on Nqeto's revolt, there was great famine in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, for the Zulus had devastated the country, driving off the inhabitants. It seems that a mealie seed was dropped by the Europeans who were fleeing. Mjosingana found this single seed and planted it. It *flowered, dried*, and had a *cob*. He planted all the seeds of this cob. The resulting cobs gave him sufficient seed to plant a *garden*. When this was *reaped*, he distributed the seed among his own *kraal*. In this way food increased and people came to *konsa* him or to buy seed there. Many refugees from Zululand were *taken in* there. Juqula also got a number of adherents. Mjosingana built above or to the west of Isipingo as it now is, whilst Juqula built across the Izimbokodwe stream, near the sea, where he *gathered mussels* to eat. Makokela is one who built at the Lovu - this side. He planted gardens where sugar cane is now being planted. This man was of the amaNdelu tribe. He too got a following on account of having mealie seed, viz. what he got from Mjosingana.

- 23 Kofiyana ka Mbengana was the great *induna* of John Cane. Mangelemana of the Duma (Dumisa) was a minor *induna* of Cane's. Kofiyana had his *kraal* on the Durban side of the Mbilo. I (Dinya) have seen Kofiyana. His son Mbotshwa has a tribe on the Mzimkulu. Kofiyana's tribe was the Tshabeni.

Mjosingana's son is Mafa and is *induna* of Ndunge (chief). Mafa's mother is a daughter of the Makanya chief Duze, and so is related to Mtimkulu.

- 24 John Cane lived near Kangela. Fynn lived at Isipingo. I do not know the site of his home. Juqula's descendants might know. John Dunn's father lived at South Coast Junction. He had many Hottentots and native followers. There was plenty of liquor at his place. His native name was Misdoni. Dunn came with Collis. Collis came by his death by a powder magazine exploding. He was smoking a cigar, it is said, and threw it down, for in those days (powder) was not kept with the same care as now. Collis had one store, on the left side of a stream running from the market past the Natal Bank and Pardy's house into the Bay. Collis's was the only store. He sold powder, sugar, etc.

There were herds of wild pigs over the site of Durban.

DINYA

1.3.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 53, p. 24.

Also present: Dhlozi? Mtinkulu?

Dinya says: I was in Natal when Mpande crossed into Natal from Zululand in October 1839. At that time I saw Mpande. He had on a *headring*, and had several children by that time. Mpande left his *impi* at the *Hlawe river*, this side of Tongati and beyond Mdhloti, and came to see the Boers near the Mlazi river, on the north side. The Boers had a camp there as well as at Kangela.

I also saw Mawa, the Zulu princess. She was quite bald but had hair cut from children and stuck on to her head with *red clay*, making it appear as if the hair was her own. *Hard cattle fat*, i.e. fat round the paunch, was also used to stick hair down.

Cambusasing is a characteristic of the Zulus, i.e. cutting the ears. The Pondos use an *awl* and have only a small hole.

1.3.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 1-3.

Also present: Dhlozi, Mtinkulu?

- 1 Dinya says on the occasion of *the mourning for Nandi*, food belonging to Masawuzana was brought to Tshaka's kraal (Bulawayo). Tshaka inquired who that was who, when mourning was on, dared to have food brought to the royal kraal. Masawuzana, hearing of these inquiries, at once told Tshaka not that it was for him but for his elder brother Mnongose, who had been installed as chief by Tshaka. Tshaka thereupon put Mnongose to death and Masawuzana got off. Both Mnongose and Masawuzana were the sons of Mteli ka Lufuta (Qwabe chief).

- 2 Masawuzana was a *warrior of Tshaka* and *induna* at Vungameni kraal (Tshaka's). He went on the Balule campaign but came back all right. He killed beasts as an offering to the spirits on his return. Nowela ka Mteli said to the men, 'Go and partake of the meat. When you have done so, take note of the hut he sleeps in and then kill him off for me.' They went, lay in wait and, after carefully surrounding his hut in the early dawn, stabbed him to death. Nowela got authority from Dingana, who was then king, to kill Masawuzana.

Masawuzana frequently got Qwabe people killed by Tshaka through telling tales about them.

Customs of Zulus analogous to Jewish ones.¹² [Compare with paper in 'Natal Missionary Conference' about 1880-1885 - 9.2.1916.]

Isivivane

Mtshopi

*Impukane*¹³ - when a person has stabbed a beast the *impukane* is cut out.

Impepo

Izinkuni zo bane - burnt offering

*Mswani*¹⁴ - is thrown inside the hut - each hut - if a woman has lost a child, she goes to her home, a beast is killed, she is washed with *mswani* and is then cleansed.

DINYA

- 3 Dhlozi says a girl washes her hands in ashes and water. This mixture is thrown into her hands, she pretends to wash, spills water, then the *spoon* carrying the water and ashes is thrown on the ground and the woman stamps on it, breaking it. This happens at her own kraal.

*Ukusoka*¹⁵

*Ukungena*¹⁶

*Isitembu*¹⁷ and patriarchal system

Lobola

Persons killed for theft

Persons killed for adultery - *stoned to death*

Persons killed for *practising witchcraft*

*Hlonipa*¹⁸ - mother-in-law *hlonipas* son-in-law; wife *hlonipas* father-in-law.

2.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 4-7.

Also present: Mtinkulu? Dhlozi?

- 4 Njanduna. Kokela, a *Ndwandwe* of *Zwide's Pela* regiment, was *induna* of Njanduna.¹⁹
Ngxangaza - the name of one of Dingana's kraals. (It was in the, charge of Tshibilika, and was *in the bush country on the Mhlatauze, the country of the izinqawe trees* - trees with very long thorns.

Nzwakele was Dube chief.²⁰

Dinya says: Pahla and Gumbi were twins. The woman said, '*Hold me! There is another at the side*', and so when they delivered her again Gumbi was born, and he was named because of his being taken from the side (of the womb),²¹ Pahla having been born first and thus being the principal *twin*. To this day the Gumbi and Pahla people do not intermarry. Pahla, Gumbi, as well as Sishi (my ancestor), are the sons of Mahlobo; hence I differ from Mmemi. Ciyi (Cili) seems to me to come before Gumbi, Pahla, Sishi etc., and to rank in age with the amaNgadi.

The amaNganga do not belong to the Qwabe tribe; they are not an offshoot of it.

Dinya speaks: The Ncwane is the section to which Zulu ka Nogandaya belongs. This section seems to have come from the north say the Mtetwa tribe. This Zulu became a *warrior of Tshaka*. This name was moreover not his; it was given him by Tshaka. This man

- 5 Zulu was *born among the Qwabe*. His proper name was Komfiya. He was an *inceku*. When a fight was about to take place between Zulus and Ndwandwes, Tshaka, at Bulawayo, one day took a *long staff* and stuck it into the ground *in the council place* and challenged anyone from among his regiments to seize it, this meaning that he equalled Tshaka's bravery when (he was among, the Mtetwa and (so would be), entitled to his praises. Komfiya came forward through an *opening in the isigodhlo fence*, with cowdung on his hands, for he had been smearing floors, and took the stick, to Tshaka's and everyone else's surprise.²²

DINYA

When the battle with Zwide came on, Komfiya took part, and in a most heroic manner, until they stabbed him between the shoulder-blade and the arm, thereby causing him to drop his shield. Though he had lost his shield he continued to fight, and he did so in so determined a manner that his own side took hold of him and prevented him from needlessly exposing himself. When later on Tshaka came to *discuss the battle* and he came to hear of Komfiya's deeds of valour, he formally spoke of him as 'Zulu' and said he was entitled to praises Tshaka himself had earned among the Mtetwa. Zulu ka Nogandaya subsequently became *induna* at the *Black Hlomendhlini kraal* under Nongalaza ka Nondela (*at the place of Mngunyana* of the Qwabe tribe).

Zulu ka Nogandaya died at the Mkunya near Springvale in Natal. He deserted from Mpande when this king started killing off the bigger *izinduna* like Mpangazita ka Mncumbata. Zulu feared being killed, so ran off, and yet Mpangazita was not killed by Mpande, for the regiments did so on his trying to lay down the law at the *Hlawe river* between the Tongati and Mdhloti. They said, 'You are not going to lay down the law in this *council* as well as in that of Zululand.' He was then mauled about by the men until he died.²³

Zulu ka Nogandaya *crossed* into Natal with Mpande. Mkehlanguana is a son of Zulu and is still living; he pays hut tax in Mzinto (and is) in charge of the Ncwane section of the Qwabe tribe.²⁴

Komfiya, being an *inceku*, may have been advised by Tshaka to take the *stick* as Tshaka wanted to raise him to a position of rank. It is difficult to see how a mere *inceku* could have dared to take Tshaka's place, and no one else in all the regiments could be found of equal pluck. He must have been encouraged by Tshaka himself for the act of extraordinary daring. And yet as the man was one of courage he may have done it of his own accord after full opportunity had been given to the regiments.

Zulu was of the Mgumanqa regiment.

I have seen Zulu. He was of medium height, black, had a *headring*, and was *induna* of the *Mpohlo regiment* at the *Black Hlomendhlini kraal*.

2.3.1905, afternoon.

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 7-12.

Also present: Madikane

Madikane ka Mlomowetole arrives. He thinks Dinya's statement about Zulu ka Nogandaya's taking a *stick* set up by Tshaka is incorrect as this is not what Tshaka would have done. Tshaka used to set up a *stick* on some flat, level space and then call on anyone of his warriors to jump it. Anyone who cleared it might be given a heifer. Tshaka also invited anyone to lift a *young beast*. If he succeeded it would be given him. Manqondo (Qetuka's father) ka Zwana of the Magwaza tribe lifted the *beast* and was presented with it.

Dinya agrees to what Madikane says but affirms in Madikane's presence what he has already said. Tshaka stuck the *stick* in when a fight with Zwide was imminent. My father was of the Dukuza regiment. When the *stick* incident took place the troops were *vying with one another in displays of audacity* in accordance with custom, Tshaka being present. Tshaka then took a *stick* and went with it into the

council place where all the *impi* had assembled. He said, 'See now, I thrust this stick into the ground. My praises, when I was with the chief Dingiswayo at Yengeni, were, "Heavens that thunder in the open, where there is neither mimosa nor thorn tree; willow tree which overhangs the deep pools." Let there come forward a warrior to pull out this stick. My praises will be given to him as the first to attack in battle.' Komfiya no sooner heard this than he came in through the opening which Tshaka used in going to the *isigodhlo*. He had been smearing the floor in Tshaka's hut, being an *inceku*. He went and pulled out the stick. Tshaka said, 'I shall now watch and see how my dark friend will conduct himself when it comes to the point to see if he will deserve the praise "The heavens that thunder".'

Next day it was reported Zwide's *impi* was at hand. Tshaka's cattle were driven off. The troops asked why the cattle were driven off. Tshaka said, 'Keep quiet; you know nothing. We will get the better of Zwide. He does not feed his troops; they carry only small provisions.' He told Mdlaka, 'You must prepare the army for battle tomorrow.' Tshaka said (he would) station (himself) on a hill nearby and look on, in company with the chiefs of tribes subject to him. Tshaka said (Mdlaka should) lead out with the Iziyendane regiment, made up of various chiefs' forces. Their *induna* was Nonzama 'who does not fight but to destroy'. The forces met. Mdlaka put on the Iziyendane first. Mdlaka then set on the Intontela, Dhlangezwa, Mgumanqa, and others.

At one part Mvundhlana ka Menziwa entered the Ndwandwe forces and attacked them; also Nkayitshana ka Kuzwayo entered; then others assisted them.

This fight took place this side of the Mhlatauze and lasted till nightfall.

Komfiya was stabbed in the upper left arm between the shoulder blade and armbone. He killed a number and then got hurt. He thereupon earned Tshaka's praises.

11 'Isibiba' (refers to) the *izinsizwa* forces who closely support the king, i.e. remain with the king until the fight is turning; then they follow on.

Dinya says when he was a little boy the river of that name was called Amanzimtoti. It may have been so called by Zulus when going on the Pondoland *impi*.

.... <Linguistic notes relating to names omitted - eds.>

12 We are crushed by this; we are crushed by that - i.e. the various kinds of work natives are obliged to perform for Europeans.

We came running empty-handed (in wartime).

We are governed as if we are slaves.

Indians can buy land, Indians can keep stores, but natives have not similar rights, and yet the former are newcomers.

We do not care for the Tshaka regime. We were all killed off there.

Dr Adams got reserves for us on which we were to be taught the word of God, the land to be inalienable.

DINYA

We have no place to go to and are resigned to our lot and would follow Europeans if they were to leave, but we should be treated better than we are.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

3.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 12-14.

Also present: Madikane

- 13 Kwa Malinde is the Durban flat (which extends, from the Umgeni to Kangela - a flat with *monkey oranges*, fruit eaten by elephants, and still growing in Greyville. Amalinde is a very old name, existing before Europeans came.

Formerly all the kraals in Durban were hidden away in the bushes. 'On the Mayinde flat there is a rolling movement of the sea.' This is a song that used to be sung by Mkatayi ka Mpalazi ka Dibandhlela. Mkatayi belonged to the Cele tribe. Dinya says, 'I heard this dance-song when I was still a boy.' [It might therefore be about 60 years ago, as he is now 77 or 78.]

Madikane says Tshaka tended to discontinue the word 'Bayete' and substitute that of 'Wen' o ngang' ezwe!'²⁵

Madikane (also) says that 'Nina ba kwa Lufenulwenja, ba kwa Ntontontwana!'²⁶ was the way Zulus were addressed.

- 14 Tshaka got (the term) 'Ndabezita'²⁷ from the Cunu.
Zulu and Qwabe are spoken of by outsiders as amaNtungwa.

Mtshopi and umgonqo are customs which become like laws.²⁸

Under Tshaka ornamental incisions were cut in the calf of the leg, i.e. up the sides, inner side. The Fasimba and Mvutwamini (regiments),²⁹ were so marked. The skin would be pricked with a thorn, lifted, and then cut. Not all people were dealt with in this way, only certain sections of Zulus.

29.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 1-7.

- 1 Dinya arrives on his second visit.

Nqeto's great *induna* was Mdandazi of the right-hand house of the Qwabe. This man was sent with oxen to Faku (Pondo king) to tender Nqeto's allegiance. Faku accepted his allegiance but directed Nqeto not to cross the Mzimvubu on any raid, or he would be 'covered with a blanket', by which was meant that the Pondo people, far more numerous than his men, would attack him.

Ngololo ka Mjanyelwa ka Sigwegwe of the Cele tribe was one of Nqeto's greatest heroes.

.... <Ngololo's praise omitted - eds.>

Magaye was buried at Inanda, at ekuKekezeni, his kraal. That is where the Zulus killed him.

2 Although Nqeto had been specially directed not to raid across the Mzimvubu, his *induna* Mdandazi did so, in spite of the remonstrances of his men. He seized cattle belonging to the Pondos. One morning the Qwabes woke at dawn to find a great dark mass encircling them on all sides. This turned out to be the Pondo forces, and so the statement was fulfilled that the Pondos would cover the Qwabes as with a blanket should they cross the Mzimvubu with any hostile intentions. A bloody battle ensued on the banks of the Mzimvubu. Many who escaped the spear were either drowned or killed by hippopotami, which were at that time numerous. In this battle, Nqeto's forces were greatly outnumbered.

3 A man escaped to where Nqeto was, and informed him of what had occurred, saying that he alone remained of all the forces. He told of the utter defeat of the force. Nqeto now decided to go off with such of his forces as remained to tender his allegiance to the Bacas. With this object in view he set forth, driving along with him a very large number of cattle. To his amazement, before he had had an opportunity of tendering his allegiance, the Bacas set onto and attacked him, no doubt supposing he intended acting aggressively. They, of course, defeated his already reduced numbers (for apart from those slain in the recent battle, the greater bulk of the Qwabes had remained behind in Zululand and Natal). They moreover seized his vast stock. In this conflict the famous hero Ngololo was stabbed in many places and left for dead on the ground. Nqeto himself took refuge with some of his household in some reeds. When word
4 was brought to him of what had occurred he saw that all was up. He bade farewell to his scattered forces, such as remained, and told them to save themselves; as for himself, he would become a wanderer. He still had four fat heifers by him.

After hearing of Ngololo's condition he was not satisfied, so he dispatched some men to where the hero was lying in order to carry him to a place of safety, for word had come that, though at first taken for dead, Ngololo had showed signs of life. He gave orders that one of the heifers should be slaughtered for Ngololo in order that the bile might be sprinkled over the wounds. He added that a door was to be got and, after affixing poles thereto, the wounded hero was to be carried away to a place of safety. All this was done.

5 Nqeto now wandered forth alone with practically no more than his personal household. It is said that near the Drakensberg he was put to death by the Bele people (that might be their name),³⁰ and his wives etc. seized by them. As for Ngololo, he got over his wounds and found his way back to Zululand.

Now it so happened that a man named Msekelo ka Ntamo of the Mtetwa tribe, who lived on lands between the Berea, Durban, and Pinetown in Farewell's day, witnessed the Mzimvubu fight between the Pondos and Nqeto's men. He was Dingana's spy. He returned to Dingana to report that Nqeto was completely routed, and that if he were not killed many of his men would find their way back into Natal and Zululand. Dingana was annoyed on hearing this and at once gave orders that any followers of Nqeto were to be killed as soon as they got back. Magaye, chief of the Cele people, was closely related to Nqeto. (His mother Siwetu, one whom the Cele people always *swore* by, was 'own sister' of Nqeto.) It was therefore natural that Nqeto's men should take refuge with him. [See (below

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under date 30.3.1905, where it will be seen Magaye was put to death previous to this and for a different reason.]

- 6 Magaye secretly received some of these stragglers, whereupon he was attacked by the Zulu forces and routed, he himself, after being killed, being eaten up by his own dogs [as I have related elsewhere in my notes]. Magaye's remains were buried at Inanda at or near his kraal ekuKekezeni. All such stragglers from Nqeto's men as were not killed by the Zulus now resolved on taking refuge in the Tshongeni bush or forest on the south bank of the Tukela near the sea. From this forest they occasionally sallied forth to raid cattle from the neighbourhood. They became marauders. When it became too hot for them there they moved to other natural cover from whence they continued their depredations. As for Ngololo, he found his way back to Pondo-land. In Mpande's reign he settled in Natal at the Ifafa, subsequently moving to the Tongati, where he died.

- 7 Dinya says he knew Ngololo well. Ngololo was so much liked and so trusted by Nqeto that that chief always required him to live in a hut next to his own, so that in the event of night attack he would have someone on whom he could absolutely depend.

There is good ground for thinking that had Nqeto, after his defeat at the Mzimvubu, gone unarmed straight to Faku and thrown himself on his mercy, Faku would have extended his protection over him, for the Pondos are not a vindictive people.

Dinya says that his grandfather Ntonjana was with Nqeto during these stirring times. His, Dinya's, father, Zokozwayo, remained behind with Tshaka and died on the Balule expedition, prior to Nqeto's revolt.

30.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 7-8.

- Nqeto wanted Magaye, his nephew, to accompany him. Magaye, hearing this, held a meeting of the Cele tribe, who refused to allow him to join Nqeto on the ground that the latter would put him to death and seize his tribal lands. He would, they urged, do this in spite of his close relationship. Nqeto went forth alone, taking with him a number of Magaye's cattle. Magaye was reprimanded by Dingana for permitting Nqeto to pass through his district, taking with him large numbers of the royal cattle. He took those known as the *mdubu* or *mpofu*³¹ ones which the late Tshaka had seized in his last Mpondo campaign.
- 8

Dinya says Magaye was killed for allowing Nqeto to pass through his district with the king's cattle, not, as previously stated, because refugees from Nqeto, after the battle of the Mzimvubu, came and took refuge in his tribe. By that time Magaye was dead, having been succeeded by Mkonto. It was by Dingana's direction that Mkonto, Magaye's son, was made chief, even though he was not the rightful heir.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

1.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 9-13.

Also present: Norman Nembula

- 9 The Cele dialect arose in the day of Masivuba, wife of Mkokeleli, his *inkosikazi*, a daughter of the Tuli tribe (present chief Mcotoyi).
 10 Dibandhiela³² grew up among the Tulis at his mother's home, where he was hidden away. Magaye strongly objected to the Cele dialect being changed to that of the Tulis. He directed the young generation to follow him and desist from following that of Masivuba who was a girl from another tribe. He failed, however, in bringing about the desired reform. Nowadays they speak the Zulu dialect. Cele people now under Mshweshwe,³³ however, still speak the old Masivuba dialect. This dialect is that of the Tuli tribe. Magaye wanted to keep to the Mtetwa tongue.

- Ndengezi-mashumi was a great *warrior* of Tshaka's. He fought in the battle against Zwile. Tshaka rewarded him with a number of cattle. Ndengezi was dissatisfied with the number given him because of the heroism he had displayed and the many he had killed. Tshaka said, 'But Ndengezi, are you the only *warrior* among all my people?'
 11 Ndengezi invited Tshaka to tell off a section of Zulus to fight him single-handed. Tshaka did not accept the challenge, knowing Ndengezi would kill them off. Ndengezi's contention was that his reward should be such a number that a stick might be laid on their backs and be carried off some distance towards his home without falling to the ground. That was a sign of a worthy reward for such services as he had rendered. Tshaka was unable to comply, so Ndengezi went home, picked up a few milch cows and fat oxen from his herd, left the others behind, and came to Tshaka to say goodbye, as he was going off elsewhere where his services would be better appreciated. Tshaka allowed him to go, thinking he would return again and was only joking; or he might have thought it better to do that than run the risk of losing a number of men if he accepted the challenge thrown out by Ndengezi. Ndengezi accordingly went forth and, it is believed,
 12 settled in Sotshangana's country, where he remained. Dinya says: I do not know his regiment or tribe.

Nkaitshana ka Kuzwayo was another of Tshaka's great heroes; also Gcogcomo of the Ngatini of the Cele.... <Praise omitted - eds.>

Nkonde (Norman says) was one of Zwile's great heroes. He was killed at the Mhlatuze when the great battle between Tshaka and Zwile took place.

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa was also a great hero. He was of the Biyela tribe, and was short in stature. Dingana made him *induna* of the Zinyosi.

.... <Praises of Mvundhlana omitted - eds.>

- 13 Tshaka would call on him by these *praises* and invite him to come out and 'play' before the forces. He would *do a war dance, pleasing the king*, after this. Tshaka would first say, 'I summon you, "you who are hemmed in by assegais!"', and go on through the *praises* given. It is understood the hero must not come forth from his hut or where he may be until the king had actually finished exhorting him.

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Ndhlela ka Sompisi was also a great *warrior* in Tshaka's time.

2.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 13-20.

- Amabaca. Dinya says: I hear these people *sprang from among the Zulu*. They modified their dialect. Their old residence was about the Pasiwe hill, Ntabakayikonjwa, near the sources of the Umvoti and not far from the Karkloof [but see Bird's Annals, i, 136]. Their chiefs are, beginning from the existing one, Bekukupiwa ka Cijisile ka Mdutshana ka Sonyanga (alias Mayekiso) ka Madikane ka Kalimetshe. Dinya says the cause of the separation was the finding of new grazing and pasture lands for their cattle. This caused the separation, which took place amicably. Kalimetshe ka Diya ka Wabana. [See short list of names in Cape Native Laws and Customs on sheet facing p. 413.]

Nyuswa was *the offspring* of Mafunze, and Nyuswa *fathered* Ngcobo. These are not the names of persons, except in the case of Ngcobo.

.... <Notes on names of objects used by witchdoctors omitted - eds.>

- 15 On one occasion a section of the Imihaye (regiment, (itself a large section of the Imikulutshane) was ordered to go and fetch *ukova* (i.e. bananas) from near Mbonambi on the coast and bring the fruit to Mgungundhlovu. Somuntsha was the *induna* in charge. When they got back to Mgungundhlovu, where Dingana was, they were singing an *inkondhlo* (a loud, exciting chorus). They came up to where Dingana was seated and then *saluted*. Dingana afterwards called to Ndhlela to ask who those were who had come in singing, and directed them to repeat their chorus. They did so. Whilst standing before Dingana, one of the men stepped forward and bitterly complained of his *induna* or officer, Somuntsha, accusing him of cruelly beating those under him. The accusation was supported by others. In the meantime Somuntsha backed away, afraid of the possible consequences; that is, he *retreated cringing*. Nothing more was said then. Dingana directed the men to return to Kangela, including those from Dhlangezwa, Ntontela, Mgumanqa, Njanduna, Hlomendhlini Omhlope, Hlomendhlini Omnyama, etc.³⁴ He said he would look into the matter.
- 16 Next day, two *kehlas* were seen to arrive at Kangela, one an *inceku*, the other a member of the Ndabenkulu section of the Izimpohlo (regiment). The latter's name was Buto. Dingana was *bonga'd* in a loud voice by the *inceku*. Somuntsha was now called out to come back to where he had just come from, that is Mgungundhlovu, i.e. he was 'recalled'. The *kehla* (latter), whose name was Buto, son of Vumazonke, was then set up as *induna*. Somuntsha, ever since the complaint made against him, had been kindness itself to his men, and when he saw he was called back to headquarters he feared the worst. However, nothing happened. He simply rejoined his regiment (also the Ndabenkulu - part of the Izimpohlo), being relieved of his command. The Imihaye at this time were *izinsizwa*. Dinya's brother Sivande ka Mhluzeli was one of the Imihaye. He witnessed this incident and told Dinya of it. Sivande died over 10 years ago.

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Iminaka (izimbedu). These were large, roughly made copper rings allowed by the king to be worn. Anyone allowed to wear them could not remove the rings except with the permission of the king obtained through the *izinduna*, and permission would be sought only in cases of urgent necessity. Hide was put between the neck and the metal to prevent it burning and chafing. A man would be compelled to wear it for three or four months at a time and, when once on, it would have to be kept on night and day. It would have to be polished while still round the neck - polished with hide. It looked very well, and sometimes as many as four of these heavy rings would be put round one man's neck. Some of this was native copper; some of the metal came from Delagoa Bay. A whole regiment might be given permission to wear *iminaka*. The Izimpohlo, for instance, wore *iminaka*.

Dinya says: I was interpreter in Dutch and Zulu on the occasion of the Boers having their meeting with Mpande on the Durban side of the Mlazi river and just above the present railway bridge.³⁵ (There were many hippopotami in the river at the time.) I was a young boy then.³⁶ When Mpande came, he left his *impi* at the Hlawe (river, (Tongati). He was with Nkunga ka Sitayi, Sotobe ka Mpangalala, Mbilini ('*wo Dhlolo*' - his praise-name). Mpande was seated on a chair. Sotobe and Nkunga *knelt down*, leaning on their sticks in front of them. The principal Boer was Wessel Wessels. I was called up. I was told to interpret. 'Where do you come from?' 'I am running away, running away from my brother.' This was then written down by Karl Landman. 'What do you want done?' 'I am running away from my brother and seek protection.'

This took place in a wattle and daub room. Four plates, spoons, forks and knives were put on the table.

I was told to tell Mpande his affairs could not be discussed there, and that he was to go up to Pietermaritzburg, whence the waggons would trek the following day. Mpande went up with the waggons. I went up too, and was hurt on the big toe, left foot, by a barrel when jumping up whilst the waggon was going over stones. At Pietermaritzburg I was not present at the big conference³⁷ as I remained with the waggons. I returned with Mpande. He walked both up and back. The waggons, however, carried his things and food. He was told to go back to the Hlawe, and from thence he went straight back to Zululand.

3.4.1905

File 61, nbk, 55, pp. 20-3.

.... <Note on potential informant omitted - eds.>

Kwa Malinde is the name of the flat Durban is built on, as far as the Mngeni. This includes the Berea.

Dinya (continues): Our kraals were placed under John Cane. My father, of course, was dead, having been killed in Tshaka's Balule campaign. Farewell's natives were left in Cane's charge. There was only one store in Durban at that time. It belonged to Singqungu (European name 'Coby'). Collis died before I arrived here. He was killed by accident by a powder magazine blowing up. I heard the

report of this bursting - it was very loud - and saw the cloud of smoke. It took place about midday and in winter-time. I was eating *monkey-oranges* on the racecourse at the time with other boys. I soon heard Collis had been killed and that an arm of his was eventually discovered near a bush on the south side of the Mhlatusana river.

The magazine was situated on the left side of the present Pietermaritzburg railway line just after it leaves that of the south coast (South Coast Junction). Dunn afterwards built near where this magazine exploded. Dunn was probably a relation or clerk of Collis's.

The native names of Europeans of those early times known to me are: Febana (Farewell), Jana (John Cane), Hohlo³⁸ (Ogle) - the two last made the waggon which went to Dingana and was *drawn* by the Dhlambdhlū regiment; one of these was Makuta Mtambo's father -

- 22 Misdoni or Kwa Doni (Dunn), Kolise (Collis), Peterman (a short Englishman), Tom Cara? (a tall Englishman with a temper). Dr Adams lived just across the Mlazi river, above the road. Gadeni (Dr Gardiner) lived on the Berea; he elected to live on the place he called Berea because there were many native kraals there, but all hidden in the forests, which were very thick. (Another was, Singqungu ('Coby')). These names are of those who lived in the immediate vicinity of Durban.

Cato and Beningfield arrived after the Boers had come. Cato (was called) Kito. Beningfield was called Mangcingci 'of the people of Saoti's place, the knife that is sharp even among the "kaffirs"'.^{38a}

At Isipingo was Mbuyazi of the Bay (H.F. Fynn). He had his house on the south side of the Izimbokodwe. When he ran away, afraid of Dingana, he left Juqula ka Nqawe, his *induna*, in charge. This man was of the Amapemvu tribe. Fynn lived with his brother Pobana.

- 23 Mbuyazi's kraal was known as Mpendwini. Damuse, a European, of slight build, tall, lived with John Cane. He was borrowed by Dingana so as to interpret between them and the Boers (Piet Retief). This man Damuse was killed at Mgungundhlovu. This caused John Cane to become very angry. He, after this, *campaign*ed against the Zulus, joining Biggar. They took a force of Natal natives and proceeded across the Tugela, where they were killed.³⁹

Another European of note was of course Dick King, (who was the same age as Damuse; i.e. both were, young men. John Cane and Ogle were grown-up men.

5.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 23-4.

Dinya: Damuse was well-known to Dingana as belonging to the Englishmen at Port Natal, and John Cane was strongly of the view he ought to have been saved. It was the allowing of this young man to be killed off which led to Cane's taking up arms against the Zulus.

- 24 [On p. 212 of Bird's *Annals*, vol. 1, I see Thomas Halstead was the interpreter to Piet Retief's deputation, and this is undoubtedly the man Dinya refers to. I see on p. 167, Russell's *Natal*,⁴⁰ that young Biggar was killed as well as Halstead. In Bird's *Annals* it appears Biggar resented the killing of his son and decided to lead forth the force referred to on p. 170 of Russell, and no doubt Cane's motive for going was because Halstead had been killed.]

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Damuse's (Halstead's) kraal was called Otshayaneni and was situated at the Ilovu, on the near side, above the railway and on the river flats.

Mabiya, a native, took charge of Damuse's kraal after his death. Mabiya is dead; so also is his son Nkondhlwana. Nkondhlwana's son Sibewu is now living.

John Cane's kraal was called esiNyameni, and was built on the Berea (south side). Cane had his own waggon-making establishment at Congella. The esiNyameni *induna* was Kofiyana ka Mbengana of the Tshabeni. There was another esiNyameni kraal (Cane's). The *induna* was Nkayitshana ka Lujoloba of the Xaba. This kraal was between (the Mzinto and the Ifafa, nearer the Ifafa).

5.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 1-5.

- 1 Dinya continues: Nkaitshana died leaving his son Mtshwankeyana (deceased) leaving a son Mpola (now living).⁴¹

Damuse's kraal, under Mabiya, moved to the Mzumbe (both sides).

The Isinyama (Cane's) has also moved from the Berea to the Mzimkulu (north side). They belong to Port Shepstone magistracy. They are at present in the charge of Mbotshwa ka Kofiyana of the Tshabeni. They are living near Zitulele (Royston). They have bought land of their own. Although these kraals removed, still some of their adherents remained behind.

H.F. Fynn's kraal was Mpendwini, built beyond the Isipingo at the Mbokodwe.

- 2 Ogle's kraals were three in number. His kraal Kwa Toyana, where Joji (George) was born, was just above the railway drift and south of the river, near Damuse's Tshayaneni. Wohlo's great kraal however was Bekane, built on the Mlazi (north side) and near the sea. The chief now is John Ogle. Bekane removed to Ixopo Division and is there now. Another kraal of Wohlo's is Zembeni, of which Tshaka is now in charge. Tshaka is a son of Wohlo by Sibadi, a daughter of Sicubana ka Dibandhlela (Cele chief).

Peterman (Pitimane) had a kraal on the Mlazi (north side), far above the railway, and under the forests. It was called Esibanyeni. His people *broke up* after his death. He was killed at the Tugela with Cane and Biggar. He was an Englishman. He used to trade in ivory, which he used to send forward to the Cape.

Braunberg (?), a Boer, I think, had a kraal at Clairmont.

- 3 All these Europeans built on this plan: they all had a number of wives and ordinary native kraals, but also differently constructed houses not far off, where they actually lived and at which they received European visitors. Wohlo and Mbulazi are the two who had the largest number of wives. Collis had no *establishment of wives*. I think he had his own wife.

The sexual intercourse with these wives took place on the Zulu plan; that is, any woman required would be specially sent for. She would at nightfall come to the man's house. The man would not go about to each woman's hut from time to time, carrying his blanket with him, as less important men are in the habit of doing.

Joyce (Joyisi) - I think Robert (Christian name) - had a kraal at the Mzinto. He was, I think, Cane's servant, for I have heard Cane calling out to him, 'Robert!', whereupon he would reply, 'Yes,

4 sir', and run to him. It is evident that Joyce, like Dick King, had come with Cane from the Cape. Joyce was known by natives as Bobe (Bob). Bobe's kraal was called Embeyebezeni, named after Tshaka's.

Dick King lived at the Isipingo, nearer Durban than Fynn. He lived with Mbuyazi and Pobana. Dick King was afterwards given land by the Government south of the Mlazi in reward for his services. Dick King had an *establishment of wives*, but I do not know its name.

Captain Gardiner had no *establishment of wives*. But he had an establishment named Vimbindhlela. He received adherents from Zululand, i.e. refugees. Many came and settled under the various Europeans, including Gardiner.

Cane, Ogle, and others traded in ivory and buffalo hides. Mbulazi was the greatest trader in ivory. Cane also traded in buffalo
5 hides, for which much salt was brought by ships to Natal.

I knew Captain Gardiner. He was tall, as tall as Dr Adams. John Cane was the tallest of all the Englishmen, and was very strong and industrious. Gardiner, I think, shaved; Cane also *shaved*.

6.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 5-11.

I worked, says Dinya, for Dirk (Froyi?) who was killed at Amanzimtoti by Ndinisa and Bulushe, followers of the English. I worked at Kwa Dolomakala (i.e. where many are congregated together), a temporary township of Boers on the Mlazi - north side and just above the railway line. Dolomakala is a name given by natives. The houses were of wattles, reeds and daub. They were square. The Boers had no *establishments of wives*. They would not associate with even a good-looking girl. They joked, not with native womenkind, but only with men. They used to wear trousers made up of sheep or goat
6 skins tanned by them in a particular way and called 'feld-broek'(?). These trousers were very durable and had to be used until the English traders arrived. They treated their natives very well, fed them from their own table food, and gave lads slices of bread thickly covered over with butter to take into the field to herd cattle. They gave them coffee etc. It was owing to such treatment that natives stuck to them as they did.

The tanning of sheepskins etc. took place thus: the skins were first of all buried in the ground for four or five days. The hair or wool would then come off readily. They would be washed and put into a tub intermixed with bark of the *isihlakoti* (very red bark) or *amangamazzi* (red). The skins would be put in one on top of the other. There would also be water in the tub - filled up with it. Stones
7 would be placed on top to keep (the skins) down. The skins would be in about a month and then spread out on the grass as we now do with clothing, and be turned over and over until dry. As a rule no further action was necessary as the skins would be quite soft, but if it were required to make them softer, a spade would be laid on the ground with the foot on it. The hide would then be drawn up in contact with the edge of the spade, i.e. the inner side of the hide. The skin would now become quite soft. After being sewn up and worn, these trousers could be washed with what Boers call 'suerim' (?) and become very red and in first-class condition. The trousers were sewn up with sacking twine after being pulled through something like wax etc. Awls would be used for sewing. The Boers, both men and women,

did the sewing. Two pairs of these trousers could be worn in a year.
 8 The matted *inner skin* etc. would be removed from the inside of the hide with a *scrubbing stone* - free stone.

The women wore clothing, but of the most durable kind.

For (making) soap the Boers used two kinds of trees, viz. *imbidhla* and *ipahla*. They used the ashes of these trees. The *ipahla* is obtainable on the coast, the *imbidhla* near the coast but 15 to 20 miles from the sea.

First, ashes were procured of either of these trees in large quantities. These would then be placed in very large iron pots containing water already at the boil. They would then be cooked for some time. When (this had) gone on long enough, the floating ashes would be skimmed off and those in solution allowed to precipitate. They would then put a large quantity of cow fat in another pot and
 9 pour into it the now cold, clear ash solution, taking care that no ashes got in. The solution and fat would then be cooked and kept cooking for fully a week, day and night, ash water being added whenever necessary. The mixture would then become like thick porridge. The fire would be removed and the soapy mixture allowed to cool and settle for a couple of days. It would then be carefully cut up into pieces and laid on one side to dry. The result would be excellent soap. The soap made from *imbidhla* appeared to be better than that from *ipahla*.

Dinya says: I have myself made these soaps.

Another of Mbuyazi's kraals was Ensimbini. This kraal is now south of the Mzimkulu. The kraals attached thereto pay hut tax at Port Shepstone.

10 Carl Landman, Wessel Wessels, Hans Potgieter, John Moulman, Almans Fourie (?), Gert Kemp, Kurt Kemp, are the names of some Boers (who were) living at or near Durban.

The following are the places where Boers specially lived: Dolomakala, Kangela, at the Mngeni (south side, close to Durban), up the Mlazi under Hans de Lange (tall, red hair), at the Mkomazi and Mkobeni, also at Maritzburg.

Boers would take hold of a man by his *headring* and pull it off for nothing, and beat him. They liked having young boys and girls to work for them. Natives used to build in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, in bushes, forests etc. so as to get out of the way of the Boers. Dr Adams used to advise natives to be quiet, and things would right themselves when the English arrived. Boers would think
 11 nothing of halting their waggons beside mealie gardens and half filling their waggons with the new mealies in spite of the women's remonstrances. Any man interfering would be lashed and skinned with the whip.

Boers did not severely beat boys but they flogged men in the most cruel manner. Sometimes they would tie them on the ground, back uppermost, by straps to stakes in the ground, and proceed to flog.

People withdrew to the bushes to keep as much as possible out of sight of the Boers, and even then took care not to drive their cattle out the same way day by day for fear that they might create tracks which would enable Boers to find their kraals.

Boys were paid at the rate of 1s a month, and at the end of the year the boy's father would be sent for and the money given to him.

8.4.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 12-24.

- 12 Stories regarding Tshaka's rule. A woman, *dirty and without a good skirt to wear*, came to Tshaka. Tshaka expressed astonishment and said, 'Mame! Does your husband konza me?' The woman said, 'He does, my father.' 'Why then, mother, do you go about naked?' 'My husband is poor, nkosi.' Tshaka said, 'Mdlaka, pick out two heifers which are dripping milk, with full udders. Pick out also for me a fat ox with "udders" (i.e. through being so fat). The two heifers and the ox were got. Tshaka then sent for the woman. She came. The king said, 'These heifers, take them off, and mix up some fat. I give them to you; I do not impose on you any kind of responsibility in regard to them. When they calve, pour the fat in one calabash and smear it on yourself. The other cow must furnish curds so that
- 13 you can get fat and not go on being dried up as you are. I give you this ox and call your husband to whatever military kraal he may be attached. Tell him that I have given you these cattle. Say (that the king says that he must, kill this ox, skin it, and make you two coverings, two skirts. The meat to be cooked for the fat is plentiful and must be used for softening these things. You will have a calabash of fat.'

Tshaka then directed a man to be sent along to drive the cattle to the woman's home. This was done. The man in due course came to give praises to the king. Tshaka reprimanded him for allowing his wife to come to the great one's place not properly dressed. 'You do me a dishonour,' he said. 'I want women to bear the looks becoming the wives of those who konza me.'

I heard this story from Sivande. [See next paragraph, but one on.]

- 14 Another matter. Tshaka said, 'Seize hold of so-and-so!' 'Only wait and let me praise the king,' said the man, thinking he was about to be killed. The man said, 'It is good that I am being killed by our king, "the ferocious one from whom people do not court trouble,"' etc. Tshaka then said, 'Leave him, he is praising his king. By my father the chief! Mdlaka, send boys to fetch two fat oxen from the herd.' The oxen arrived. 'Fellow, come forward!' The man advanced. 'Your cries have been heard,' said Tshaka. 'Praise your king until the day you die, for he forgives you. Take these, the oxen of Tshaka, and go with them. When you come to your home, do not go to your hut, but seat yourself in the council place in the cattle enclosure. Call the men, and let them kill one of the oxen; then give praises to the ancestral spirits of your people, for
- 15 they have saved you from the wild animal that is the ferocious one of Mbelebele. Then, when this ox has been killed, call forth your 'mothers'. You will be seated near the calf enclosure. Let them enter from the isigodhlo through the narrow opening. Let them seat themselves around you. Then you will relate this matter to them. Say that these cattle were given you by Tshaka the king after you had been seized. Say you gave praises to the king and felt his power, and then you heard the king ordering you to be released and setting aside punishment.' I do not know the man's name.

My cousin Sivande (dead) was of the Mkulutshane regiment of Kangela, and was the son of Msizilo, my father being Zokozwayo ka Mancenga.

- 16 Another story about Tshaka refers to his *settling the case of Mande* (father of Xabashe and son of Dibandhlela) and Magaye ka Dibandhlela.⁴²

Mande belonged to Emfakuceba kraal. Magaye belonged to Nikela kraal, both kraals being Dibandhlela's. Each kraal had a large territory attached to it. Dibandhlela appointed Siwetu (Magaye's mother) as the *inkosikazi*. Emfakuceba is sometimes called simply Emfeni - short form of the word. Mande *exercised authority* at Emfakuceba.

- Dibandhlela then took Magaye and *hid him among the people of his mother's brother, Pakatwayo*. Magaye grew up. He was fetched and came back when an *insizwa*. He was then installed as chief of Nikela kraal. Mande roused himself and resisted his portion of people being
17 swallowed up by Magaye. Mande gained as adherents many large kraals of Dibandhlela's. The result of this separation was that only three of Dibandhlela's kraals remained with Magaye, viz. Nikela, Ngwazi (of Zwana ka Mkokeleli), and Lwasi (*of the people of Mpalazi ka Dibandhlela*).

- Mande took to arms, having *the men of many kraals* to fight for him, whereas Magaye had those of only three kraals. Dibandhlela *became angry*. He *fetched back* two kraals from Mande, viz. Nkungu (*of the people of Jokazi ka Dibandhlela*), and Amabola (*of Mziboneli ka Dibandhlela*). They returned. Dibandhlela said they belonged to Nikela (kraal). They were *senior sons* of Dibandhlela's. Mzipi ka Dibandhlela was another *senior son* of Amabola kraal and under Mziboneli.
18 Sokanjiswa (*of the people of Jokazi of Nkungwini kraal*) was also a *senior son*. Mande said, 'I should have had no objection if my father had appointed Mzipi the *successor*. I refuse to have appointed as chief over me a mere child.' They failed to see that the reason for this appointment was because Magaye's mother was Dibandhlela's *inkosikazi*, who at her marriage was *danced for* (*with genet tails tied to sticks*) and she was *lobola'd* with tribal cattle, thereby indicating she was the *inkosikazi*. These ceremonials had not occurred in regard to any other of Dibandhlela's wives.

- Ill-feeling sprang up between Mande and Magaye, and civil war was fought. Magaye was treated with contempt by Mande. He looked on him
19 at first as not having a *force* which could in any way compete with his. The Nkunga and Amabola (kraals) came over, and then the forces to some extent became equal to one another.

Whilst fighting was still going on Tshaka *crossed over* to Dukuza. He then *mediated* by calling all the chiefs, viz. Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo of the Dube tribe, Nqeto ka Kondhlo, Mepo ka Ngwane of the Ngcolosi, Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, Duze ka Mnengwa of the Makanya, and Nodokwana ka Dibandhlela ka Lubeleni of the Mapumulo (not Dibandhlela, son of Mkokeleli), Nodokwana having been *appointed* by Tshaka over the Mapumulo tribe in succession to Mtinkulu ka Dibandhlela ka Lubeleni. All of these had *konza'd* Tshaka; all had *paid tribute*.

- 20 All these *assembled* at Dukuza. All the Celes arrived at Dukuza too. Dibandhlela was still living but too feeble and old to attend. The meeting took place *on the flat outside the kraal*. They became very anxious, wondering what was to happen.

Mazangane ka Mfaniswa ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli said, 'I was present when this *case* was *heard*.' I heard this from him. He said

that the chiefs all arrived and sat down. Tshaka then came forth, dragging his *kaross* on the ground, accompanied by Mhlaka ka Ncidi. A seat was placed. He sat. He had no sooner seated himself than he said, 'I speak not to you, Nodokwana ka Dibandhlela; I speak to Mande ka Dibandhlela of Mfakuceba, and to Magaye ka Dibandhlela of Nikela.' He said, 'I shall put questions to Mande of Mfakuceba; let this man Magaye remain silent. I make enquiry, seeing that you are always fighting. I want to know who is the chief of you two.' Mande replied, 'I am far older than Magaye. His mother was appointed *inkosikazi*, but I object to his youth.' Tshaka said, 'Were you present when (she) was appointed?' 'Yes,' replied Mande. 'What did you say, Mande, for at that time, of course, Magaye had not been born and you were already a man. What did you say?' Mande answered, 'What could I say, Sir?' 'But what, then, do you say today? How do you account for your fighting in this way?'

Tshaka then looked towards Nzwakeli, Mepo, Nqeto, Zihlandhlo and Nodokwana, and called on them to speak. Before they answered he said, 'Let me speak first. Has a chief ever been made? A chief is not made; a chief makes himself. It is the calf of the cow which is picked out and has its place assigned to it.' When he had said this he said, 'Let the matter of the fighting be discussed. I call on you, Mande; I say, "Let the matter of your fighting be discussed".' Mande said, 'On the first occasion on which we came into conflict with one another I defeated my brother; I got the better of him. (We) again clashed, and again I defeated him.' 'What do you say, Magaye?', said Tshaka. Magaye said, 'My brother is right but I had but few followers, for my brother had deserted with the majority of the tribe. I fought nevertheless. The Nkungu and Amabola (kraals), deserted and joined me. I called up the men attached to our home kraal, the *isokamlilo*.'⁴³ [Dinya says his father Zokozwayo belonged to this regiment, for (his people) *konza'd* to the Cele.]⁴⁴ 'We fought. Let my brother say if he still defeats me.'

Tshaka then said, 'Now answer, Mande; your younger brother has spoken.' Mande then said the boy was right. 'Strength had not accrued to him when I got the better of him.'

Each of these chiefs - Mepo, Nqeto, Nzwakele etc. - had a hut set apart for his occupation in the royal kraal, Dukuza. 'Go away, Mande; go back to your hut' (i.e. in Dukuza). Mande left. Tshaka then said, after Mande had gone, 'Let us talk confidentially as to how I shall decide this case.' Nzwakele, Nqeto, Zihlandhlo etc. said, 'The king has heard what the young chiefs have said. The course is clear enough. Let the king give his decision.' Tshaka then said, 'See now, children of the king! I stand in awe of this man Mande; he is a chief indeed. When he looks at me, though I am Tshaka, my eyes drop to the ground and give way before him. My decision in this case is this: Let me and Magaye rule alone. I shall remove this man Mande of Mfakuceba, and this man Duze ka Mnengwa, and take their two followings and join them to Magaye, and we shall hold dances together.'

That was the end. Mande and Duze were thereupon put to death. I do not know if at Dukuza or their own homes. Their two sections were taken and given to the Nikela kraal under Magaye, and the Mfakuceba and Makanya (kraals), came to an end. These kraals, later on, under the European regime, rose up after having been lost sight of and looked on as Magaye's. Nowadays there is a good deal of ill-

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feeling between them and the Cele tribe. They have feelings of humiliation because of being formerly subservient to the Cele.

He was likening Mande's position to his own when saying, 'A chief is not made.'

*'Do not misbehave when you come to Magaye's. I have taken an oath. Show humble respect in giving salutations and thanks for favours.'*⁴⁵

8.4.1908

File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 1-3.

- 1 Dinya continues re Tshaka's relations with Magaye, chief of the Cele tribe.

Tshaka entertained great affection for Magaye, and spoke even of taking him onto his lap. He was, however, afraid of doing this on account of the ill-feeling that would be given rise to. It seems that Tshaka and Magaye used to hold dances together. At these, on one occasion, Magaye's men sang a chorus about *'The one who is choked with meat'* and *'The circle of men will turn round'*. Tshaka could not understand what was implied by these phrases. He was apprehensive lest Magaye meant that the time would come when Tshaka's own men (*circle*) would leave him and join Magaye, presumably in the same way that Mande's men had come round to him. Tshaka did not like this, especially as, with the recent additions referred to, the tribe had become a very large one, and questioned Magaye, who thereby became frightened. Tshaka would have put him to death but for an oath he had taken in the presence of Nzwakele,

- 2 Nqeto and other neighbouring chiefs to the effect that Magaye should come by no harm at his hands 'until he were to drink milk.' ('Not until you are helped to drink milk' is an expression meaning 'never' or until he reached second infancy.)

The decision came to by Tshaka in regard to the case Mande vs. Magaye was remarkable for the pronouncement that kings are not born, they make themselves. From this it seems he had in mind the method by which he had risen to the throne. He therefore secretly approved Mande as the *de facto* 'king' or chief of the Cele tribe and, because of his having *made* himself king, feared he might in time have designs on Tshaka himself.

- 3 Whenever men came over from Zululand to see Tshaka he would not allow them to help themselves, as was their wont in Zululand, to the property of the kraals they stopped at when passing through Magaye's territory. He gave Magaye the right to protect himself. This Magaye did, and occasionally put offenders to death, reporting thereafter to Tshaka what he had done. Tshaka, loath to take any step against Magaye, acquiesced in his action and warned visitors from across the Tukela to be careful and *make formal salutations*, and not to take any kind of food unless it had been presented to them.

<9.4.1905>

File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 7-13.

- 7 Dinya: I believe the people ousted by the Tulis, when they took the Ifenya⁴⁶ and adjoining territory, were called amaMpofana. They

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went south towards Pondoland. They would probably have belonged to what we call amaZosha (offensive epithet). We baNguni speak of amaLala as Inyakeni (this displeases them too) - i.e. those who know nothing. The Bacas are also called amaZosha because they have adopted a form of speech which is not their original dialect.

Amazosha are Mpondos, Bacas, Nhlangwini, Imizizi (across the Mtamvuna), amaNgutshana, Izilangwe.

The Cele are called Mzansi; the Qwabe and Mtetwa are also called Mzansi.

The Kumalo, Butelezi, Ndwandwe are all called amaNtungwa because they are in the north - also the Mabaso people.

- 8 The Tulis came to settle at the Bluff etc. under their chief Tshatwa (Tshadwa) or Shatwa.

The amaLala were so called by the Zulus and Qwabes because they speak in the *tekela dialect* and thereby speak with their tongues lying down (*lala*). They don't care for the name and ask, 'When we are asleep, what do you yourselves do at night?' It is also said that it is because they sleep (*lala*) with their fingers up their anuses.⁴⁷

The eMbo people. The eMbos are Swazis, real Swazis. The Pondos were the first to come from Swaziland. The abaMbo came on last. Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe was the abaMbo chief. He was liked by Tshaka and treated like Magaye. The abaMbo, like the Swazis, are all known as amaLala. Tilonko ka Ngunezi ka Siyengele ka Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe is an eMbo chief. Sikukuku ka Ngunezi ka Siyengele etc.

- 9 These two (brothers) fought and separated. They first built on the north side of the Tukela. They settled at the Mkomazi when the Boers came to Natal.

Gumede is not one of the Qwabe polite address forms, nor is it a special title of distinction of that tribe's chief only, but of all chiefs. There is, however, a dispute on this point; some say it is a Qwabe address form. The Qwabe forms of polite address are Kuzwayo, Mahlobo.⁴⁸

The old people warned us not to swear by chiefs not known to us; e.g. we were told not to swear by Pakatwayo or Magaye, but Musi and Mamfongonyana or Magidigidi etc. Only the chief grown up with is the one sworn by. This seems to be a rule among Qwabes, Celes, Zulus, Mtetwas, and others.

Godongwana (Dingiswayo), like other chiefs, was addressed as Gumede. I am of opinion this is not Malandela's clan name⁴⁹ - the word is too generally employed by other chiefs for that.

- 10 'Bayede!' - this is a formal salutation for the supreme chief, used in praising chiefs who have subdued other peoples. I do not know the derivation of the word.

.... <Notes on habitat of otters omitted - eds.>

- 11 Otters were greatly prized by the Zulus. They formed warriors' headbands. One hide was worth one large beast. The animal is hard to kill, generally keeps out of sight, and only the sharpest-scented and keenest dogs succeed in catching it - hence its value.

- 12 <Further notes on otters omitted - eds.>

- 13 [See uTshaba in Colenso's Dictionary, 1884 ed., where there is

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a short historical note re Tuli tribe.]

17.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 13-14.

- 13 Dinya says: I am of the Ingulube (regiment's age).⁵⁰ I know I was conceived during the mourning for Nandi. When the *impi* for the ceremonial cleansing went forth to the Pondos, I had been born some months. [This, say Dinya was born during the intenser part of mourning, would fix his birth about November 1827, or about five or six months more than Mcotoyi.⁵¹] Dinya is not quite sure if he is of the Ingulube (regiment's age-group).
- 14 Dinya considers Mcotoyi should have been able to give more information regarding Ntaba, Myebu etc. than he did do. He possibly has a motive for not doing so.
- There was a lawsuit between him and Botshongweni some years ago. Mnini, however, was still alive then.

Enkumbeni - this was Sirayo ka Mapoloba's kraal where Dubuyana was born. Dubuyana had a son, Deliweyo, of the Nyuswa. Deliweyo is dead. Deliweyo ka Dubuyana ka Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele - this is the great Nyuswa line.

Mqawe (amaQadi) - his main kraal is ekuManazeni.

18.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 14-19.

- Isizinda* - that kraal in which a chief, now grown up and having built one of his own, was born in and had grown up in; e.g. Diba-ndhlela⁵² had a kraal called Nikela. Out of this kraal went forth the *Mangaleni kraal*. This was known as the *umnase's* kraal, namely that of Mkonto, who was already born and a young boy when the kraal was established.⁵³ With this boy went his mother, a woman of the Qadi people and of Cele descent through her mother.
- Out of Nikela, after the above, went forth the Mdhlazi kraal. Magaye and his mother went out (to form this kraal (?)), he being a *kehla*. Magaye took with him his principal wife, Mambanga, daughter of Mbanga of the Makanya (Qwabe) tribe. A girl *ye sizwe* is usually got to bear the chief, and that is why Magaye's wife came from the Makanya.⁵⁴ Magaye's mother was Siwetu, daughter of Kondhlo.⁵⁵ She established herself with Magaye at the Mdhlazi (kraal).
- Out of Mdhlazi came forth the *Dabeni kraal of the inqwaba*,⁵⁶ i.e. a kraal consisting of a son born into the *indhlunkulu* after the heir, together with wives of that house. This is almost the same as saying the chief of this house follows in rank the principal chief. Mntungwana is the one who separated off with his mother and went to this kraal. She was a daughter of the amaMbilini tribe. I do not know if, when Mntungwana separated from the Mdhlazi (kraal), he was a young lad or not.
- In these circumstances Mkonto would cut off the choice meat from the ribs of a beast, together with an ear, and send it to the great place (i.e. Mdhlazi). Mntungwana too would take the choice rib meat and an ear and take them to the great place (Mdhlazi). Mkonto, i.e.

the brother junior in rank, in the event of his quarrelling with the great wife's house (with Magidigidi, for he was Magaye's chief son), would be 'separated' by Mntungwana by virtue of his close proximity to the main chief Magaye. He might say, '*Children of my father, what are you quarrelling about?*'

- 17 Now at Nikela where Magaye was born there remained, when he (Magaye) left, a chief of Nikela, i.e. Maxopozi. This man became the chief of the *isizinda kraal*, and he would, by virtue of his rank, not age, be in the position of remonstrating with the principal chief, for though a junior he would rank as his 'father'.⁵⁷

A kraal would now be established from the *isizinda*, namely the *isoka* or *isokamlilo*. Melapi's⁵⁸ mother was the one who separated off with this kraal.

A further kraal of the *inqwaba*, the *Cazeni*, came from the *isizinda kraal*. This separated off with a girl of the *Qwabe*, Masilo, her father being Silo. (Silo was of the right-hand side, (his) kraal springing from the *indhlunkulu*, a kraal of good rank, and being spoken of as the right-hand section of *Donda*, where *Donda* is the name of a person or a clan name.) The chief of *Cazeni* (kraal) is *Mpondonde ka Magaye*. *Mpondonde* resembles *Mntungwana* in regard to the other kraals. It is his function to intercede should *Maxopozi* and *Melapi* come to loggerheads.

- 18 I guess that *Donda* bore *Jebe*, father of *Ngcwana*.

Melapi could give much information relative to *Cele* affairs and (particularly about) the *isoka kraal* - *isokamlilo* - which separated from *Nikela*.

Nowadays *Magidigidi*'s people are spoken of as *amaDibandhlela*, whilst *Magaye*'s are called *Imikokeleli*. Those born by *Dibandhlela* are spoken of as the people of *Langa*, viz. the chief of that name.

The *Amagidigidi* will come into being when *Magidigidi*'s grandchildren come into prominence. *Mkokeleli*'s and those of his generation are spoken of as *amaSodi*.⁵⁹ And when any deeds of greatness are done by any particular section, their name comes into still greater prominence and becomes an enduring instead of a fleeting one.

- 19 The title '*of the inqwaba*' (used, above is derived from the fact of the meat being thrown in a heap and those of the *indhlunkulu* (being able to) go and help themselves to whatever part they fancy, a leg, or meat from round the hump, etc.

Those of the *inqwaba* are spoken of as like a hyena. '*Leave the hyena alone to drag the meat away.*' The junior brother cannot interfere with the *inqwaba* (brother), for he is the chief, i.e. he belongs to the chief.

Notes

¹Formed c.1844; age-group born c.1824.

²The two final campaigns of Shaka's reign, fought in 1828.

³*Samuelson, Long, Long Ago*, p. 240, lists the *Dukuza* as one of Shaka's regiments, but it does not feature in the list given by *Bryant, Olden Times*, pp. 645-6. *Krige, Social System*, p. 404,

writes: 'It is often stated that each regiment had its own military kraal, which was named after it, but this was not always the case. One of Shaka's kraals was Bulawayo, and though the garrison was sometimes collectively referred to by this name, there was, according to Bryant, no regiment called by that name; yet Samuelson gives Bulawayo as the name of a regiment, as does also the War Office Précis.' As Dukuza was another of Shaka's *imizi*, it is possible that the name was applied, not to an age-regiment, but collectively to the warriors stationed there.

⁴Literally, a small, shallow grass basket.

⁵*Ngqwabangqwa* seems to be an onomatopoeic invention suggesting the sound of a horse's hooves on the ground.

⁶A cairn or heap of stones, grass and other objects, situated alongside a path or road, usually at some prominent place. These are made by travellers' placing good-luck tokens by the wayside to ensure safe and successful journeys.

⁷The *umshophi* is a custom sometimes followed to exorcise the evil influences causing an epidemic of sickness. Girls of the neighbourhood meet together by arrangement after nightfall, prepare themselves ritually, and proceed to perform a series of cleansing ceremonies in the affected *imizi*.

⁸Literally, 'firewood of the lightning'. We have not been able to determine the nature of the custom referred to. In a note at another point, Stuart associates this phrase with 'burnt offering'. See Dinya's statement under date 1.3.1905, evening.

⁹Literally, 'burning the *impepho*', which is a species of small veld plant with a sweet smell. It is used for burning as an offering to the spirits.

¹⁰The verb *ukubhaca*, from which the name Bhaca is derived, means to conceal oneself.

¹¹According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 8, the 'Ntungwa' branch of the 'Nguni' is the one from which the Zulu take their descent. He goes on to say (p. 14) that it is 'in some degree a term of convenience; for quite a number of the clans...disown it'.

¹²See also Dinya's evidence under date 28.2.1905.

¹³The *impukane* is a small, choice piece of meat from under the shoulder-blade.

¹⁴*Umswani* is the chyme from the stomach of a beast, and possesses considerable ceremonial significance.

¹⁵Circumcision.

¹⁶Taking a brother's widow as wife.

¹⁷Polygyny.

¹⁸To *hlonipha* is to show formal respect by the observance of certain customs. See Krige, *Social System*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁹Njanduna was an *umuzi* situated at one time between the Mdlothi and Thongathi rivers; see map in Bryant, *Olden Times*. The Phela regiment, according to Samuelson, 'was taken over from Zwide when he was beaten' by Shaka. See *Long, Long Ago*, p. 236.

²⁰The information contained in this paragraph and the two above appeared in the original as rough notes inserted at the top of pages 4 and 5.

²¹*Iqumbi* means 'corner' or 'side'.

²²Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 174, records a similar story.

²³For contrasting interpretations of the significance of this event

see Morris, The Washing of the Spears, p. 151, and Walter, Terror and Resistance, pp. 214-5.

²⁴Mkhehlengana was another of Stuart's informants.

²⁵'Bayede!' is a form of salutation, strictly applicable only to the reigning member of the Zulu royal house. 'Wena ongangezwe!' means 'You who are as great as the nation'.

²⁶Literally, 'You of the dog's penis; you of the little *untontonto* tree!'

²⁷A term used when addressing royalty.

²⁸For *umshophi* see note 7 above. *Umgongo* was the practice of secluding women at first menstruation, marriage, child-bearing etc.

²⁹The Vuthwamini was a regiment of girls of the same age-grade as the Fasimba men's regiment. Both were enrolled c.1818.

³⁰The Bhele had been driven c.1818 from their lands about the Klip and Sundays rivers in Natal by the Ngwane chief Mathiwane. For a time they occupied land under the Drakensberg on the upper Mzimvu-bu. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 139, 347-9.

³¹*Mdubu* means drab-coloured and *mpofu* fawn-coloured.

³²According to Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 538, 544, Dibandlela, son and successor of the Cele chief Mkhokheleli, was Magaye's grandfather. But cf. Dinya's evidence under date 8.4.1905, evening, where Dibandlela is given as Magaye's father.

³³Grandson of Magaye. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 544.

³⁴Regimental names, possibly used in this context to refer to *ama-khanda* or centres where regiments were quartered.

³⁵This meeting took place shortly after Mpande's flight south of the Thukela in September 1839.

³⁶The young Dinya may also have acted as interpreter to the Boer delegation which performed the ceremony formally recognizing Mpande as 'reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus' at the end of October 1839. In his official report the leader of the delegation refers to 'a little Kaffir, our interpreter'. See Bird, Annals, vol. 1, pp. 541-2; also Krauss, Travel Journal, p. 71.

³⁷Presumably a reference to Mpande's appearance before the Volksraad on 15th October 1839. For a brief account of the meeting and its consequences, see Brookes and Webb, History of Natal, pp. 35ff.

³⁸Often given as Wohlo.

^{38a}For 'kaffirs' the original has *amakafula*. This was a term of contempt for refugees from the Zulu kingdom. (Cope, Izibongo, p. 192.)

³⁹In a battle fought near the mouth of the Thukela in April 1838.

⁴⁰These page numbers refer to the editions of 1903 and 1904, and not to the first edition of 1891.

⁴¹It is not clear whether Mphola was the son of Nkayishana or Mshwankeyana. The sentence has therefore been left unamended.

⁴²See note 32 above. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 538, 544, like Dinya, gives Mande as Magaye's brother.

⁴³*Isokamlilo* is probably a synonym for *isokanqangi*, which means a first-born son or daughter. Dinya seems to be using *isokamlilo* as a collective term. As such, it would presumably refer to that section of the household which is headed by the first-born son after the departure of the sons of the senior sections to form separate establishments.

⁴⁴The word 'regiment' in this sentence seems to refer to a local territorial force rather than to a military age-group of the type

enrolled by Shaka.

⁴⁵Presumably these words were addressed by Shaka to the followers of Mande and Duze on his assigning them to Magaye. For explanation of his oath see the following paragraph but one.

⁴⁶i.e. the Bluff area of present-day Durban. (Bird, ed., *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 124, quoting H.F. Fynn's evidence to the Natal Native Affairs Commission of 1852.)

⁴⁷A well-known calumny spread by the 'Ntungwa' peoples of Zululand and Natal about the Lala, whom they despised.

⁴⁸In the original of this paragraph, the words *isibongo* and *isitakazo* (*isithakazelo*) seem to have been used virtually as synonyms. Usually their meanings are distinguishable as 'clan name' and 'polite address form' respectively.

⁴⁹The word used in the original is *isibongo*. Malandela was father of Qwabe and Zulu, the founders of the clans which bear those names. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 17-20.

⁵⁰The original reads, 'I am of the Ingulube regiment', but in his evidence of 27.2.1905 Dinya states that he was not *buthwa'd*, presumably because he was living under the British Government in Natal when the regiment was formed c.1844.

⁵¹Another of Stuart's informants.

⁵²See note 32 above.

⁵³Conventionally *umncwane* means 'younger brother'. In the present context it seems to refer to a brother junior in rank though not necessarily in age. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 418. According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 541 and 544, Mkonto was an elder son of the Cele chief Magaye, but ranked below a younger brother, Magidigidi, the 'heir-apparent'.

⁵⁴The original has 'Cele', but this must represent a slip by Stuart. *Intombi yesizwe* was the girl whose *lobolo* cattle were provided by the chiefdom as a whole, and whose son was therefore heir.

⁵⁵Qwabe chief, died c.1813; succeeded by Phakathwayo. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 186.

⁵⁶Literally *inqwaba* means 'heap' or 'pile' but, according to Dinya, was also used as a term of reference for the members of the *indlunkulu*, or chief wife's house. See final paragraphs of his evidence.

⁵⁷In a chief's household the wives were grouped in three 'houses': (a) the *iNdlunkulu* - house of the *inkosikazi* or chief wife, i.e. the wife designated as bearer of the heir; (b) the *iNqadi* - house of the wife who provided the heir if there was a failure of male issue from the chief wife's house; (c) the *iKhohlo* - house of the first or favourite wife, which, though senior in dignity to the *iNqadi*, did not provide the heir. In addition, there was commonly the *isiZinda*, which ranked below the houses listed, but provided the son who, upon the death of his father, or the latter's removal to a new homestead, would remain as chief occupant and formal guardian in his father's stead. See Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 107, 730; *Zulu People*, pp. 417-21; Krige, *Social System*, pp. 39-41.

⁵⁸Another of Stuart's informants.

⁵⁹The point apparently being made by the informant in this and the preceding paragraph is that a chief's name would be used as a group name to identify the followers of a grandson or great-grandson who became chief. For a genealogy showing these Cele patrilineal relationships, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 544.

DUNJWA KA MABEDHLA

14.3.1912

File 40, item 26, p. 1.

- 1 Dunjwa ka Mabedhla, (whose chief is, Mnyakanya. Usutu. One of Arthur Shepstone's messengers. (Now that Mabedhla is deceased), Manqewu has become a kind of 'father' to him.¹

The Zigqoza said, '*Labalabalaba! They will see us!*' - battle cry of Mbuyazi's section. I don't know how the name 'Usutu' arose; I believe it came from Sikwata cattle.²

'Eya! Ye! Give us the enemy, ho-o, ho-o!,'

Give us the enemy, let us loose.

We'll return, ha!, we'll return!

There is the one who keeps silent and does not provoke quarrels.

This was the national war song sung after seizing cattle of people that the Zulus had been fighting with. This was Cetshwayo's war song.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

18.5.1912

File 66, nbk. 17, pp. 1-3.

- 1 Dunjwa ka Mabedhla (brother of Qetuka and Ndube) ka Manqondo ka Mazwana ka Yengwayo ka Mabulu ka Mavundhla ka Tombantshali.

We are a section of the Langeni tribe, though we are called the Magwaza section.

I do not know the circumstances of my uncle Qetuka being arrested along with Keke ka Manqe of the Zulu.

My father Mabedhla was killed at Ondini by Zibebu's impi.

War customs. When war begins a bull is obtained from another country and then used to medicate the army by its eating strips of meat. Only one piece will be bitten off, this strip of meat having been treated with medicines by the inyanga that sprinkled the army with medicine. Next day the men of the impi will go and vomit up the pieces of meat which they ate the day before, the protective medicine which they got from the inyanga. They come back and are then sprinkled with medicine. They no longer sleep on mats; they sleep on the ground. On the march they sleep on their shields. But when battle is near, they no longer sleep on their shields but on the bare ground.

There is then no sexual connection with women until after the war is over.

The *impi* then goes off to war and is sent into action by its *indunas* and goes where it has to fight.

If, after fighting, it defeats the other, then it 'eats' the cattle of the conquered. It returns with the stock to the king of Zululand. These cattle will then be divided out among the great people and the great warriors.

- 2 An *umtakati*. If it was stated that he was killing people, he would be set upon by a force sent to kill him. If he had *izinsizwa* of his own, they would rush out and attack that force. If they managed to defeat it, he would no longer be killed: he would return to the Zulu country even though the king had ordered him to be killed.

The first fight I saw was the one between Zibebu and Cetshwayo. I was not yet an *insizwa*, but was still a boy and a mat-bearer. I saw Zibebu's *impi* above the kraal at the Mlambongwenya. A boy shouted out a warning; up till then the people of Ondini had been unaware of its proximity. The alarm was given by a mat-bearer out collecting wood early in the morning. Then the Zulu force came out. It went against the enemy *impi*, who were in a large group so that the *inyanga* could come in and sprinkle them with medicine. Every man armed himself in his hut and went off to his regiment. Then the forces came on towards one another. But even before they had met, while they were still advancing towards one another, without having come to blows, Cetshwayo's force ran away. Then the opponents of the Zulu charged into them and completely destroyed them. That was the end of the fight.³

Thus again Cetshwayo came to Nkandhla. Zibebu's men wounded Cetshwayo, stabbing him twice in the thigh. That was the end. Cetshwayo went on and was taken by the whites to Eshowe. He later died at Eshowe, and after his death he was taken and buried at Nkandhla.

Then there came the war of the black people.

.... <Note on death of pregnant women omitted - eds.>

- 3 It used formerly to be the practice for women and girls to expose themselves before cowards by way of insulting them, and say as they did so, 'Is this what you want? It's all that you're good for.'

.... <Note on marriage of girls who have lost their virginity omitted - eds.>

Women turned their skirts round so that their hips did not show, but turned in opposite direction. They also carried hand-brooms; this is the protective charm of the women, so that the army should stand firm and not be destroyed.

Girls do not go and *hlobonga* with their lovers, even though the lover has no occasion to go out to the fighting.

When a punitive force was sent out in Zululand, the man attacked was not advised of the fact that it was proposed to attack him or that there was an intention of fighting him. A rush was simply made,

huts were burnt, and people were killed, without his knowing what crime he had committed against the chief. The cattle would be seized etc. and [the chief, would take over the people and use them for making assaults against others. They would then become members of his tribe.

<1.6.1916>

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 70-9.

- 70 Mpeyana ka Manqondo ka Mazwana, brother of Qetuka, and Mabedhla ka Manqondo. [Mabedhla is Dunjwa's father.] Mpeyana was a well-known warrior in Zululand.

At the fight at Langalibalele's kraal, Mfihlweni, the attack was made by Mpande's regiment the amaRorodo - the Little Mdhlevenu. [The amaRorodo were incorporated in the Mdhlevenu and so became the Little Mdhlevenu.] They camped for the night at the Mfihlweni kraal, after finding that the people had run away. Then, very early in the morning, before dawn, the enemy advanced and surrounded them in the huts without being seen. When they attempted to come out, they were stabbed. Not a single person managed to get out of the huts. Then they set fire to the huts and burnt them inside the huts.

- 71 *Then my 'father' Mpeyana called out, 'Are we going to die cooped up in the huts by our enemies? I am going out.' And indeed as he spoke he rushed out. As he ran out he was stabbed all over the body and on the head. Even though he had been wounded he stabbed one man, and another, and then another. They were forced back, and our men came out of the huts, for Mpeyana had driven the enemy away from the doors. Hau! They came out, and the two forces fought it out. The enemy fled, defeated by our men.*

My 'father' lost consciousness, and remained unconscious until the evening, until the sun was setting, when he regained consciousness. That was the end of it, and the force returned. That is as much as I know of the affair.

- 72 *Mpeyana died recently [about 1902, four years before the Bambata rebellion]. He was a strapping man, with great broad arms, very tall, and massively built as well. He belonged to the Rorodo regiment. Mpeyana was drafted to the Mdhlevenu regiment and so became one of the Little Mdhlevenu. Dunjwa knew him well.*

.... <Praises of Mpeyana and Noradu ka Mazwana ka Yengwayo, and reduplicated account of the fight at Mfihlweni omitted - eds.>

- 75 *Ndhlela ka Sompisi ka Nkobe ka Mpemba ka Ntuli ka Mbele ka Dela of the Ntuli people (amaNtungwa). I hear that the Ntungwa came down from up-country. They were cannibals. I heard it from my mother.*

- 76 *Another warrior of the early days of whom I have heard was Nozitshada ka Maqoboza ka Mbekelo ka Nongweni of the Nzuza.*

.... <Praises of Nozitshada omitted - eds.>

[Zwelonke (my servant) (is son of, Mgengebuli ka Ngudwa ka Mqalana ka Nongweni⁵ of the Nzuza. Mqalana is thus closely related to Nozitshada.)]

DUNJWA

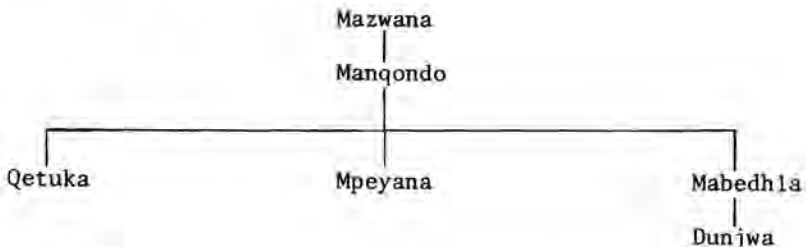
- 77 Dunjwa uses the expression: The British race do not bear malice in their hearts against others, i.e. erstwhile foes. For instance, although severely defeated at Isandhlwana, they do not hate the Zulus on that account. They look upon that catastrophe as due to their own fault, not as inspiring in any way vindictive feelings against the Zulus.

[Lugubu⁶ used exactly the same expression in connection with the praises of Cetshwayo given by him.]

Another expression used by Dunjwa is something to this effect: The Almighty omitted to endow us with cunning (wisdom), or knowledge, or enlightenment.

[In this connection, see the illustration given by Lugubu re doctor and his drugs.]

Dunjwa is a man of high rank, viz:



Manqondo had other sons. Hence the order here is subject to alteration.

- 78 <Praises of Ndhlela ka Sompisi omitted - eds.>

Ndhlela was a renowned warrior in Zululand. He died at Maqongqo, where he was killed by Dingana, apparently because he had once refused to let Dingana kill Mpande. So when Dingana was defeated by Mpande he killed Ndhlela. He did so, he said, because Ndhlela had refused to let Mpande be killed, and had saved him from the assegai. When Dingana had been getting rid of his father's sons,

- 79 *Ndhlela refused to allow him to kill Mpande. He said, 'The king is surely not going to kill this scrofulous thing, this thing that runs to its mother when the king is preparing for war?' That is why Dingana killed him.*

[Dunjwa is a messenger in the Native Affairs Department. He is just about to go off home on four months' leave. He leaves tomorrow, 2.6.1916.]

Notes

¹In the original this paragraph consists of a series of short notes and interlinear insertions. Our reconstruction may not accurately convey the meaning intended by Stuart. Faye, Zulu References, pp. 97-100, reproduces a photograph of Dunjwa and

DUNJWA

records historical information supplied by him.

²Mbuyazi was Cetshwayo's chief rival for the succession to the Zulu kingship. His supporters, the 'IziGqoza', were defeated, and he was killed, by Cetshwayo's Usuthu followers at the battle of Ndo-ndakusuka in 1856. *Usuthu* is one of several names used by the Zulu to refer to Afrikaner cattle reputedly brought down in the 1820s or 1830s from what later became the Transvaal. (See Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 603.) Sikwata is the Zulu form of Sekwati, who was chief, c.1827-61, of the Pedi, a Sotho people of the eastern Transvaal.

³The action described was fought on 21st July, 1883.

⁴It seems probable that this clash took place at the time of the flight from Zululand of the people of Phuthini and Langalibalele in 1848.

⁵Inserted over the name Nongweni in the original is the following:

'Madhla ka Ndhlovu - per Zwelonke'.

⁶Another of Stuart's informants.

FALAZA

19.12.1898

File 74, p. 53.

- 53 *Ilanga li ka Mbete* - this is the name of a great famine which occurred in Zululand about the year 1861. It got its name because of people leaving their homes and going to pick and feed on figs etc. They used to be discovered by the marks they left in the dewy grass [dew - *umbete*],¹ and after the men were killed off their women and children were taken away and appropriated by the murderers.

[In Swaziland (per John Gama²) the same famine was known as *indhlala ka ngongoni*. *Ngongoni* is a grass of the *umsingizane* type, which was ground to powder and eaten.]

Notes

¹Mbethe was also the name of a noted rainmaker: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4. *Ilanga li ka Mbete* means 'the sun (i.e. the drought) of Mbete'.

²Another of Stuart's informants.

FYNN, HENRY F.

8.12.1906

File 67, item 12, pp. 1-2.

1 The cause of the rebellion¹ is the absence of parental guardianship over the native population of this colony, which existed to a certain extent during Sir T. Shepstone's tenure of the office of Secretary for Native Affairs. Sir T. Shepstone, from a native point of view, partially filled the place of uncle-guardian. [Note: every chief has, as it were, a family minister who is a guide, and is generally an uncle, called *ubaba*, and he becomes guardian.] Sir T. Shepstone became a kind of uncle-guardian to the Supreme Chief. The uncle-guardian is the adviser to the chief and he gets the position from his birth or blood relationship. Sir Theo Shepstone did not exercise the full powers of chieftainship; as a result of this the Supreme Chief was not linked to the hereditary chiefs as parental guardian over them, which insufficiency was substituted by the powers exercised by Sir T. Shepstone as S.N.A., so that, in reality, there never has been that proper link between the Supreme Chief and the hereditary chiefs. The office of Supreme Chief in its existence up to the present time has only been a misnomer or practically only a shadow of what it should be.

The real father (Supreme Chief) only showed himself occasionally and then they were always different persons with different opinions. Sir T. Shepstone knew this; so far as he could he kept the power in his own hands. He was jealous of the magistrates.

The shadow of the Supreme Chief, when it appeared, appeared each time as a different person. The officer known as Supreme Chief was accordingly an unreality, or 'spook' or 'ghost'. This whole matter can be likened to the present form of government, which is continually changing and upside down, with fresh people, unknown by the native, slipping into the control of the Government, tipping the others out, and (these) in their turn struggling to tipple out those who have just tipped them out, so that there was a continuous change and no-one known.

The foregoing is a cause of the rebellion because it is bad government. (The Supreme Chief should have, a distinct department linked to the Home Government, he being linked to the hereditary chiefs by a permanent deputy or commissioner of the Supreme Chief, whose duty it would be to constantly carry on visits to the hereditary chiefs as from the Supreme Chief. This could still be done, though a better man must be found than would have done before. This would be in no way connected with the permanent S.N.A. and his seat in Parliament.² He would be necessary to carry out the present

duties of the S.N.A. in his duties between the Supreme Chief and Parliament, and with regard to all ordinary administrative routine
 2 between himself and the magistrates as deputy parental guardians in their respective districts.

In all matters with regard to the native population, we should distinctly regard them as our children and dictate to them what we consider good for them, staving off all that is not good for them. It is absurd and inconsistent to endeavour to make white people out of black people - they will still be black. They must improve themselves; we must not cause them to overreach themselves. By spending a lot of money to improve an individual or two, the others fall back for want of parental guardianship. Why should a few individuals have large amounts spent on them, while the rest are going to the dogs? Any improvement in the native must be general, and the whole mass must be carried forward together. The system at present in vogue of civilizing too quickly, before they are fitted for it, is ruin to them, as can always be seen in a short conversation with such of the natives as have gone so far ahead as to be exempt from the operation of Native Law, who invariably become discontented on finding that they cannot attain the full qualities of the European who has had thousands of years to bring him to the condition that he is now in. The native has only been in contact with Europeans for practically 50 years.

The fault is not so much bad control of the natives as want of control.

13.12.1913

File 70, p. 176.

176 H.F. Fynn says the man who actually killed Mbulazi brought the assegai with which he did so to *Mbuyazi we tek* when at Walmsley's.³ This assegai Gwalagwala⁴ got later on, but it was looted or lost at Umsinga during the Boer War (1899-1901).

Notes

¹The 1906 disturbances in Natal.

²Under the system of responsible government established in Natal in 1893, the Secretary for Native Affairs was a Minister of the Crown appointed by the Governor, and did not have permanent tenure of office. The senior permanent official was the Under-Secretary.

³Mbulazi was a brother of Cetshwayo and his chief rival as claimant to the Zulu kingship. He was killed at the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856. *Mbuyazi weTheku* ('Mbuyazi of the Bay') was the Zulu name for H.F. Fynn senior.

⁴The informant's Zulu name.

GAMA, JOHN

<Typescript copies of portions of Gama's evidence below are to be found in Files 6, 12, 25, and 27 in the Stuart Collection. We have not followed the typescripts but Stuart's original manuscript records - eds.>

17.12.1898

File 74, p. 52.

Also present: Zulu

- 52 John Gama is of the Giba regiment, about two years older than Offy Shepstone;¹ he is therefore about 56 or 57. He was educated at Edendale, Natal, and can read and write. His chief informants were old Edendale men; also Mpikeleli (deceased) of Endhlinembi; Maloyi (deceased), father of Mtiti; an *old man* at Mjokovu's kraal (deceased); Macungela (deceased) of the Nhlabati; Masoso, one of Gama's relations, whom Gama addressed as 'Baba' and who was an *imbongi*; and Ndabambi (*brother of Mswazi*). Macungela was an old man when Sobuza came to the (Swazi) throne. Gama learnt from Mpikeleli latterly.²

John began by giving a list of Swazi kings which exceeds in number those given by either Shepstone or Miller.³ He went on to say that it was in the Tonga king Mtonga's reign that his (Mtonga's) brother Mswazi (the one listed among the names below, Samukedi) came to occupy country along the base of or on the Ubombo mountains. The legend is this. Mswazi wanted to *cultivate crops* because he wanted food. Mtonga on the other hand wanted to *hunt game*. This was the origin of the separation, which was not due to a quarrel. Mswazi wished to fight with other peoples and obtain cattle, some of which were paid as tribute to his elder brother. Mtonga received these cattle, *slaughtered* and ate them. Thus the Swazi kings proper begin with Mswazi, for those before him are Tonga kings.

John says when the Swazis proceeded to build Etshiselweni (near Mahamba) they came from the Ubombo through the *passes cut by the Ngovuma* and Pongolo (rivers). (The Usutu is not referred to in old native accounts.) The Makanye people entered the Swazi nation, it seems, during the first Mswazi's time or during (the rule of) one of the kings immediately following. Tshaka did not *trouble the Ngwane people* and did not *make war* on them. It was Zwide or Zide⁴ who did that. The Tongas have for a very long period occupied the land they are at present living in. People after people have passed this part of the country from the north on the way to Zululand,

Natal, Pondoland, etc., whilst the Tongas have remained stationary in Tongaland.

17.12.1898

File 74, p. 126.

- 126 Kings of Swaziland⁵
- 1 Ngwane (Bunu)
 - 2 Dhlamini (Mbandeni) *who is Ludonga*⁶
 - 3 Mavuso (Mswazi)
 - 4 Ngwane (Sobuza, Somhlolo)
 - 5 Zikode (Ndungunya)
 - 6 Ngwane
 - 7 Dhlamini <praise omitted - eds.> *It is said that he was a scourge to other peoples. He lived at the Ubombo.*
 - 8 Hlubi. *Hlubi fathered Ndhlela and also Dhlamini. The chieftainship should have gone to Ndhlela, but he had two younger full brothers, so lost it. It was taken by Dhlamini, another son of Hlubi. The Ngwane people said, 'You lost the chieftainship because you had two younger brothers.'* Hlubi himself had taken the place of Magudulela, who was left-handed. A left-handed person does not take over the chieftainship among the Ngwane people.
 - 9 Ludonga. *He is praised for his prowess as a warrior. He called out his impi, attacked, killed, and returned home all on the same day. 'Ludonga who went against the Embo and returned the same day.'*
 - 10 Mavuso
 - 11 Lange
 - 12 Nkosi
 - 13 Nkomikabako. *Nkomo and Kabako were different people. The latter was a junior brother to the former, being the son of a co-wife subordinate to the mother of Nkomo.*⁸
 - 14 Samukiti with Mbova. *As in the case of Nkomikabako, a brother by a co-wife succeeded to the position of the son of the main wife.*
 - 15 Sihuba
 - 16 Msimude. *It is said that he was very good-looking because of his youthful appearance.*
 - 17 Mswazi. *He came from the house of the fathers of Mtonga, who became chief of the Tonga and spread out into the country near the sea. It was he who fathered the Tonga of Makasane.*⁹ *Mswazi fathered the Swazi people of Sobuza. It is said that he was a person of great energy. It was he who began to make people wise. Warfare also began with him.*
 - 18 Sikulamaloyi
 - 19 Dulunga
 - 20 Hlubi
 - 21 Hili
 - 22 Mboholo. *The Ngwane people are doubtful about him. See notes (below under date 18.12.1898),*
 - 23 Lange
 - 24 Dondobala
 - 25 Kabingwe

- 26 Zimase
- 27 Gebase [33]¹⁰
- 28 Nkosi [34]
- 29 Dhlamini [35]
- 30 Holo [36]
- 31 Sidwaba so Lutuli [37]. *It is said that Lutuli and Sidwaba were different people. It is like the previous cases of succession through a co-wife, but they are named as one, as Sidwabasolutuli.*
- 32 Luwamba [38]
- 33 Luwalala [39]
- 34 Wawawa [40]
- 35 Ngwekati [27]
- 36 Cebisa [28]. *Some say he did not rule, but died still young. When the ancestral spirits are praised he is usually counted as a minor.*
- 37 Ndhlovu [29]
- 38 Mdhlaso [30]
- 39 Sukuta [31]
- 40 Qomazita [32]
- 41 Mkuluwankosi we ku Nene.¹¹ *It is Wawawa whom people name as the last of their kings, though I have heard Mkuluwankosi mentioned.*

18.12.1898

File 74, p. 125.

125 Notes on list (above). John Gama prepared the list last night on paper after he had given from memory that shown in pencil on Giba's list.¹² In drawing up this list on paper he had the use of Miller's and Shepstone's lists,¹³ which lists, especially Miller's, were given by himself. He remembers giving both Shepstone and Miller information re kings, but what he said to them was not as carefully considered as the list given me, which, as revised again this morning, is the very best he can do. He feels that as far as, and including, Sikulamaloyi, the list is correct. He has no doubt as far as that; but beyond, although he has heard all the names referred to by Swazis, especially when *the ancestral spirits are praised*, yet he is not sure whether each name is that of a king or only of some well-known prince or man of high standing. In course of time it is quite likely that error crept in, and those not really entitled to be included have, by the sanction of custom, a right to be given a place; and it is impossible to discriminate between those who were or were not kings. Gama feels that the list is as complete as it can be, as his information was always obtained from the very best sources and men who, then at a great age, died many years ago.

Gama came to Swaziland shortly after Mswazi's death, but not until Mbandeni came to the throne, which was about the time of the Langalibalele rebellion (1873). He was born in Swaziland, but left with his father at the age of 2 or so for Natal for fear of being killed or 'eaten up'.

Gama thinks Mboholo, as he is very frequently mentioned by Swazis, should be brought next to Sikulamaloyi. Luwamba, Luwalala, and Wawawa come at the very end of the list, whilst Mkuluwankosi, the last name ever referred to by Swazis, must be taken as the end

of the list, if indeed it can be included, for kings are not named after that person, although the name Wawawa is sometimes used.

I took down these words from Gama: *Among the Nguane people the ancient names of one's forebears do not die out; they are preserved. When the child of an important person is born, and it is a chief, the elders of the family are called together to name it. It is given the name of one of its forebears by the old people. They do this to preserve the essence of the chiefship of their house. Among us a chief is not named after the chiefs of other peoples, as is done among the Zulu, Basutu, etc. If some of the names given are from outside, one that truly belongs to their house will be chosen as his chiefly name. For instance, Mbandeni was not originally named Dhlamini. The names he was given by his mother's people were Mbandeni and Mawandhle. These were his names before he had become chief. When he became chief, the people of his house were called to give him a name. They called him Dhlamini, naming him after one of the ancient chiefs of his people.*

More interesting information: *Among the Nguane the custom is beginning of appointing a king who has younger brothers (even if only one). They wanted to appoint Masumpa, being unhappy about the appointment of Nguane. If Nomvetshe ka Dukuza (wife of Mbandeni) had given birth to a boy, the chieftainship would have been his. There would have been no further discussion. But she gave birth to a girl, which upset the situation.*¹⁴

See number eight in the list (Hlubi). John Gama says: *Magudulela was not left-handed to begin with. He was made so by his mother, who did not want him to succeed to the chieftainship. She said the chieftainship brought nothing but troubles. Her son would come to harm, and she too would come to harm. So one day when beer was being brewed, she took the child and dipped his right hand into the mash (into the porridge-like preparation for the beer) and scalded it. The other women cried at her, 'Hawu! What are you doing?' She answered, 'I have done it because the chieftainship brings trouble. I do not want my child to be chief.' And so the child became used to using his left hand.*

18.12.1898, Sunday.

File 74, pp. 118-20.

Also present: Zulu

- 118 About the year 1862-1864 the Swazis found themselves harassed by the Zulus on the one side and the Boers on the other, although they feared the Zulus most. As the messengers they sent to Sir T. Shepstone in Pietermaritzburg were, on their way through Zululand, interfered with (were killed, had property seized, etc.) by Zulus, who refused them permission to pass through the country, men like Malunge and Mpikheleli strongly advised Mswazi to present Sir T. Shepstone (then Mr) with a princess of the blood royal in order to establish a most intimate connection between him and themselves, so that he would protect Swaziland, especially on the Zululand side.
- 119 It was urged that it made no difference if Mr Shepstone was a white man; he could accept a girl and, if he liked, give her to his native *induna*.

Messengers were accordingly sent to Mr Shepstone to convey the

resolution arrived at by the nation. They had to go via Majuba or what is now called Charlestown and Newcastle. Mr Shepstone accepted the girl who was offered, and expressed his thanks and *sent many presents in praise*. He called upon Mpande to send messengers to him, and when these men arrived he directed them to inform Mpande of what the Swazis had done. He said he desired that his bridal party should pass through Zululand unmolested by anyone, as the shortest way to Natal from Swaziland was via that country, viz. Sirayo's district. He said that the Swazis were his relations now and Mpande was to leave off troubling them and not to send any *impi* to raid or harass them in any way. Mpande obeyed these injunctions and the bridal party with cattle and other belongings passed through Zululand via Sirayo's (who had received definite orders from Mpande) to Natal, not only being unmolested by anyone but receiving from everyone the best treatment and hospitality, cattle and so on being killed for them.

Tifokati was the name of Mr Shepstone's bride. She was accompanied by others as well, according to Swazi custom, which other girls also belonged to Mr Shepstone. As she was a gift Mr Shepstone of course paid no *lobola*. On her arrival in Natal Mr Shepstone gave Tifokati to Ngoza, his *induna*, who had children by her, several of whom are now young men.

Not long after this Mswazi died. Mpande applied to Sir T. Shepstone for permission to go and *mourn*. Mr Shepstone asked what they meant by *going to 'mourn'*, what it involved. Did it not mean that Mpande would send an *impi* to Swaziland with a view to fighting with the Swazis and carrying off their cattle? The messengers sent replied in the affirmative - *that was what mourning for a king entailed*. Thereupon Mr Shepstone refused to grant the permission, although he said a party might go and condole. John Gama says he knows this incident very well indeed. He had *reached the age of puberty*. Offy Shepstone must have been still at school. This would be about the year 1868. Mpande sent a party (an *impi*) but, although Swazis fled from before it, yet it did nothing; it participated in the mourning and returned to Zululand. [Respecting the effect of this incident on Swaziland in respect to *lobola*, see (subsequent evidence by Gama.) Mpande's party put up at Nobamba (*Somhlolo's capital*) on their way to *the mourning*.

It seems Ngoza preferred Sikutana to Tifokati. Mswazi resented this and killed Samukedi and his whole kraal, seized property, etc., for his daughter Sikutana's offence. Although Sir T. Shepstone paid no *lobola* for Tifokati, yet two waggon loads of goods (blankets etc.) were sent to Swaziland to be bartered away for cattle which then were to be paid over to Mswazi as *lobola* paid by Ngoza for Tifokati. The goods were accordingly bartered - Mswazi himself purchased some - and the cattle were formally handed over. What Sir T. Shepstone gave in the shape of *many gifts* as above referred to was not as *lobola* but as a present. Tifokati's *umgano*¹⁵ was sent to Natal, and all formalities in regard to the marriage were properly observed. (No *izimbedu*¹⁶ were sent as they were not required in Natal, but probably elephant tusks were, as Mswazi wished to make the transaction of very great importance.) After this the relations
120 between the Swazis and Sir T. Shepstone were of the warmest and most cordial character. The Swazis regarded this as a lasting alliance

between Mr Shepstone and themselves. Sir T. Shepstone asked Mswazi for horns, and a hunting party went out and killed all kinds of buck. The horns went back in the two wagons above referred to.

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File 74, p. 121.

.... <Generalized description of jealousy and squabbling among wives and within families omitted - eds.>

121 I know that abusing of parents by their own sons has greatly increased in this country. The behaviour of today is beyond me. Your own child can abuse you even as he helps himself to your food. I think that it all came from the killing of many people in their own homes, in their own country. They would be killed: their homes would be surrounded, and they would be stabbed. I say that this is what ruined behaviour. People were surrounded by the blood of their own kin which they were spilling. The country was filled with cries against the killing. 'We are being destroyed by our own people as if we were foreigners.'

Another reason is this. The practice of former chiefs, such as Mswazi, was acceptable. He would call up the army and it would go out and do battle with other peoples. When it came back it would be tamed, and there would be none of these happenings. It would be well disposed to its own people. It would show respect to the elders. In what killing there was, such as when an umtakati was to be killed, only those sent out by the king would go and put that umtakati to death. There would not be a single beast or item of property that they would conceal: it would all go to the king. Even the grain of the man who had been killed would be secured by the king's law; this they would also take to him.

That is how matters were under former kings. Then came what has brought ruin to us today. When royal messengers went out to put an umtakati to death, they would take his forfeited property for themselves. It would not all be taken to the king. They would distribute all the valuable things among themselves, and the king would count for nothing. That was the evil state of affairs that has ruined matters here. When the king called in the cattle, they would refuse to give them up; in their cunning they would lie low, and the king would be powerless. This is still the case today.

This wicked practice began with the death of Ludonga. The Ngwane people became angry and killed Ndumondwe,¹⁷ claiming that it was he who had killed Ludonga. They seized his enormous herd of cattle, and divided it among themselves. The whole impi received a full share. There was not even an inquiry about the looting of the cattle. Even though the matter was spoken about, even though there were suspicions about what had happened, no order came for the army to give up the cattle of the king. That is how the izinduna of the Ngwane acquired their wealth. Even the king received some of the cattle, they were so numerous.

That is where the ruin started, when they dared to seize confiscated property that belonged to the king. At that time Mbardeni had not yet reached maturity, and had not yet been made king. By the time he died he too had had painful experience of being robbed, and of not receiving all the cattle that were forfeit to him. He repri-

manded the Ndhlavela regiment;¹⁸ he wept. At the time of his death this matter was causing him great anger. If he had lived longer he would have killed those who had plundered his stock. He upbraided Nogeogco, Mvelapansi, Magumeni, and others.¹⁹

18.12.1898

File 74, p. 120.

120 Gama admits that women are not as respectful towards their husbands or other men as they used to be. This he attributes primarily to the action of Mamgangani or Lamgangani, mother of Ludonga, who used to permit or encourage women to come and sit with her in an assembly of men, instead of doing as Lazide, Mswazi's mother, did during that king's minority, viz. to allow no woman to attend a council meeting except the girl or woman who kept her snuff. The general disrespect now observable seems due to this action as well as that of Tibati (Madolomafitsha)²⁰ and Labutibeni (Ngwane's mother). The two latter were in the habit, and the latter is still in the habit, of bringing women into the council. John says he has himself spoken about this to the Swazi authorities, saying that women would go and tell others what was said at council meetings. The reply was, they would never dream of doing any such thing.

Mr Shepstone on several occasions referred to this attitude of the women. John thinks that such action as this has caused women to feel as if they were the equals of men; consequently they do not show the same respect as before. I pressed him as to the cause of Mamgangani acting as she did. He agreed that European influence was clearly felt in the days of Ludonga, and it may be that the knowledge that women are protected by Europeans is a factor in the present very unsatisfactory state of affairs, but it is not nearly as important as the other. John used to speak to the *indunas* about this attitude of women but they always backed out of doing anything. Nabutibeni has quite a lot of women whom she permits to attend council meetings. Mbandeni strongly resented this attitude of women, so much so that he caused Mamgangani (mother of Ludonga) and over thirty of her women to be put to death. Mamisa ka Mhlanga, an old man, was deputed to do this killing off.²¹ [See evidence of Cleopas Kunene.]

18.12.1898

File 74, pp. 105-6.

Also present: Zulu

105 I am not sure where the practice of lobolo among the Ngwane came from. The custom of the Ngwane with which I am familiar I observed when I was young. The important thing was the relationship established when a man gave his daughter in marriage to another man. He would say, 'Look after her for me, this child of my house.' And so it would be. In this case it was sufficient for the husband to hand over only one beast. Alternatively, if he slaughtered a beast for the girl's parents, that was enough. It was also acceptable if he provided lobolo of two or three goats for her. Before the time when cattle began to be used for this purpose, it was normal practice to use goats; cattle belonged only to the great people. When a marriage

took place among the great people, lobolo would be given in the form of brass bars. It was sufficient if one beast were handed over. The great people would do this among themselves. When a great person came to send off his daughter to the man she was marrying, some of this metal would be taken with her, and she would marry with it. For it had a high value among the Nguni. A high price would be paid for it - five head of cattle and a large ox. It was not common among the people; only among the great.

The Nguni custom was that a man who provided lobolo in the form of a cow that was in calf had done what was required; no more was expected of him. This beast would go to the bride's mother. Providing lobolo of three or five cattle was done for the daughter of a great man. If a child of the king provided lobolo of five beasts there would be great admiration, for this was lobolo indeed.

The point about lobolo was that it strengthened relationships, like a mutual contract. Wives were not bought among the Nguni. This practice is appearing only now. If people tell you that providing lobolo is the same as buying, you can contradict them. For among the Nguni, lobolo is provided for only one daughter, and then her many sisters follow without having lobolo provided for them. They go to join their sister, and that is the end of it; there are no further matters to be discussed. It would be an injury if the husband did not care for them properly.

Under their recent kings, starting with Mswazi, the Nguni people have begun to demand cattle if the sisters are taken. It is similar to the practice in the country of the whites, where great numbers of cattle are demanded as lobolo. This matter caused distress among the Nguni; they did not like it. People did it in the desire for cattle.

Nowadays if a man chastises his wife, he thinks of the beasts with which he lobola'd her. Before, he would not cry for his cattle (saying, 'Oh for the cattle which I have lost'); he would simply beat her.

106 This practice of lobolaing with a large number of cattle began among the Nguni when they heard that it was the custom in Natal. When these practices became known among the Nguni, they said, 'Let us continue to provide lobolo as we have always done; we know nothing about the laws of other peoples. But when people from Natal take wives from among us, let us demand the number of cattle that they demand when lobolaing among themselves. Let them lobolo among us according to their own laws.' Men from Natal often used to come to find wives from among the Nguni. What began this practice was the marriage of Tifokati, a daughter of the king, to Theophilus Shepstone. Shepstone gave her to his induna Ngoza. No sooner had this taken place than people from Natal came in numbers to the Nguni country, driving cattle. Some would come to friends or relations to ask for girls.

If this custom of providing lobolo resembles buying, it originated among the Nguni with this affair of Tifokati. It had not been even in the least bit the practice before. Tifokati was given to Shepstone about 35 years or so ago.

The Ngongoni famine (ingongoni is a type of grass, a species of *umsingizane*) is known in Zululand as the Mbete famine. It began

at the time of the birth of the Zulu Ngobamakosi age-grade. Tifokati had not yet started on her journey, but was about to set out.²² Shepstone had not asked for Tifokati. [See (above) for the whole story.]

18.12.1898

File 74, p. 27.

- 27 (Circumcision). It is a custom which originated very long ago. Circumcision is the great custom of the Nguni people. When a youth is circumcised he enters manhood. He is given advice and instruction, and conducts himself according to the ways of an adult; he has the mind of a man, and casts aside the ways of youth which he formerly followed. This is necessary if he is to marry, for an uninitiated youth is unable to do so.

This practice of circumcision was ended by Mswazi, even though he had been circumcised himself. All the members of the Inyati, the age-regiment to which Mswazi belonged, had been circumcised. Mswazi ordered that circumcision should cease. It was prohibited after Muneli (Mr Allison)²³ had left. I do not know whether or not Mbandeni ever tried to revive the custom during his reign.

18.12.1898

File 74, pp. 71-2.

- 71 John Gama cannot account for the name 'Swazi', but here are his words:

This usage, of calling the Nguni people Swazis, perhaps originated from a nickname. For when we asked our old people about it, some of them said that one of our chiefs of long ago used to hit the boys with a switch (uswazi). So a person who was born at that time came to be called a Swazi, and eventually the word came to be applied to all the people. A person who was born at that time came to be called a child of the chief.

On the other hand, the word may have come from the name of the chief Mswazi who separated from Mtonga, or it may have arisen even before his time, from another Mswazi.

18.12.1898

File 49, item 10, pp. 1-10.

<Though the informant who made the statements that follow is not named in the original, internal evidence leaves no doubt that it was John Gama - eds.>

- 1 On Mbandeni. Nandi, the mother of Mbandeni, was the eldest child of Matikweni.²⁴ Her sister Madolomafitsha, mother of Nogogco, followed her in age, and became a co-wife. Madolomafitsha was a name given by the people in her praises. The name given by her father was Tibati.

Latibeni or Nabutibeni.²⁵ She was given this name because she was born on the day when Mswazi sent out an impi to attack Tibeni, a Sutu chief living near Mgwenya (Barberton).

The Nguni people said (of Bunu's succession), 'We are dissatis-

fied, for our house will be harmed if a man of the Mdhluli people becomes chief.²⁶ A man of the Mdhluli has never before become chief.' Also, Nabutibeni, the girl taken by the king in his youth, could not bear the successor in the Ngwane house,²⁷ even though her father Mvelase used to be an induna of Sobuza. Furthermore they said, 'We are dissatisfied; the isokancanti does not succeed; he is not made chief.²⁸ This man Ngwane²⁹ is the first-born'.

.... <The evidence at this point about the perpetuation of names was transcribed by Stuart on p. 125 of File 74; see above - eds.>

3 'Ukunene'. The last-born son would be referred to as 'great one of the chief, you of the right hand!' The expression 'we ku nene!' is still used today. It is the same as saying, 'Ndabezita!' in Zululand. It is not a title but a form of adulatory address - 'You of the right hand!'

There are two places in the country of the Ngwane where the graves of kings are found. One is at Ngovuma in the Tshiselweni district. In charge of it was Ngolotsheni of the Mkatsiwa section of the Nxumalo.³⁰ The other is up at Motane in the Mbilaneni district; in charge of it was Malambule of the Telela, who lived at the place of Mtshengu's people and was the son of Somduba (?).³¹

Magongo buried.³²

At the burial place cared for by Ngolotsheni the people call on the name of Ndungunya, and also of Londonga.³³ The greater name is Idungunya (Zikode). At Mbilaneni the great name is Dhlamini. It is here that Mswazi, the father of Mbandeni, is buried. There are many buried where Ndungunya is. We don't know if they took away those at the Ubombo.³⁴ Both burial places are very old. They are cared for, and there is no burning of the bush there.

4 I feel that Tikuba's³⁵ evidence diverges from what the elders of the Ngwane people used to state. The Ngwane and Tonga did not originate on the coast. Rather, I am told, they came from the north. At first their huts were like those of the Bushmen. They would stay at one place for a few years and then move off and settle at another. Food was not plentiful. They depended on hunting game. When the numbers of game in one place dwindled they would go on to another. In the course of these migrations they came into contact with other peoples, with whom they had disagreements and fought. They passed on, leaving the others.

There came a time when Mswazi parted from Mtonga. Mtonga went down-country, as Tikuba suggests, while Mswazi left and went along the Ubombo. We do not know where the chiefs of the Ubombo died;

5 no-one knows. I was told, on questioning Mhlaba, that there is a mound where the Ngwane chiefs are buried (a small hillock that looks as if it was man-made, like an isivivane³⁶).

All our people say that they came from the north. They say that other peoples came along and passed by, but our people stayed settled. Many peoples came by, but ours stayed where they were. They were continually going into hiding, for the peoples quarrelled with one another. Those who were passing by would attack those whom they found already there, and then in turn move on. Others would meet and depart peacefully.

GAMA

I feel that the increase in numbers of the people came about through births, but we do not really know, because all the people
6 say they came from the north. The Sutu of Mshweshwe, and those of Sigonyela, and those of Wezi, all came from the north.

.... <Rough list of matters discussed with John Gama omitted - eds.>

John does not know about the incest referred to by Tikuba. There might be some truth in it for Magongo was a big *induna* and a *blood-relative* and therefore likely to know.³⁷

Magongo was killed. People informed against him, saying that he was on the side of Somcuba, Mswazi's brother. (His people, sheltered agents, concealed people from other tribes. (He was, killed by Mswazi. The agents were from Somcuba who had defected from the Swazis and lived at Mgwenya (Barberton district).³⁸

The father of Mtonga was Sikulamaloyi. So Sikulamaloyi was a
7 Tonga king, and all kings before him are Tonga kings.

Ndhlela built at Mahamba. He fathered Lula and Lula fathered Ncilaba. It is not known if Ndhlela's existence caused Dhlamini to live on or near the Ubombo.³⁹

(Gama) does not know under what circumstances it became a rule that a boy, if followed by another (brother), could not become king. Among the Ngwane a left-handed person does not succeed to the chieftainship.

When other sons are born after the designated successor, he relinquishes his position. It is acceptable among the Ngwane if the eldest child is a girl and a son is born later.⁴⁰ The latter will be the chief. If the first child is a son, the chiefs and relatives warn the king, saying, 'You must not sleep with this wife of yours again; you must give her her own household, for perhaps she will have another son, and upset matters.' This law is very important; they really give him a strong warning, and he heeds them. The
8 elders of the woman's family also admonish her, saying, 'Be wise, and act like a virgin when your husband wants you.' They act accordingly, and there is no trouble.

Maize and sorghum. John said the first people were like Bushmen. This is supported by the following fact: originally there was no maize; only sorghum was known, and the people were dependent on it. It was sorghum that was greatly prized.

I am of this opinion because often when I was a boy I saw them cultivating maize in small plots only, to provide a little food for the autumn.

It is clear that sorghum was the first crop, for I and others used to ask why little maize was cultivated, and why it was not liked as much as sorghum. The old people would reply that maize had been unknown before and had been introduced only recently. They
9 thought that maize seed had come from the small settlement of whites at Ndinisa.⁴¹ That is all they said.

The old people who told me this were Masoso (deceased long ago), Macungela, and others. Macungela was very old indeed. I spoke to him

GAMA

when I was a boy; he was then looking after my mother. He used to give evidence in disputes over long-standing issues among the Ngunwane. They would send for him in Natal, for he had been driven out with Masoso as the result of a dispute over cattle belonging to the great house.

.... <The evidence at this point on *lobolo* was transcribed by Stuart on p. 105 of File 74; see above - eds.>

- 10 When Mswazi died, Ndwandwe, a brother *by a co-wife*, acted as regent, the same as Nogcogco and Mbandeni.⁴²

.... <The evidence at this point on circumcision was transcribed by Stuart on p. 27 of File 74; see above - eds.>

Notes

¹Theophilus Shepstone, born 1843, son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

²We have been unable to identify all the persons named by Gama in this paragraph. Mpikheleli (Mphikeleli) may have been the son of Ngangaza, who was a son of Mswati. Maloyi was a brother of Mswati. 'Mjokuva' may be a variant spelling of Jokovu. Somhlolo's brother Malunge had a son of this name, and a Jokovu was one of Bhunu's chief regents. (Based on information given by P. Bonner, and on genealogical table in Matsebula, History of Swaziland, opp. p. 4.)

³See Appendix I.

⁴Ndwandwe chief in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

⁵Gama's list differs from lists given by other informants. See for example Giba, below; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 314; Matsebula, History of Swaziland, opp. p. 4; and Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 232.

⁶In some recorded Swazi genealogies, Dlamini (Mbandzeni) is shown as succeeding his brother Ludvonga. Gama's identification of Dlamini with Ludvonga is doubtless due to the circumstances of the succession. On Ludvonga's death as a minor, his mother was instructed by the royal council to choose another of Mswati's sons as the 'son' whom she would accept in the place of Ludvonga. The youth chosen was Mbandzeni, who was given the title of Dlamini. See Matsebula, History of Swaziland, p. 28, and Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 100.

⁷Kuper, African Aristocracy, pp. 88, 102, points out that the Swazi make 'a conscious attempt to overcome the lines of fission that are likely to endanger...unity.... Swazi criticize the Zulu because seizure by force characterized their line of succession.' She adds that possibilities of strife and usurpation are increased if the king has younger full brothers, as these are often favoured by the mother.

⁸The case seems to be similar to that of Ludvonga and Dlamini. Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 100, writes that in Swazi custom provision is made 'against failure of male issue to the main wife. If she is barren, or bears only daughters, or if her son dies before he reaches manhood, the son of a co-wife is "put in her stomach".'

⁹Makhasana, who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century,

was chief of the Mabudu (Maputju, Mapoota) Tsonga living on the coast south of Delagoa Bay. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 303-4; Junod, Life of a S.A. Tribe, vol. 1, pp. 16 & 24; Theal, Records of S.E. Africa, vol. 2, p. 488.

¹⁰The enumeration from this point on was revised in the original. The revisions are shown in brackets.

¹¹In subsequent evidence, Gama describes '*we ku Nene*' as a form of adulatory address for the Swazi king, equivalent to the Zulu '*Ndabezitha!*'

¹²See Appendix II.

¹³Appendix I.

¹⁴This passage refers to the succession dispute that arose on the death of Mbandzeni, c. 1889. Masumpa's claims were stronger than those of Ngwane (Bhunu) as his mother, Ncenekile Simelane, came from one of the small group of clans recognized by the Swazi as entitled to provide the queen mother. Wishing to avoid a long regency at a time of strained relations with the South African Republic, the national leaders selected as main wife and future queen mother Gwamile Mdluli (Labotsibeni), whose son Bhunu, aged about 16, was the eldest of Mbandzeni's male heirs. (Based on information supplied by P. Bonner, and on Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 26.) We have been unable to find further information on Nomvetshe or educe her role in the dispute.

¹⁵One of the cattle accompanying the bride on her wedding day.

¹⁶Bands or flat rings of solid brass worn round the neck by chiefs as decorations of the highest class.

¹⁷Regent for Ludvonga. See Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 25 & 27.

¹⁸Enrolled by Ludvonga.

¹⁹Nogcogco (Logcogco) was half-brother, by a co-wife of Mswati, to Mbandzeni.

²⁰A co-wife of Mbandzeni's mother Nandzi, and queen mother during the latter part of Mbandzeni's reign.

²¹For a different account of the reasons for the killing of Mangangeni (Lamgangeni), see Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 29-31.

²²The Ngobamakhosi age-grade, according to Bryant, was born c.1850-3. The Mbethe famine, he suggests, occurred in the late 1840s. (Olden Times, pp. 42-4, 646.) This is inconsistent with Gama's evidence that Tifokati was about to set out to 'marry' Shepstone at the time of the Mbethe famine, 'about 35 years or so ago', i.e. in the early 1860s. Other of Stuart's informants also place the Mbethe famine in the early 1860s.

²³Rev. James Allison, a Wesleyan missionary who worked among the Swazi in the period 1845-6.

²⁴Of the Nkambule clan. See Kuper, African Aristocracy, pp. 232-3.

²⁵Labotsibeni of the Mdluli clan, mother of Bhunu.

²⁶The choice of Bhunu as successor to Mbandzeni gave rise to misgivings among some of the traditionalists, as Labotsibeni was from the Mdluli, which was not one of the clans which normally provided the queen mother. Kuper writes, 'Power and property are inherited from men and acquired by them, but are transmitted through women, whose rank more than any other factor determines the choice of main wife, i.e. mother of the heir.... In exceptional circumstances the woman's character is the main consideration.'

- See African Aristocracy, p. 26, and The Swazi, pp. 20-1.
- ²⁷ Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 91, writes: 'The idiom of the succession states that "A first wife does not dispute the home-
stead", i.e. she is not a claimant for the position of first wife.... She is known as *sisulamsiti* (wiper-away of darkness), the woman who raises a man from immaturity to maturity.... Her pedigree is unimportant....'
- ²⁸ The *lisokancanti* or 'first-circumcised', i.e. the first son, is normally precluded from the succession, but becomes 'his father's confidant: he is told how the family property is distributed and who his father considers should be the heir....' (Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 92. See also Marwick, The Swazi, pp. 14-15.)
- ²⁹ i.e. Bhunu.
- ³⁰ According to P. Bonner, Ngolotsheni was a son of Zwide the Ndwandwe chief. He was given refuge by Somhlolo after the destruction of Ndwandwe power by Shaka, c.1818, and was placed in charge of the royal burial ground at Shiselweni.
- ³¹ Stuart's query mark, apparently a later insertion, may reflect uncertainty either about the identity of Somduba or about the spelling of the name. 'Somduba' may be a corruption of 'Somcuba', the name of one of Mswati's brothers, but it is highly unlikely that these are one and the same person. Further uncertainty surrounds the identity of the Malambule mentioned in this paragraph. Though 'Malambule' was the name of another of Mswati's brothers, it is unlikely that he is the person to whom Gama is referring. According to P. Bonner, a man named Mtshengu Mdluli was senior *insila* to Mswati, and was placed near Gege in the south of the Swazi kingdom to guard the approaches from Zululand. This may be the Mtshengu referred to by Gama. (For an explanation of the term *insila* see Kuper, African Aristocracy, pp. 78-9.)
- ³² Magongo was *induna* to Sobhuza (Somhlolo). Stuart's notes at this point become so terse as to make interpretation difficult.
- ³³ Ludonga?
- ³⁴ The implications of this sentence are obscure.
- ³⁵ Chief *induna* at the time of Mbandzeni's death (c.1889), and another of Stuart's informants.
- ³⁶ A cairn or heap of stones, grass, and other objects situated alongside a path or road, usually at some prominent place. Made by travellers placing good-luck tokens by the wayside.
- ³⁷ Magongo was Tikuba's father. According to one tradition, the Swazi separated from the Tsonga because of a quarrel occasioned by a Tsonga committing incest with his sister.
- ³⁸ For an account of Somcuba's defection, see Matsebula, History of Swaziland, p. 17.
- ³⁹ The Dhlamini (Dlamini) referred to is almost certainly no. 7 in Gama's list of kings. In Matsebula's genealogical table (History of Swaziland, opp. p. 4), Ndhlela (Ndlela) is shown as one of Dlamini's sons and a brother to Ngwane, the successor. According to P. Bonner, Ndlela broke away from his brother and established himself near Mahamba in the south of present-day Swaziland.
- ⁴⁰ Kuper, African Aristocracy, p. 102, writing of the Swazi concern to avoid a succession dispute between brothers, states: 'Swazi prefer a woman married as queen mother to bear daughters before a son, for if a son were followed by a girl, people would not be relieved of their anxiety until the end of the period of pregnancy.'

GAMA

⁴¹At Delagoa Bay.

⁴²Nogcogco was half-brother, by a co-wife, to Mbandzeni.

GEDHLE

27.12.1898

File 74, p. 98.

- 58 Gedhle is of the Baca tribe (chief Cijisile), Ixopo. The *inxala* or *umkosi* is the feast of first fruits, at which the chief eats the *uselwa*.¹ After this ceremony all the tribe may then eat mealies, pumpkins, etc. The chief eats the *uselwa* several times during the day. After *eating*, he walks out, followed by the assembled company. He stamps the ground with his feet and spits in a certain way, the object of this being to *strengthen the blades of grass*, those growing, and cause them to be succeeded by others at the proper season. Any-one who eats mealies etc. before the chief *tastes the new crops* is fined. Those who work for white people do not all comply with the custom. *The spirits* are not in any way invoked. [The feast seems to last one day.] At cockcrow next morning the chief *eats the uselwa* [for the last time]. People proceeding to attend the festival will shout out even late at night to neighbouring kraals, saying, '*He ate the meat of a beast that died, and got diarrhoea.*'

11.8.1899

File 73, p. 68.

- 68 Per Gedhle, who has just returned from the north part of the Alexandra Division, whence I had sent him for native curios. He spoke to several natives some miles (say 10-20) from Mzinto about the Indians who are numerous in the direction in which Gedhle went. Natives consider Indians are very industrious when hoeing etc., for they plough up hill and down dale for miles! Natives, however, complain a good deal about Indians because they are pushing them off land they have bought or say they have bought. Natives are unable to tell if land has been bought or not. Had rinderpest not cleared the cattle off, there might have been some serious disputes with the Indians.

17.8.1899

File 73, p. 69.

- 69 Today Gedhle had a conversation with a native *kehla* (elderly) called Mapeka, who lives on Crown lands² three or four miles or so from Umzinto to the left of the road going to Park Rynie. He lives close to a coolie. The coolie was placed in his present position by a white man. The coolies are men of ability. The natives have cause to complain because coolies do not permit native cattle to go into their *harvested fields*. Should cattle get into the *harvested fields*, which are very extensive, coolies will get angry very quickly, and

swear and use terms of abuse. It is fortunate rinderpest has broken out and killed cattle, for natives would have quarrelled with coolies in this matter.

Generally speaking, Mapeka says, there is no objection except the above to the coolies, although it must be added they buy land, plough extensively, disregard native gardens, and so force natives to leave and build elsewhere. Coolies are not neighbourly and, more than this, they have an idea that they are of higher standing than the native. Gedhle was not satisfied with the validity or force or reasonableness of the objections brought by Mapeka against the coolies. No fault was found against those living in the town.

17.8.1899

File 73, p. 83.

- 83 I sent Gedhle out today to try and get me some old curios. He went to Mapeka's kraal about three or four miles from here (Mzinto) and had the following conversation with him. [For particulars about Mapeka (see above).] *Spoons, snuffboxes of the sort worn in the ear, bone or horn sweat scrapers, izindondo, and hoes* of native iron are no longer *carved or forged* in this part of the colony. Nor is there any of the old iron left. No native *works metal* now. This failure of the natives to make their things dates from the coming of the white people to the country. *Izindondo* used to be made but are not often seen now. They are heavy iron rings and were and are still used at the marriage ceremony. They are affixed to the *isidiya* or long leathern skirt of buckskin (duiker) worn by the *bride*. The skirt is tied well above the loins and the *izindondo* are affixed at the sides of the *skirt* and at the bottom in front. The *isidiya* is a (special) kind of *skin skirt*. Gedhle can give further particulars about *isidiya* and *izindondo*.

Iminaka - red or copper-coloured beads but of metal and similar in design to *izindondo* - used to be made; also *amatusi* [rings or bracelets for the upper part of the arm - *amasongo?*], and *hoes fixed onto handles* and made in the shape of axes; also assegais. All these things, Mapeka says, are no longer manufactured; he cannot say where they are made. Gedhle remarks that the holes in the *izindondo* are made by the iron, when in a molten or soft (red hot) condition, being beaten round or poured about a stick. This stick is afterwards removed, leaving a hole. *Izindondo*, Gedhle says, used to be used for *lobola* purposes.

Notes

¹A type of gourd.

²At this point in the original the words *ntela kabili* occur as an interlinear insertion. *Intelakabili* means 'double taxation', as in the case of a tax on crown land in addition to a hut tax. (See Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 790.)

GIBA KA SOBUZA

25.11.1898

File, 74, pp. 84-5.

Also present: Mnkongkoni

- 84 Per Giba ka Sobuza (king) and Mnkongkoni, two men sent by the Queen Mother at my request for trustworthy information regarding the past history of the Swazis. (See below, for list of Swazi kings given by them and also for list of regiments. Giba is of the Tigo-godolo regiment, Mnkongkoni of the Inyati, the one about 69, the other 72 years of age. They say:

The Swazi people originally came from the Ubombo range of mountains some way north of the Usutu river and in the neighbourhood of the chief Jozana's present location. It is not known now what caused the Swazis, who refuse to admit that they are Tongas, to leave the Ubombo, but leave they did, and proceeded across the Usutu to country now occupied by Silele, the Swazi chief, not far from Mahamba¹ and close to what is now Ntshingila's location.

Here they lived until attacked by Zwide, the Zulu chieftain, in Tshaka's reign.² The Swazis were defeated by Zwide and put to flight. They fled into what is now the Transvaal, to the Basutos. Ncaba, Zwangendaba and Mpakeni fled at the same time.³ Sobuza's kraals were burnt by Zwide and the place is now known by the name Etshiselweni. There is a Zombode kraal at Etshiselweni, the present *induna* being the man Silele above referred to. The Swazis fled as far as the Basutos, to Esidhlomodhlomo hill, because Zwide's *impi* followed them. After pursuit was abandoned, the Swazis came back and attacked Mhlangala, then living with his people about the Mdimba range of mountains.⁴ Mhlangala, who was defeated, fled. The regiment which ousted him was the Mbulalazwe. Mhlangala's kraal was where the South African Republic's Justice of the Peace office is now, and was called Ncabane's and was where Mhlangala's *inkosikazi* lived.

It is reported that a whirlwind came, destroyed the kraal and uplifted trees growing in the neighbourhood. This incident, however, occurred before Sobuza was attacked by Zwide as stated.

Even to this day there are some of Mhlangala's people living in Swaziland. Madubana is the name of one such headman. There was another section of people living near the Usutu river and Mankayi-yana hills⁵ called *the people of Maseko ka Luhleko*. These were not dispersed until a later date.

King Tshaka asked Sobuza for one of his daughters in marriage. Sobuza acquiesced and gave him his first-born daughter named Mpa-

ndeze. It appears that this girl became enceinte, whereupon Tshaka, without in any way consulting Sobuza, caused her to be put to death. The Swazis were much surprised at this arbitrary action and regarded it as an insult. This happened before Etshiselweni had been left. The first Zulu *impi* that attacked the Swazis was that of Zwide as already referred to. No Swazi princesses or others were given in marriage to any of the subsequent Zulu kings, although marriages took place between Swazis and the (Zulu) *indunas* Masipula, Mnyamana, and Seketwayo.

As regards Tongaland, Noziyingili⁶ despatched a messenger named Nsingensinge to ask Mswazi for two of the Swazi princesses. Nomakala and her sister Zambili (Swazi: Dzambile; Zulu: Dambile) were given in marriage. The former died without issue. *Lobola* of over 100 head was paid for the two. Zambili is a daughter of Sobuza.

Messages were on various occasions sent by the Swazis to the Zulu kings. Mnkongoni was on one occasion sent by the king to tender allegiance, or *konza*.

The first missionary to come to the country was a European known as Muneli.⁷ He built a house at Mahamba. After a time he left and was succeeded by one Daniel Msimanga, a native, who reoccupied the European's site.

The Hoho district was first occupied by Swazis in Mswazi's reign. The owners, Siwundhlwana, Mlaleli, and Wamhabela, left for some unknown reason and proceeded to Gasaland (kwa Gasa).⁸ Mswazi, finding the land deserted, built upon and claimed it as his own.

The first white person to visit Swaziland was a Boer named Ngalongkulu. He was accompanied by Potolozzi,⁹ said to be President Kruger's father. President Kruger also came to the country in the early days to hunt elephants as well as purchase Tonga children with horses and oxen from Swazis who had raided the children from the Tongas. Other Boers too made similar purchases.

When Mpande defeated and put to flight the Swazi (princes) Mambule, Dubelo and Nyamayenja, they fled to Emkolo in the South African Republic,¹⁰ where Boers demanded of them Tonga children.¹¹ A hundred were then paid over. None of these, it seems, were Swazi children.

25.11.1898

File 74, p. 104.

Also present: Mnkongoni

104 The first kind of *lobola* which these men can call to mind as prevailing in Swaziland was that of cattle. They have never heard of *lobolaling* with beads or *brass rings*, although they admit that beads and *brass rings* formed and do still form what is called respectively the *isembato* and *umgano*,¹² or the latter word might cover the former. On this point they agree with Mabola;¹³ indeed on nearly all they agree with him.

At first it seems there were few cattle in Swaziland due to the attack made by Zwide on Sobuza at Etshiselweni, and, after this attack, certain sections of the Swazi king's subjects refused to obtain cattle and so *lobola* in cattle, because they were afraid of further raiding on the part of the Zulus. The chiefs Nomahasha and

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Jozana,¹⁴ who *lobola'd* with *hoses* and *goats*, were among these. The Swazis ordinarily speak of these chiefs as Tongas, for they will not admit that they are so themselves.

Mnkonkoni, who is about 72, says his own mother was *lobola'd* with two head of cattle. At a later time the *lobola* rose to five, and if a sixth beast were paid it was considered the man was entitled to another girl, which he received, she being described as *the one placed among the cattle*. The *isembato* was made of white beads and *when worn on the body* would be called *umgano*. The king's daughters, if married to people beyond the border, say in Zululand or Tongaland, were paid for at the rate of about 100 head of cattle apiece. That number or more was paid for Zambile and her elder sister Nomakala.

The two men agree in the opinion that to *lobola* has in it the meaning of purchase, for although after death the woman's *spirit* may and does *go to* her father's home, yet, on the other hand, whenever the woman, in her lifetime, pays a visit to her father's and her own original home, she is then regarded merely in the light of an *isihlobo*, as a relation, not as one of the family. Moreover, when she dies, she is buried at her husband's kraal and is put into the grave in accordance with custom prevailing, not at her original home, but at that of her husband and her husband's people.

[Note. These are strong arguments. Still, I cannot allow the sense of purchase in *lobola* because, although a woman may live only in accordance with the custom of her husband, yet that custom is not a habit; it has the sanction of antiquity and is itself binding on the husband. The woman surrenders one law to live under another with at least equal sanctions, for it must be remembered customs may differ in every family in a certain degree - 26.11.1898.]

<25.11.1898>

File 74, p. 128.

Also present: Mnkonkoni

- 128 The following is a list of Swazi kings given by Giba ka Sobuza (the king) and Mnkonkoni, the well-known Special Messenger, men who, when I asked the Queen Mother to send me someone to give me information on this point, were sent by her this day. She considers them trustworthy.¹⁵

Kings	Izinduna	Kraals
1 Ngwane (Bunu)		Emampondweni Zombode
(Queen Mother:) Kunabtibeni	Mbabe, Mgudhlula	
2 Mbandeni (Dhlamini)	Tikuba - at Embekelweni Sandhlana - at	Embekelweni Zombode Didini
(Queen Mother:) Madolomafisha ¹⁶	Didini Makambana Mgogo Matebula	
3 Ludonga - died a minor	Mgenge	

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Kings	Izinduna	Kraals
4 Mswazi ^a	Sandhlana Jojo - at Ekufinyeni	
(Queen Mother:), Lazide - daughter of Zwide		
5 Sobuza (Somhlolo)	Mngayi Mkiza ^b Magongo ^b - at Elangeni	
6 Ndungunya (Zikode)	Dinile ka Nkambule	
7 Ngwane	Mlobokazana	
8 Dhlamini		
9 Hlubi		
10 Ludonga		
11 Mavuso		
Samugedi		
Lange - son of Bululwana		
Sidwabasolutuli		
Sikulamaloyi		
Sihuba		
Mbohlo		
Ngongoni ^c		
Dhlodhlotela		

^aIn a proclamation by M.W. Pretorius, State President of the South African Republic, dated 29th April 1868 and appearing in a Blue Book headed 'Cape of Good Hope and Natal, Correspondence relating to the alleged kidnapping and enslaving of young Africans by the people of the Transvaal Republic', London, printed by George Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869, price 8d, Mswazi is referred to as 'late', and two agreements with him and Boers are referred to as dated 25th July 1846 and 21st July 1855. From this, Mswazi must have been reigning in 1846 and dead by 1868. Erskine told me that when in 1867 he came to survey, Mswazi was reigning, but he did not seem to be quite sure. In the same Blue Book as above, p. 29, a statement by 'Illunganiso, messenger from the Amaswazi tribe to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal', 20th July 1868, occurs, complaining of McCorkindale's action. Evidently Lazide, or Ludonga's mother, sends the message, which was received by T. Shepstone. ^bMagongo was Tikuba's father.

^cNgongoni, Dhlodhlotela added by Tikuba, 26.11.1898. Gama says Ngongoni was not a *king*. Gama does not know Dhlodhlotela.

25.11.1898

File 74, p. 138.

Also present: Mnkonkoni, Zulu

- 138 (List of Swazi regiments given by Giba and Mnkonkoni,
Latshawe - *enrolled* by Sobuza
Mbulalazwe - *drove out the people of Mhlangala*
Emahlakabezi - *of Nobamba*
Ingumanca or Ingungundhlovu

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Sigujana or Amahohloka (Amapinyane)
Luhawuhawu or Giba
Abalondolozu - *age-group of Ndubela*
Punga - *enrolled by Sobuza*
Zicele (Zicele'cele) - *age-group of Mswazi* - or Sitshi¹⁷
Inyati (at Hoho) or Indhlovu (at Didini) - (approximate
age in 1897: 69 or 70. (Age contemporaries of Zulu,
Izingulube.
Tigogodolo - Giba ka Sobuza's regiment
Mahubulu (put up at Didini) or Mbayimbayi (put up at
Hoho) - (age contemporaries of Zulu, Ndhlonhlo
Giba - *of Mswazi*, (age contemporaries of Zulu, Dhloko
Imgadhlela - *of Mswazi*, *age-group of Dududu*
Abalondolozu or Umlondolozu - *enrolled by Mswazi*, *age-*
group of Mbandeni
Ndhlavela - *enrolled by Ludonga*
Giba or Nocegu
Imgadhlela
Izingulube (Ingulube)
Halaza
Isaka

[Note, 17.12.1898. I find John Gama does not know the regiments at all well. He says Mahubulu is only a *section* of a regiment, and that the Tigodolo should *follow after* the Zicele. He never paid much attention to the regiments. Mpikeli and others used to tell him names of them but he has forgotten.]

Notes

¹In the south-west of present-day Swaziland.

²Presumably Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, and not 'a Zulu chief-tain' as described by Giba. According to most accounts, the attack took place before Shaka's rise to power; see for example Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 173.

³Substantially different accounts of the movements of these leaders and of Swazi-Zulu relations are given in other sources. See for example *Olden Times*, *passim*, and Omer-Cooper, *Zulu Aftermath*, chs. 3-5.

⁴Near present-day Mbabane.

⁵In the west of present-day Swaziland south of the Usuthu river.

⁶Noziyingili (Nozililo) was chief of the Mapuju branch of the Tsonga in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 306-7; and Junod, *Life of a S.A. Tribe*, vol. 1, p. 24.

⁷Rev. James Allison.

⁸The kingdom of Soshangana.

⁹The Zulu name for Andries Pretorius. Ngalonkulu (literally, 'big arm') was also a name applied to Pretorius.

¹⁰It is difficult to unravel the personal histories of Malambule, Dubelo, and Nyamayenja. According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 326-7, Malambule, who had been regent during the minority of his younger half-brother Mswati, quarrelled with the latter after

- his assumption of the kingship in 1840, and was driven into Zululand. Dubelo (Sidubela) and Nyamayenja were also half-brothers of the king, and Matsebula writes that Dubelo was one of those who escaped with Malambule. Neither Bryant nor Matsebula mentions their fleeing from Mpande into the South African Republic, though Matsebula states that another of Malambule's brothers, Somcuba, sought refuge with the Pedi in the eastern Transvaal. (History of Swaziland, genealogical table opp. p. 4, and pp. 16-17.)
- ¹¹ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 329-30, gives an account of the Boers' demanding Tsonga children from the Swazi king after the Swazi had sent their cattle into the Transvaal for protection from a Zulu attack, c.1854. Giba and Bryant may be giving variant accounts of the same episode.
- ¹² *Isembatho* literally means 'a covering for the body'. The *umgano*, according to Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 231, and Bryant, Dictionary, p. 171, is the name for one of the beasts which accompanies a girl on her wedding. They make no reference to beads or brass rings.
- ¹³ Another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁴ Chiefs living on the Ubombo hills north of the Usuthu river.
- ¹⁵ Giba's list as recorded in the original contains numerous additions and changes, apparently based on information given by John Gama. The information supplied by Giba was recorded in ink, the amendments in pencil. We give Giba's original list. The additions and interlinear insertions in the original make it difficult in some cases to determine the associations intended between the names in the three columns. We have imposed our own order on Stuart's footnotes and comments. The composite list is given in Appendix 2.
- ¹⁶ Nandi (Nandzi) was the mother of Mbandzeni. Her sister Madolomafisha, who had been one of her co-wives, served as Queen Mother during the latter part of Mbandzeni's reign. See Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 29-31.
- ¹⁷ At this point in the original the following interlinear insertion occurs: 'enrolled by Mswazi'. It is not clear whether this relates to the name 'Sitshi' or to the name 'Indhlovu' which is next on the list.

GILSON, C. H.

8.12.1901

File 71, pp. 231-2.

231 The Mashonas are called Maswini or Amaswini. The hut tax is £48,000, at 10s a hut, and there are therefore 96,000 huts which, at rather over three persons a hut, gives about 300,000 natives in the country. The natives are nothing like the Zulus; they have none of their natural dignity. They are polygamists, and pay *lobola* as far as they are able in cattle. The hoe plays an important part. A girl who marries is given a hoe; if she has previously been deflowered, the husband returns the hoe with a hole made in it by him, which hole has to be filled up by a beast (present or compensation). In unsettled times the sending of a hoe is 'peace' and an assegai 'war'.

The Amaswini make better and more intelligent native servants than Zulus. The word 'Amaswini' means 'dirty' or 'unwashed'. They do not wear the headring. They live in small villages; a kraal would have 200 huts in it. Huts are built somewhat after the fashion of Tonga huts. The witchdoctors have great power in the country. The people are great thieves. A man from whom anything is stolen is justified in helping himself to things belonging to a neighbour. The language is very different from Zulu but on close study is found to have some kind of resemblance in structure etc.

Gilson's district lies chiefly north-east of Salisbury. He has been to Mount Wedza where natives dig iron. The natives are very clever in working with iron, can repair guns to the extent of turning a breech-loader into a muzzle-loader with nipple or hammer etc., and make metal beads.

In Mashonaland, almost due east of Salisbury and near the border, is a ruin of some town with terraces of houses miles in length. There is a legend among the natives that in the past they drove out a civilized people, and there is current a belief that they will yet do so again. At the residence of some well-known native was found an idol which, it is believed, she worshipped.

232 Mashonaland is well-watered, and sandy in parts. The journey from Beira to Salisbury is very pretty, through dense jungle and up granite hills on to high tableland. The administration of Matabeleland is carried on from Salisbury, although the two countries stand far more apart than Zululand and Natal. The Amaswini are treacherous people. When out on duty, Gilson's police would sleep round about him on all sides.

There is plenty of bush and trees in Mashonaland.

Gilson has never been able to find out if the Amaswini ever had

GILSON

a king. Gilson went to the country in or about June 1897, and has just returned from a six-months trip to England.

GINGA

11.8.1899. <Umzinto.>

File 73, p. 68.

- 68 Ginga tells me he is a policeman here. Coolies, in his opinion, are very great liars. If a person is buying anything in a store alone with the salesman it is quite possible for the Indian to accuse the native of having taken money or not paid etc., and this quite falsely. Ginga has for years lived at Mzinto, and he thinks this characteristic of lying is one of the most notable in the coolie.

GXUBU KA LUDUZO

27.1.1912

File 40, item 26, pp. 2-3.

Also present: Mjobo

- 2 Gxubu, a dark *kehla* of medium height, speaks. My father Luduzo ka Nongila of the Radebe (Hlubi), was of the Izimpohlo regiment.¹ He belonged to Mzetepi's hut. Mzetepi was one of Tshaka's wives, but had no child. I am sure of this, for my father frequently spoke of it.

My father was of the Izimpohlo regiment. They used to carry white sticks, rather short; they also carried one assegai (each) when they went to *maraud in the territory of another chief*. He wore *izimbedu* or *ingwota*² round the neck, arms, etc.

My father lived in Pietermaritzburg. He was sent occasionally to Zululand as a special messenger. I remember his being sent to Mpande. I accompanied him as mat-bearer.

The kings and queens of Zululand used not to swallow *pieces* of meat but would simply chew and drop them out of the mouth onto the floor. After six to ten of these they would discontinue. The *inceku* would then pick them all up, carry them off, and eat them. This same *inceku*, before eating commenced, would wash his hands and then come in and sit a little distance from the king, holding up his open hands, not daring to touch anything, waiting for the order to be given to cut up the meat. When ordered to *cut it up*, he would cut off one lump and throw it on one side, off the *wooden trays* (off which the king ate, one of which held meat and the other nothing). Then (he would) cut off another and throw it off. The third would be put onto an *eating-mat* for the king to eat or rather chew and then spit out. This meat would have been *roasted and cut in strips*. The meat would be eaten in this way in the *isigodhlo*.

- I saw both Cetshwayo and Monase *eat* in this way and then *spit out*. Silwane ka Gabangaye used to eat in this way too. I also
- 3 noticed small *gourds* about them, containing water or probably beer, for the beer was always taken when old - say Saturday's *drained* beer would not be drunk until the Monday after next, i.e. in nine days' time. The *curdled milk* was allowed to wait for two months³ before being taken. The *whew* was *drunk* as drawn. The *curds* were eaten without being *stirred*.

Ngoza's affair. Somtseu had gone to Nodwengu with Ngoza and pitched his camp some distance off, say three miles off.⁴ Cetshwayo

came to put a demand to Somtseu. He asked that the dog Ngoza might be fetched and brought before him there. 'Bring him out here in the open!' Cetshwayo had come to kill both Ngoza and Somtseu. He was accompanied by a huge mass of Zulus, who kept pushing up closely. Sir Theophilus Shepstone said, 'Wait now, son of Mpande. Even if he entered the *isigodhlo*, what harm did he do?' Cetshwayo: 'Why did he enter and speak with the girls of the *isigodhlo*?' Cetshwayo said all he wanted to know was why Ngoza, that dog Ngoza, had entered. 'Let him appear here!' Here he spat. The spit landed in front of Somtseu. Masipula then said, 'Hau! Hau! What are you doing, Dhlamvusa? Do not destroy the nation of Punga!' ⁵ Cetshwayo remained silent. Then Somtseu said, 'You are hoping to kill me, as Piti was killed. ⁶ The queen of the white people is full of sorrow. The whites will advance upon you through the pass of the snake' (near Mtetwa country). ⁷ Somtseu said, 'I thought we would have talked in peace. I shall now leave you.' He left the cattle that had been slaughtered for him, for he went to report to the Queen that Cetshwayo was not friendly toward her, but an enemy.

The skin of a beast was sent after this incident. Somtseu refused to hand over Ngoza, and would not let him appear. When Ngoza made as if he would come forward Sir Theophilus Shepstone shouted, 'Stay Ngoza! Do not do as he wants!' As Cetshwayo shouted for Ngoza, Somtseu said, 'Stay!'

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

Masipula was a dark man. He had a small headring and was very tall. He was of the Wombe regiment. When he spoke no-one replied. Cetshwayo was afraid of him. Cetshwayo then left. Sir Theophilus Shepstone left the same day.

I was present at Ngoza's affair, but, being a *mat-bearer*, sat away. My father was close up.

Black bull affair. *Fierce animals* were the ones used for medicine. The *strip of meat* was not cut into pieces; it was thrown and *pieces were bitten off*, not taken with the hands. The king stood on a chair, looking on. The object of the medicines was to cause the people to be *ferocious in war*. ⁸

Notes

¹Formed c.1816; age-group born c.1785-95.

²The *ubhedu* (pl. *izimbhedu*) is described as 'a band or flat ring of solid brass worn...round the neck as a decoration of the highest class....' The *ingxotha* is given as a 'heavy, broad brass armlet...worn round the lower arm by old Zulu warriors, bestowed as a royal honour'. See Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 27 & 218; and Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, pp. 29 & 567.

³This seems an exceptionally long time, but the original reads '2 mo.'

⁴Somtseu (Somsewu) was the Zulu name for Theophilus Shepstone, Ngoza was his chief *induna*. The incident described in this passage took place in 1861 at Nodwengu, Mpande's principal *umuzi*, when Shepstone

came to confer the Natal Government's recognition of Cetshwayo as heir to the Zulu kingship.

⁵Masiphula was chief *induna* of Mpande. Dlamvuzo, literally 'eater of gain', was a name given to Cetshwayo. Phunga was one of the line of early Zulu chiefs.

⁶Piti was the Zulu name for Piet Retief.

⁷'Pass of the snake' is a literal translation of '*isikala se nyoka*'. Shepstone may, on the other hand, have been referring to the royal *umuzi* named Sikhalasenyoka.

⁸For a description of the ritual preparation of the Zulu army for war, see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 500-4.

HAYIYANA KA NDIKILA

8.8.1908

File 35, nbk. 19, pp. 39-61.

Also present: Socwatsha

39 The circumstances under which a portion of Chief Ndube's tribe (Magwaza) was drawn into rebellion in 1906, per Hayiyana ka Ndikila ka Cilo, one of Chief Ndube's *izinduna*, *clan-name* Bayi, of the Ntombela people.

[The following piece read over same day, corrected and checked.]

40 As I remember, it happened like this. Word came in the night that we should arm the next day and go to Emfanaye (Ndube's kraal).¹ We arrived at dawn, in a body, carrying our shields. Ndube ordered the force to make for Kotongweni, for Bambata had crossed there.² We armed and went off. As we were leaving, one of Manqanda's³ police, Mtshudulwana, arrived. The white chief's messenger who came was Mtshudulwana ka Godide ka Ndhlela.

41 So we went off down to Kotongweni, where we spent the night. We slept at the place of the people of Nsungulo ka Ntobolongwana, one of Ndube's chief men. He was on the border of the territories of Ndube and Godide. We were told to sleep there. We said that Ndube had told us to come there so that the army could be sprinkled with medicine by Ndazeni ka Mfuleni of the Dhladhla people. But Ndazeni said, 'No, there is no medicine here, for it is dug up on the mountains in the forests.' We then slept there. At dawn the next day we rose and went off to Nsungulo. (This was on the Monday.) Nsungulo said, 'No, Bambata has passed on. He has headed for Nkandhla. He slept at Godide's. He crossed the river. He took cattle. When he came to the place of the people of Ntshelala ka Godide, he took a beast and slaughtered it for his impi, which consisted of three companies. It has passed on; you have left it behind; you have crossed its path. It is clear that you should return to the umnumzane Ndube and tell him that Bambata has moved on.'

42 We then turned about. We passed the place of the people of Ndazeni. They said that Bambata's men had gone by. They had seen them carrying guns and meat of the beast which they had killed. We then returned home to Ndube. We said, 'Weu! We crossed Bambata's path.' It was sunset. Ndube said, 'All right; you may rest.'

That night a policeman arrived with the order for us to take up arms and make for the forest where Bambata now was. It was Fulatelicala ka Fokoti ka Sokufoca who came. So on the same night that we arrived back the order went out that we should arm ourselves there at Emfanaye. We armed as it was getting light on the Tuesday.

We assembled. Ndube said, 'Wo, my people, a policeman has come here with an order for the impi to arm. Bambata is now in the Nkandhla. You must arm and head for Sigananda's impi.' It too has been given the alarm and has been ordered to arm.'

So we went off in sections that were deficient in numbers. We arrived and stayed at the Nkunzane,⁵ in Sigananda's district, for the sun was setting. At dawn the next day we went up towards the Mome gorge, where Sigananda's impi was. (This was the Wednesday.) We got there and formed a circle. Sigananda's people said, 'You come here but we haven't seen Bambata. We have searched all the forests here, but we don't see him.' Then we said, 'All right, you must show us the place, and we too shall search. Since it is Sigananda's country, we should be told by Sigananda where to look, for you say that you have searched right through the forests.' 'We must go and tell Sigananda,' his izinduna said. They came back in the afternoon with his instructions that our force should go down to the Nkunzane, where we had spent the previous night, and he would summon us the next day. So we went down again to the Nkunzane.

Then Socwatsha and Mzanywa arrived. They came from Manqanda, to whom Ndube had sent them to report that he had armed his force, but that it was under strength. These men brought instructions that our impi should go down and put up at the Nkunzane; this was an order given by the white chief Mashigela.⁶ So we went down and put up there. We were told to stay there until the arrival of Mismense,⁷ who was coming with the Nongqayi,⁸ to take charge of operations. Our impi was to stay there and not go home. So we put up there. Socwatsha and Mzanywa went back and reported to Ndube at his home.

In the night, while we were asleep, an order was shouted - a man called out in the darkness - 'To arms, and go up to the top of the hill!' We awoke and asked what was being said. They told us that Sigananda had ordered the impi to take up arms; he was going to save Bambata from danger, for the whites had found out where Bambata was. Some of us went out, and assembled above the place where the king is buried.⁹ I told two men to go and report to the umumzane Ndube. They went off. I then called on our people, saying that our force, which was camped, should be summoned and assembled in one spot. They refused, saying that they would not come to us. It was Macala ka Ntobolongwana who spoke. They said, 'We agree with you; it is true that there will be trouble here, but we shall not come.' I said, 'Since they say they will not come, go and tell them that as they have refused, I am not going to go to Bambata as we have been told. I am going back. I am going to Ndube because I have not heard from him that we should fight the whites.' (It was now the Thursday.) I said, 'Ndube has told us to go and search for Bambata, because the white chiefs have ordered us to capture him. I don't know how I could be in a force that intends to go over to Bambata. I was told to capture him.' (Socwatsha: I was told that I should not capture Bambata.) 'I am going back because I don't see my way in this matter. Our house will be destroyed by the whites, and Ndube will then blame us, to whom he entrusted his impi. He will say, "The house has been destroyed because I told you to go and catch Bambata, as the white chiefs ordered." I don't want the house to be destroyed because of me, without Ndube's having told me to join Bambata.'

- 48 So we turned about and went off in the dark. It was dawning as we approached our place. We sat down. A force came out from the direction of our homes. It came and sat down. Then we related what had happened.¹⁰ 'We have returned, as it was said that Bambata should be brought out to us. But we refused, for it was said that Bambata should come to us and that we should join his impi. But we were put off by that, for we had not heard it from our ummumzane Ndube. Now we are telling you too so that you may understand. For we are returning; we shall go back with you to the ummumzane. For we sent messengers to the ummumzane in the night, and the boys who went with
- 49 the message have come back to us with his instructions that we should all return. He did not know that Sigananda is now at war with the whites. He simply called us to arms with the order to go and look for Bambata, having been told to do so by the white chiefs. But these orders are now countermanded: he says that we should return. He does not want to get involved in this matter. Sigananda had not told him that Bambata was now there. He¹¹ heard about him from the white chiefs, who had ordered him to arm as Bambata was now in the forest. He¹² sent Gelejana to him¹³ to say that his hands were tied by the white chiefs, who had ordered him to capture Bambata. That is
- 50 how the matter was. Then Maqandeyana (one of Sigananda's people) came, saying that he had been sent by Sigananda to Ndube to ask, "Why have you done nothing?" We then said, "When he sent you to say this, did you tell him¹⁴ where Bambata now is? For he had heard it from the white chiefs when they called out his impi, and he sent Gelejana to go and say that his hands were tied by the white chiefs. The ummumzane¹⁵ was not acquainted with this talk when you went to him. He was not acquainted with this talk of Bambata."
- 'As for us, we are returning home; we are not going back again. We are disavowing allegiance¹⁶ to him. You people now say that we are
- 51 deserting our chief. I say that when you say so we do not deny that we are abandoning him. For we don't know this person Bambata whom we are abandoning; we don't know what chief he belongs to, what chief you accuse us of deserting. Which chief are we deserting? This question of deserting a chief arose when Cetshwayo died. It was said then that the people were deserting their chief. Today we fail to understand when you say that we are doing the same. Which chief does Bambata belong to? This matter we know from the time of Cetshwayo.'
- So we came back. As we were returning, still others were deserting, going back where we had come out from, there in the
- 52 forest. They were deserting to Sigananda and Bambata. We returned home to the ummumzane, and told him what I have just related. When we had done this, he said, 'It's all right, for now it will be seen that they are hostile to me, as they no longer listen to my words.'
- He then sent out Mhawu and Sikusa to go and tell Manqanda that his people were deserting and going to the forest. They went out, but came back on finding a force seizing cattle at the store at Sibudeni.¹⁷ They came back without reaching the white chief Manqanda,
- 53 On their return, Msanywa and Bumbana were sent out to try again. They were told to go up the Mhlatusze and report that the men were deserting. They went out, but straightaway returned, reporting that there was no longer a way out as forces were blocking all roads.
- Then it was decided that a message should be sent to Eshowe to report that the ummumzane was cut off. Socwatsha and Mrawu got out

under cover of night and reached Misbozi¹⁸ at Eshowe (for Mashiqela was at Mpandhlent¹⁹). They arrived and related what I have just said,
 54 that Ndube's people were deserting and going to the forest, and that he wanted the white chiefs to know that he was cut off and unsure what to do.

Then these instructions were given: 'He must get away, leaving even his cattle behind. He himself must escape and come here, for the enemy forces have surrounded him and will kill him. We no longer trusted him, for we had heard that he too had deserted and that his people had gone to the forest. Now he must get out. Let him select those of his people who are loyal to him and still follow him, those who have not yet gone to the forest, and tell them that he is now going to get away.'²⁰

When Socwatsha returned, Ndube said, 'I no longer have any
 55 followers, for if I tell a person, he will inform the enemy that I am going to escape to the Government.' He said, 'He who wants to can hear for himself and follow me. The news will at once be told to the enemy. It will become known everywhere that I have gone, and they will follow me.'

He made off in the night, going down the Tukela with his three sons. (It was the Thursday.) By dawn he had got through. A boy came to call me at my home. He found that I was away; I had gone to the store to get some medicine for a child from the white man. He came up, saw me, and beckoned. I ran to him. He said, 'I have been sent
 56 by Ndube. He is now at the place of the Nyawose at his brother's home. He said I should come to tell you that he is travelling alone; that he has escaped and is making for Eshowe.'

I went off with the boy to the place of the Nyawose. When I arrived, Ndube said to me, 'Weu! I am in this condition because I have been driven out by the enemy. I see that they mean to kill me, so I am going to Eshowe.' I answered, 'Magwaza!²¹ I am going to fetch my weapons from my home. I will join you there.' I came home and summoned my people. I said, 'Weu! I have called you to say that
 57 I am going with the umnumzane to Eshowe. When I go, my cattle, together with my womenfolk and children, must make off and follow me.' The children's calabashes were tied up and made ready, and we went off with the children eating. I left and went off to the umnumzane, taking my cloak, shield, and assegai. As I set off, I said to one of my brothers, who was an old man, 'I have told you that I am going with the umnumzane to Eshowe, and not to Bambata. What do you say about it?' He said, 'Yes, I am glad that you are going with the
 58 umnumzane; that is the right thing for a man to do. It is good that men should go apart and not all go to one side.' He said this because he saw that I favoured the Government while he favoured Bambata.

I then went off, saying to him, 'There is no standing apart where you are going, to Bambata's. I see that death will follow, for I saw the whites defeat us when we fought for Cetshwayo.' He said he too would nevertheless go to the forest, where we had said they would die.

I then went off to the umnumzane. I found him where I had left him. We went off to sleep at the place of the people of Ngane ka
 59 Manepu, where they slaughtered a goat for us. Early the next day we got up and went on. When the sun was beginning to get warm, when we

HAYIYANA

were at the store, we met the impi of the place of Mfungelwa.²² We went by. They said, 'Where is the impi from the forest? We hear it is "eating up" cattle near Mpondweni²³ at the place of the people of Matanda.' We replied, 'No, we don't know. We haven't heard at all; nor did we hear of the alarm which you say was sounded in the night. We did not hear it.'

The umnumzane said to me, 'Approach the place they mention; approach by the hill and you will see Mpondweni.' I approached and
 60 saw people at Mpondweni, but did not see the impi. We then went on to the kraal of Mfungelwa. As we arrived, my people, who had been following, also arrived, and reported that the cattle had run away. The umnumzane said, 'Go back and find out where the cattle are.' The next day we went on to Eshowe. As we were going down to the Ngoje,²⁴ a son of Mapulangwe arrived from the forest with the report that the impi had 'eaten up' his people's cattle. We took him with
 61 us so that it could be reported and written down at Eshowe. We arrived at Eshowe early in the afternoon, at the time when people were coming from their midday meals.

The Ntombela people are an offshoot of the Zulus. Our chiefs are Tayiza ka Mbonambi ka Manjanja ka Nhlambela; Faku ka Ziningo ka Zwana ka (maybe Nhlambela); Lubudhlungu ka Mabamba ka Lukwazi ka Zwana.

We join the Zulu tribe with Zulu ka Mahlobo.

I do not know the origin of the Ntombela name. We originated in Zululand at Mahlabatini. I have never heard of any of our chiefs being kings.

Notes

¹Ndube's district was situated in the angle formed by the confluence of the Nsuze and Thukela rivers, on the south-west fringes of the Nkandla forest.

²Bambatha ka Mancinza was chief of the Zondi living in the Mpanza valley near Greytown. He was a principal figure in the disturbances of 1906. (See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*; Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*; and Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, pp. 72-4.) Khothongweni, a prominent hill overlooking the Thukela some fifteen miles west of the Nkandla forest, lay on one of the routes that Bambatha might have chosen to take when, in April 1906, he fled to the forest to escape the Natal Government forces.

³Manqanda was the Zulu name for B. Colenbrander, magistrate at Nkandla in 1906. See Faye, *Zulu References*, p. 22, and Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 186.

⁴Sigananda ka Zokufa was chief of the Cube people living in the Nkandla district of Zululand.

⁵A small stream running into the Nsuze river from the Nkandla forest.

⁶C.R. Saunders, Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner for Zululand. See Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 124.

⁷Col. G. Mansel, in command of the Zululand police.

⁸The Zululand Native Police.

⁹i.e. the grave of Cetshwayo, who is buried close to the Nkunzana stream.

¹⁰In the original, the sense of the remainder of this paragraph, and of the paragraph that follows, is obscured by the absence of quotation marks, of paragraphing, and of explicit references to personages. Our edited rendering in translation may therefore be misleading.

¹¹Ndube?

¹²Ndube?

¹³Sigananda?

¹⁴Ndube?

¹⁵Ndube

¹⁶The word *ambuka* used in the original means to 'break one's allegiance to or abandon one's chief', and in the period after the Anglo-Zulu war was 'commonly applied to those of Cetshwayo's people who went over to the southern side of the Umhlatuze to John Dunn and the white people'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 6.)

¹⁷East of the Nkandla forest.

¹⁸Presumably Alfred Boast, Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate at Eshowe.

¹⁹The Nkandla magistracy, north of the forest.

²⁰Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 229, gives a slightly different version, according to which Ndube fled to Eshowe after reporting to and receiving instructions from Col. G. Leuchars at Kranskop.

²¹Ndube's clan name.

²²A chief living to the south-east of Ndube's ward who fought on the Natal Government side.

²³A hill near Eshowe on the KwaMondi mission station founded by H.P.S. Schreuder of the Norwegian Mission Society.

²⁴A stream between Schreuder's mission and Eshowe.

HOYE KA SOXALASE

12.9.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, p. 37.

- 37 Mkebeni¹ (of the Felapakati regiment) ka Dabulamanzi, Hoya (of the Dakwaukwesuta regiment)² ka Soxalase ka Ngula ka Fukuzela ka Makasa ka Zombe of the Ndhlela people - associated with (lived with) the Ndwandwe tribe - and Maqama ka Mzilikazi of the Amambata people. Maqama is of the Dakwa (Dakwaukwesuta) regiment.

All these arrived at Pietermaritzburg on 10th September (Saturday). I was advised by Shuter of the fact, so went down by train (Monday 12th) and met them at Allison and Hime's office. Mkebeni is detained from coming at once, as also Maqama, but Hoya comes up to me by 5.25 p.m. train. All have been sent by Solomon³ ka Dinuzulu in accordance with my request of June last. I want them especially for the Zulu kings' eulogies.

<14.9.1921>

File 58, nbk. 26, p. 27.

Also present: Mkebeni? Maqama?

- 27 <Praises of Zulu chiefs omitted - eds.>

My father Soxalase is my informant in regard to practically all the *izibongo* I have given yesterday and today. He was of the Ndhlo-ndhlo regiment.⁴ He died in 1905 (census year). He died at Sikwe-bezi, a natural death. He used to *recite praises in the assemblies of Mpande and Cetshwayo*. I do not know who taught him. I never asked him. Dinuzulu's *izibongo* I got from other people, most of them no longer living.

Solomon is called Nkayitshana after Nzibe⁵ ka Senzangakona. Hamu was said by Mpande to have been *fathered by Nzibe*, whilst Mbuyazi was *fathered by Tshaka*.⁶ 'Nkayitshana' is not the name of anything like a bird etc. It means nothing. [Later on - 22.9.1921 - Hoya, on hearing Mkebeni, agrees that the word means a small bird like *ungcede*.]

Mnyamana⁷ said to Hamu in the great and last emergency before the Zulu war began, '*Dissuade your brother, for the country is being swept away by the water. Let Mbilini and Sirayo be taken and given to the whites.*'⁸ *Let us not fight. We shall not remain in our good houses if we are ordered to fight these whites.*'

<15.9.1921>

File 58, nbk. 26, pp. 38 - 43.

Also present: Mkebeni? Maqama?

38 <Praises of Zulu chiefs omitted - eds.>

When *bongaing* for the king takes place, say after some work for the king has been done - viz. *cutting trees and branches*, building cattle kraals or huts - and after the king has given cattle to kill, the king comes into the assembly, and seats himself, with the princes and the big, elderly *izinduna* also seated. When the *imbongi* is about to begin, all the company except the king and princes and *izinduna* rise and remain standing, each holding a stick in his hand. The stick is held upwards. They stand on being ordered to do so by an *induna*, who may say, '*Rise, and let the king's food be praised!*'

In Solomon's presence, now I, as *imbongi*, begin with him. On finishing his eulogies, I go straight on to those of Nzibe ka Senzangakona, for his praises are regarded as the proper introduction to those of the other kings. Nzibe was a royal warrior and a leader in battle. No sooner are his praises ended than I go at once to the beginning of those chiefs or kings known to me, viz. Jama, for I do not as yet know Ndaba or Punga etc. I say as I begin a king, '*I now start on -*', then *bonga* straight to the end, then say, '*That, then, was -*'. Then, '*I now start on -*', i.e. the following king, and go to the end, repeating the same words at the end, and so on in chronological order, except that Mnkabayi,⁹ being a woman, comes right at the end. If I knew Nandi's eulogies, she would come in at the end too. This was the procedure followed by Mnyamana and Hemulana¹⁰ ka Mbangezeli ka Sonqunta. Hemulana was of the Ndabakawombe regiment (*age-group of Sirayo*). He was a great *imbongi* and often took Mnyamana's place when *bongaing* had to be done in the assembly.

Not a word is uttered by any of the assembly when I am *bongaing*. Were anyone to say a word or cough etc., he would be turned out, perhaps beaten, and sent away, as well as rebuked. Nor is any response of any kind, by whistling or otherwise, made during the recitations of the eulogies. (It may be done, at the end, however.)

If the *imbongi* has gone on a very long time, the king may call on some well-known warrior to come forward and *giya*. This is done to allow the *imbongi* to break off. Were this *giyaing* to take place, that would be the signal for me that there would be no more *bongaing* that day.

The sticks stand on the ground whilst held, or are held upwards. When I have reached the end of all the eulogies, I will give the salutation, '*Bayede!*' The whole company then raise their sticks up in the air, whilst the *izinduna* and princes stand up too, and all exclaim, '*Bayede!*' together. Then, if I find it necessary or proper, I call out, '*Bayede!*' a second time, and again all do likewise.

.... <Praises of Nzibe ka Senzangakona and Hamu ka Mpande omitted - eds.>

42 [Don't you put Nzibe's praises in because Solomon is named after him?]

Mpande gave instructions that when the *imbongi* was beginning the praises of the Zulu kings he should open with those of Nzibe, and

then go on to those of the kings. He did this because Nzibe was of his house. He raised his status to that of a great chief. When a person had finished the praises of Nzibe he would go on to praise Tshaka, Ndaba, Jama, Sensangakona until they were finished. While bongaing was taking place, people would be eating.

When one began with the praises of Sensangakona, one would do so when the impi was being sent out to war. When the impi was being prepared for war, when it was going out to attack, one began with Sensangakona, Jama, Ndaba, Punga and Mageba. The ruling chief is not praised in war. It seems that one would begin with Mageba, and then go on to Punga and Ndaba, with the other chiefs following in the order of their succession. When one had finished Sensangakona, one would go on to Nzibe; then would follow Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, and then one would go on to Mnkabayi.

The imbongi dresses up in all sorts of finery. I have no distinctive uniform of my own as imbongi.

Cetshwayo's imbongi was Mahlangeni of the Kumalo. He was Cetshwayo's great imbongi. I never saw him. He was killed at Msebe.¹¹

43 A battle in which a person was defeated is never mentioned in his praises, only a battle in which he was victorious.

This is a general rule. The Msebe fight is never included in the praises of Dinuzulu, for it was his impi that fled. Nor is the fight at Mahlabatini (Ondini) mentioned in his praises; it is Zibebu who has that battle included in his praises.¹²

Izibongo have their origins in events associated with war. Those of Cetshwayo are so long because of his fight at Ndondakusuka with Mbuyazi.¹³ Those of Mpande are also very long. He earned them when he fought Dingana at Maqongqo.¹⁴

Izibongo are learned over the smoking horn, when people are sitting smoking. Today they are still learned like that; even those of Nkayitshana are learned there.¹⁵

Order of izibongo when bongaing food¹⁶

- 1 Solomon
- 2 Nzibe
- 3 Tshaka
- 4 Dingana
- 5 Mpande
- 6 Cetshwayo
- 7 Dinuzulu
- 8 Mageba
- 9 Punga
- 10 Ndaba
- 11 Jama
- 12 Sensangakona
- 13 Mnkabayi
- 14 Nandi

Order of izibongo when sending out the army or when Solomon gets married or one of his sisters gets married

- 1 Mageba
- 2 Punga
- 3 Ndaba
- 4 Jama
- 5 Sensangakona

- 6 Nzibe
- 7 Shaka
- 8 Dingana
- 9 Mpande
- 10 Cetshwayo
- 11 Dinuzulu
- 12 Mnkabayi

Questions¹⁷

- Has Solomon got an *inkata*? Where kept etc.? Had Dinuzulu one?
- Names of Dinuzulu's sons and daughters?
- How many wives had he?
- How many kraals?
- Cetshwayo's daughters and kraals?
- What is order of *izibongo* when of great chiefs of the past?
- Dinuzulu's mother's *izibongo*?
- Who was Dinuzulu's principal *imbongi*?
- Has Solomon a chief wife yet?
- He has 4 wives - daughters of whom?
- Did marriage take place?
- What houses has Solomon - i.e. buildings at oSutu or at Mahashini?
- Best way to get to oSutu?

Dinuzulu's kraals¹⁸

- Usutu (also called Mkontweni)
- Mahashini
- Mpisendhlini
- Kwa Nengwa
- Ensindeni
- Ezinhlendhlani
- Nobamba
- Gqikazi
- ekuBazeni
- ekuBuseni - one of Cetshwayo's
- Esikalenisenyoka

Dinuzulu's daughters

- Zakomunyi
- Magogo - *follows Nkayitshana in age*
- Mpapu
- and many others

Dinuzulu's sons

- Nkayitshana
- David (Daviti) or Nyawana
- Mtshiyeni
- Mdhlenevu
- Mngunywana
- Magangeni
- Mpembeni
- Tshelwendodo
- Mnkunzi
- Nswabo
- and many others

{Dinuzulu's wives numbered, about 70.

16.9.1921

File 58, nbk. 26, pp. 44-5.

- 44 Solomon has one kraal only so far - Ezibindini zi ka Zulu - which is at Nobamba, near Nobamba kraal. Dinuzulu's *inkata* was kept at Gqikazi. Solomon has not yet got an *inkata*. Of Dinuzulu's kraals given {above}, those underlined were first built by himself, the others by Cetshwayo, except Nobamba, which was Ndaba's, and Gqikazi, the place of those attached to Cetshwayo, {which was established, by Mpande.

Cetshwayo's sons

Dinuzulu

Manzolwandhle

Cetshwayo's daughters in order of birth

1 Sililo - *married* Ngubo ka Sidubeko ka Sobuza (Swaziland)

2 Simiso - *married* Maboko ka Masipula¹⁹

3 Sabede - *married* Mehlwana ka Sikonyana, successor to Ntshingwayo near Eshowe²⁰

4 Siyele - not married yet

5 Bekisile - not married; don't know why. Lives at oSutu.

6 Nomandhlambi - *married* Vusindhlu ka Mnqandi²¹

Ndabuko²² had only two sons: Mnyaiza and Maqengqetshwana. Hamu, too, had only two sons: Kambi and Madakavane.

When Solomon gets married, he himself is not included among those whose praises are recited. I never recited praises before Dinuzulu. I was still unsure of myself, although I knew them. I have *bonga'd* at length on many occasions, e.g. when Sililo and Nomandhlambi got married; when Mgixo ka Ziwe du got married; also when Citekani ka Ziwe du married,²³ and I have *bonga'd* many times when wood has been cut by order and building of cattle kraals etc. done. Solomon has appointed me his professional herald.

- 45 Dinuzulu's *imbongi* was Sehla ka Ndengezi ka Manzini ka Tshana. Sehla was of the *Kwentu* age-group, which was followed in age by the *Kandempemvu*, i.e. Sitambi ka Masipula's regiment. Sehla *bonga'd* Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu well, but Mpande's he knew indifferently, as also Tshaka's and Dingana's. There was also Sobedase of the Qwabe, of the Mboza regiment. He is dead now. Solomon once set me to compete with Sehla, but I subdued him completely, for he only knew Dinuzulu and Cetshwayo. I know as much as he knew of Dinuzulu and Cetshwayo.

Solomon has not yet appointed a chief wife; all are still without designated status. He does not like marrying those who do up their hair. Solomon learnt to write when in the Transvaal with Dinuzulu. His four wives are: a daughter of Ruqeni ka Somapunga of the Ndwanwe; a daughter of Mbulawa ka Mnyamana of the Butelezi; a daughter of Shibilika ka Sibukula of the Ndebele; a daughter of Sintwangu ka -- <sic> of the Cele. All are real wives, and they have children. All {live in} huts in Usutu (new) kraal, but at Mahashini a big house of stone is being built. There are also *kolwa* houses²⁴ there.

He is accustomed to living most at Mahashini. His *secretary* is Gilbert Zulu (Gilibete), son of Ngcongwana ka Mqundane ka Nobongoza ka Jama. Gilbert is of the Felapakati regiment.

20.9.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 48-9.

- 48 *The salutation 'Bayede!' is not made to the successor before he has become chief, before he has been cleansed in the cattle enclosure. When the chieftainship is to be conferred on him, the people of the land are summoned in great numbers. They form a circle. The new chief is led inside the circle and placed before the people. He stands with the great izinduna. Then the chief induna speaks, saying, 'Here he is. I present him to you. Salute him; say to him, "Bayede!" Today I am conferring on him the chieftainship. He is a chief; he is no longer a child. I say to you, salute him with the word "Bayede!" I call on him to be cleansed in the cattle enclosure with the medicines of chieftainship. Protect him; strengthen him; listen to the word he speaks.' Then the command is given, 'Salute him with the word "Bayede!"' Then the people salute, saying, 'Bayede! The great one!'*
- 49 *He will no longer be saluted with the word 'Ndabezita!'. When people salute him they will say, 'Stem of the nation!', or 'Great lion, devourer of men!'. All this I saw being done to Dinuzulu at Sihlute, when the army was about to leave for Tshanini. It was Mnyamana who spoke. I saw it done again by Mankulumana at Nobamba, after the death of Dinuzulu when Solomon was being installed.*

It is the heir who begins the digging of the grave. It is he who first turns the soil, then the digging is done by others. He is also the first to eat the medicines that are eaten when a chief has died.

Solomon has a kraal called Nsindeneni, near Nkonjeni.

21.9.1921

File 58, nbk. 25, p. 21.

- 21 <Praise of Mpande omitted - eds.>

When Dambuza was sent by Dingana to Mpande,²⁵ who was with the whites, Mpande asked for snuff. He said, 'Son of Somidhli, give me some snuff from your snuffbox, the snuff you used to take when you sat at the gate at Mgungundhlovu, remarking as you did so that the king had no younger brothers left, that he had completely finished off the sons of Senzangakona.' The tears fell from Mpande as he cried. He told the Boers, 'All that has been done to you stemmed from this fellow, who, when he spoke, was never contradicted by the king.'

Notes

¹Another of Stuart's informants.

²Formed 1902; age-group born 1869-78.

³Nkayishana or Maphumuzana, son of Dinuzulu; principal heir in the Zulu royal line; appointed chief of the Suthu section of the Zulu, 13.3.1916.

- ⁴Formed c.1857; age-group born c.1837.
- ⁵Nzibe was a younger full brother of Mpande. He died on the Bhalule campaign to Soshangana's country in 1828. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 670.
- ⁶Hamu and Mbuyazi are normally accepted as being sons of Mpande.
- ⁷Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele of the Buthelezi people, Cetshwayo's chief *izinduna*.
- ⁸For a brief account of the significance of Mbilini and Sihayo in the events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 see Brookes and Webb, History of Natal, ch. 13.
- ⁹Daughter and eldest surviving child of Jama; full sister of Senza-ngakhona; aunt to Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.
- ¹⁰A prominent figure closely associated with Mnyamana.
- ¹¹The Msébe battle was fought in March 1883 when Cetshwayo's Suthu followers, apparently without his knowledge, launched a surprise attack on Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi. In the battle the Suthu were completely routed.
- ¹²The reference is to Zibhebhu's attack on Ulundi in July 1883, in which the Suthu were routed.
- ¹³In December 1856 near the mouth of the Thukela.
- ¹⁴In January 1840.
- ¹⁵For comments on the role of smoking in Zulu society see Vilakazi, Zulu Proverbs, p. 206.
- ¹⁶This and the following lists appear on p. 43 of the original as a miscellany of tabulations and insertions. We give these lists in what seems to be the most appropriate sequence.
- ¹⁷Some of the answers to this list of questions appear on p. 43 of the original, under date 15.9.1921, as arrowed insertions. On these we have imposed our own order and headings. Other answers are recorded in the evidence that appears on pp. 44 & 45 under date 16.9.1921.
- ¹⁸Stuart's underlining of names in this list is explained on p. 44 of the original.
- ¹⁹Masiphula was one of Mpande's chief *izinduna*.
- ²⁰Bryant, Olden Times, p. 275, gives Mehlwana as the grandson, not son, of Sikhonyana, chief of the Khoza. Ntshingwayo was a son of Sikhonyana and served as regent during Mehlwana's minority. He should not be confused with his kinsman Ntshingwayo ka Mahole who commanded the Zulu forces at Sandlwana in 1879. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 106.
- ²¹In the Report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1906-7, one of the witnesses listed is a chief from the Vryheid district named Vusindhlu.
- ²²A son of Mpande.
- ²³Ziwedu was a son of Mpande.
- ²⁴Presumably houses built on the European model.
- ²⁵Dambuza was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. In January 1840, when the combined forces of Mpande and the Natal Voortrekkers were invading the Zulu kingdom, he was sent by Dingane to negotiate. He was taken captive by the Trekkers and executed. See Theal, History of S.A. since 1795, vol. 2, pp. 342-4.

JANTSHI KA NONGILA

<The great bulk of Jantshi's evidence as given below is taken from Stuart's own transcription of rough notes which he recorded in notebooks 13-17, File 60. In three places we have inserted passages from the rough notes which he omitted from his transcription. Typescript copies of the transcription are to be found in Files 14 and 41 - eds.>

9.2.1903. 2 Norfolk Villas, Durban.

File 70, pp. 54-5.

Also present: Ndukwana. Mbovu? Another?

- 54 After having to send Ndukwana to Stanger and Mapumulo for him, Jantshi ka Nongila arrived today about 2.40 p.m. He arrived with his son. Mbovu, a man (*koluxa*) from Amanzimtoti, also came to see me.

Jantshi speaks: I was born at Nyezane in Zululand and am of the same age as the Kandempemvu regiment.¹ My father's name was Nongila; he was a spy under Senzangakona, Tshaka, Dingana and Mpande. He belonged to the Ntontela regiment.² He crossed over into Natal in Mpande's reign, being then tired of the duties of a spy. I of course knew him well, for he only died when Cetshwayo was living at Eshowe after the return from England. Part of the *isibongo* that I will presently recite I learnt from him, as well as other historical facts.

Dingiswayo's father was Jobe, and Jobe's father was Kali. I cannot go beyond this. Among Dingiswayo's sons were Mngoye, Somveli (heir), Mgcobo, Cakijana. [Ndukwana added the latter two. Ndukwana also said Sokwetshata was a son of Myandeya ka Mbiya ka Tshangana.³]

- According to what has been told me, Bekapezulu was the first.⁴ This man had a son Mntungwa, whilst Mntungwa's son was Nnja. Now it so happened that the Lembe people, fought with Nnja and gave him the opprobrious name Lufenulwenja.⁵ Nnja had a son, Malandela, whilst Malandela had two sons called Zulu and Qwabe. The two last formed the heads of separate branches. Zulu had three sons, Mageba, Punga, and
55 Ndaba, who stood in the Zulu dynasty in the same way that Tshaka, Dingana, and Mpande did; i.e. they were three brothers.

I deny that Ntombela was a king of the Zulu tribe. Nor was Nkosenkulu ever a *king* in the Zulu tribe. I never heard of his reigning. [Cf. Miss Colenso's list of kings.]⁶

Disliking the name Lufenulwenja, Tshaka caused it to die out. This name, originally a man's name, had in course of time become an *isibongo* of the whole tribe. Tshaka substituted for it the *isibongo* 'Ndabezita', which he took over from people he had conquered in war, viz. the Mbata tribe. The same *isibongo* belonged likewise to the

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Kumalo people.

I do not know where the graves of Bekapezulu, Mntungwa, or Nnja are. As for the Lembe tribe referred to, it is not yet extinct. There are members of it living about among other tribes of Zululand to this day, but they have no recognized chief or head.

My father's *isibongo* was Mabaso. This tribe still exists; it has chiefs and many members.

In the far off past there were many *chiefs*.

The idea got about among the Zulu tribe that Nongila, my father, was a *Zulu by descent* from the fact that when Tshaka required spies he said he wanted them from his old tribal people living at Mtonjneni. Nongila did not come forward to offer his services. Tshaka repeated his wish and still Nongila, who had lived many years in the tribe, would not come. Tshaka then asked him why he refrained from coming forward, when Nongila replied, 'Because I saw so many others of the Zulu tribe about.' 'Oh! but you too belong to the tribe. You must become one of my spies.' And so it came about that Nongila was looked on as a hereditary member of the tribe, whereas in fact he belonged to that of Mabaso.

The Mabaso and Zulu tribes *originated* at Nhlazatshe (but nearer Ntabankulu and close to the White Umfolozi), where stone walls were erected for cattle kraals. My father told me this. The Zulu tribe moved gradually on to the White Umfolozi valley, such movement being due to nothing but an innate tendency in people to move on and on.

10.2.1903 - <evidence given 9.2.1903>

File 70, p. 56.

Also present: Ndukwana

56 Yesterday's talk with Jantshi continued.

I have said I really belong to the Mabaso people though I have lived all my life among the Zulu tribe. The following are names of Mabaso chiefs who occur to me: Nhlabati, father of Mabedhla, father of Luwamba. There are of course others, but I forget them. Then there are Ndabankulu and Mncakwana who are also chiefs and living near Weenen (Nobamba, Natal). These are, I believe, sons of the above-named Luwamba.

Baleni, Ndukwana says, is a son of Luwamba. He lived in Nqutu district near the Batshwa river.

We speak of the Qwabe people as *those from down-country*.⁷ We *originated up-country from them*. In conversing with them we say we *came down with a grain basket*.⁸ Their dialect too slightly differs from ours.

Malandela, the ancient Zulu king, was, I am sure, buried in Zululand, though I am quite unable to indicate where his grave is.

Qwabe separated from Zulu and came south. I do not know how they came to separate and, hearing of no quarrel, do not suppose that any kind of disagreement between them was the cause.

I know of no Zulu kings' graves at Nhlazatshe, nor near the White Umfolozi and Ntabankulu, where I say the Zulu tribe originally

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lived. The Zulu tribe came into existence in what is now Zululand. We have always lived in that country and do not come from another land. The land now known as belonging to the Mapiseni people at Nhlazatshe is what was built on by the Zulu people in the old days.

Mabedhla, the Mabaso chief, decided the Mabaso tribe should divide into two sections - Mabaso and Mapisi. I do not recollect who became chief of the Mapisi. Luwamba afterwards objected to the division which had taken place because he married a girl of the tribe, speaking of her as out of the tribe. Under Zulu custom no-one could marry within the tribe. We consequently find instances of kings and other heads, just because they want to marry a particular girl, splitting the tribe up by speaking of her section of it as 'apart' from his own. Ndukwana concurs.

12.2.1903 - evidence given 10.2.1903

File 70, pp. 58-60.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 58 Jantshi speaks: The vulgar saying,
Wa bek' isigonogono sennja,
*Si hlonywe nge nduku ya maNtungwa,*⁹
has in it four ancient names, viz. Beka (for Bekapezulu), Sigonogono, Nja, Mntungwa, and these were names of persons (ancestors) of the Zulu tribe.

- 59 The Zulu tribe. We are 'Sutu' because we *originated up-country*. The Qwabe people came south to near where the Mtetwa people lived. In speaking to the Mtetwa we referred to ourselves as 'Sutu', simply because we came from near the Sutu people, not because we are really members of that race.

*'Ofa mkozi'*¹⁰ is an expression used at the beginning of a conversation by the ancient Zulu people. The old dialect at first spoken by the Zulu tribe is still to be heard near Nhlazatshe among the Mapiseni, an offshoot of the Mabaso tribe to which I belong. The Mabaso and Zulu tribes *originated in one place*. The Kumalo and Butelezi peoples also *originated* in the same place.

At Ntabankulu and Nhlazatshe (in that neighbourhood), the Zulu, Mabaso, Kumalo and Butelezi people [Cube - see Sigananda's evidence] used to build the kraals of their respective kraals <sic> close to one another, more or less in a line, and in that way occupy a single long ridge. I, says Jantshi, visited the district and there saw many old kraal sites in a line. These were pointed out to me by a very old woman as being those of the tribe. This mode of living was employed to enable the members of the tribe to be quickly called together in case of sudden attack by a foe at night or in the day-time.

Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo *quarrelled with* Zibizendhlela, his brother. Zibizendhlela ran away, no-one knew where to, and for years after people used to be frightened on hearing the rumour 'Here's Zibizendhlela', which would cause people to go off and sleep in the veld.

Dingiswayo caused great unrest in the country. People were scattered in every direction. Finding he was so powerful, Zwide gave

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him a girl in marriage. She was directed by him to get some of his semen into an *umfece* [used as snuffboxes - butterflies enter it - Colenso calls it a 'large cocoon' - see Dictionary] and bring it back with her. The girl did so. Zwide accordingly *used it to get power over* Dingiswayo, and one day the latter went out from his kraal and, without waiting for his *impi*, proceeded straight on to Zwide's, where he was arrested and put to death. Zwide wanted to leave Dingiswayo alone, but Zwide's mother, Ntombaze, said he ought to be killed, 'for if you allow him to live he will kill you.' Dingiswayo was thereupon put to death.

<12.2.1903> - evidence given 11.2.1903

File 70, pp. 60-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

On 11.2.1903, yesterday, Jantshi, in Ndukwana's presence, spoke as follows of the history of Tshaka - birth, wanderings, accession and conquests:

My father told me he was *in the Zulu country* when Tshaka was born, and was a man at the time of his birth.

Before being allowed to marry, Senzangakona went out *herding* cattle with others; these were not boys but men. [Socwatsha says Dingana was the first to start the *practice of making marriage dependent upon the king's permission*¹¹ - April 1916.] The cattle were *herded* near Mbengi's kraal, the chief or king of the Langeni people. There the young men built *temporary shelters*, and there gathered many stones, playing with them at *games of war*. The girls of the Langeni came to hear that these men were *herding* and that a son of the chief was among them. The girls then made a *practice of going there, hiding themselves so that they were not seen by the Zulu youths*. After a time the place where they used to hide became trodden out and also began to smell of food. The Zulu youths eventually discovered that people frequented this spot near where they with Senzangakona herded their cattle, and that they brought food with them there. They said to themselves, 'Let these people that sit about here be watched to see where they come from.' They accordingly laid in wait and saw that girls came to the spot. On seeing them, Senzangakona's party went to them. When they saw the men approaching, the girls wanted to run off, but the young men *intercepted* them and asked, 'Why do you come and sit here?' They answered, 'We just come to sit and watch.' 'What is it that you come to see?' 'Oh nothing; we have just come to see the child of the chief who is said to be here.' 'Can you point him out? Do you know which he is?' The girls replied, 'We can point him out.' 'Then come and do so, as you say you know him,' the young men exclaimed. They then conducted the girls to the shelters where they were staying. Those in these temporary huts then came out, including Senzangakona, Zivalele, Sitayi and others,¹² and stood waiting. The youths said, 'Point him out. Which is he?' Thereupon a girl named Nandi pointed him out and said, 'That is Senzangakona.' 'But what do you see in him that you should point him out in this way?' 'I do so because I like him,' said the girl. They all then entered the huts. Nandi entered Senzangakona's, whilst the other girls entered other huts with the

remaining young men.

13.2.1903 - <evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 61-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

After this the girls, day by day, used to come to this spot to amuse themselves and pass away their time. In the course of a few weeks Mbengi,¹³ finding that Nandi had become pregnant (she had at first stated she was suffering from an illness known as *itshaka* or *itshati*), sent a report to that effect to Mudhli.¹⁴ Mudhli asked why such report had been made to him. The messengers replied, 'He acquaints you of this because the girl stated she liked the son of the chief.' Mudhli retorted, 'Is that the case?' 'Yes', they answered. Mudhli then said, 'All right, then please look after that, in case it turns out to be a child. We of the Zulu tribe would be glad if it should happen to be a boy.' The men from the Langeni then went off and there, for the time being, the matter rested.

Later on, messengers again came to Mudhli to say the girl had been delivered of a child and it was a boy. Mudhli was pleased at this and said, 'On no account let his mother suckle him.' I think this must have been done because royalty were not allowed, by custom, to be suckled by their mothers.

Mudhli secretly informed Senzangakona's mother¹⁵ of what had taken place. She then used to send a piece of string to where the child was in order to see how big its waist was. All this time the members of the kraal at which Senzangakona's mother lived knew nothing of what had happened. When the child had grown a little, Senzangakona's mother dispatched a man to fetch and bring it to her, which was done. But this act took place at night, and the circumstances appearing to the night guards of the *isigodhlo* of a strange character, they paid special attention. My father said to me, 'I cannot think how the persons referred to came to see that there was a child in the hut.' The persons who saw this belonged to the Zulu tribe. It was the custom to have night guards so as to detect those committing adultery etc. However the incident came to be noticed, the *guardians* of Senzangakona all came to hear of it, and an *impi* was sent to Senzangakona's mother's kraal the next day to kill off the child, seeing that, at that time, Senzangakona had not been
62 allowed to marry. Senzangakona's mother had caused *mats* to be set up at the back of the hut behind which the child was set and where she used to play with it. It was not allowed to sit out in the open in the hut.

Before this *impi* had been sent forth, a report reached Senzangakona's mother to the effect that somehow people had come to hear of the existence of the child there and whose it was. She was advised to have it taken away and sent back to its mother among the Langeni. Senzangakona's mother acted at once on the advice given her.

Two men, on the following day, preceded the *impi* referred to and, making their way to Senzangakona's mother, asked what she had hidden away behind the mats in her hut. The *impi* at this time was close up to the kraal. The two men looked about but found nothing. Whilst they were so engaged the *impi*, in large numbers, arrived and, after searching about the kraal for the child and not finding it, they

proceeded at once to destroy the kraal and the members thereof. People were put to death but Senzangakona's mother somehow escaped being killed. My father gave the very names of those who went with this *impi*, for he knew them, but I have forgotten them. Now the name of this kraal was Mfemfe (*Hamu's home kraal*), but the name was changed by Senzangakona to that of Mangeni, because lies had been told there.

The child was Tshaka. Now as regards the name Tshaka, I took care to question my father specially about it. He said he got the name from the ailment from which his mother Nandi was at first said to be suffering, before it became evident she was pregnant, viz. *itshaka*. My father said *itshati* by some was called *itshaka* by others in those early days. My father Nongila said that if a person had what is now known as *ikambi*, she was spoken of as having *itshaka*.¹⁶ The same expression was used in regard to a girl who had by accident, become *enceinte* before marriage. The *illegitimate child* she had *produced* was also spoken of as *itshaka*. My father drew my attention to the fact that we come from the north and that our dialect is different from what it used to be. He also said that some spoke of *itshaka* as *itshati*. He himself used the word *itshaka* and it was from the circumstances under which Tshaka was conceived that he was so named. The child Tshaka was taken back to the Langeni. There he grew up. When the Mfemfe (Mangeni) kraal was attacked as described, Nandi went off and married Gendeyana¹⁷ by whom she had a son named Ngwadi.

Senzangakona was shortly after allowed to marry. He then had the following sons: Dingana, Mpande, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mqubana, Mhlanguano, Sigujana, Nzibe, Sankoye, and others. Tshaka at a later time said to the last-named, 'You are too ugly to be called my brother, so go away.' He, Tshaka, thereupon made him a present of cattle and Sankoye went to live a long distance off. After some years, however, Sankoye visited Tshaka, wanting to see his elder brother as he had so long been parted from him. All Tshaka said was, 'Did I not tell you not to come here?' And he thereupon gave orders for him to be put to death.

When Tshaka had grown up and become an *insizwa* among the Langeni, Senzangakona came to hear of him and that he had become an *insizwa*. My father says Senzangakona then wanted to send to the Langeni people for Tshaka, but Mudhli, hearing of this intention, secretly dispatched a man - his *inceku* - so that Tshaka, by seeing the man, might afterwards know him. This *inceku* carried the following message to Tshaka: 'Mudhli says you are about to be summoned to the country of the Zulu, but do not, when you arrive there, sit down. Remain standing. You will,' the *inceku* continued, 'see me there on your arrival. I shall wink at you if there is any danger and, should you see me do this, you must make off immediately.'

The invitation from Senzangakona arrived in due course among the Langeni. Tshaka accordingly came to the Zulu country, accompanied by about 20 *izinsizwa* of his own age. All had armed themselves with large war shields. They found the Zulu seated outside in a semi-circle. I believe this took place at the Mfemfe kraal where Senzangakona's mother lived. As soon as Tshaka and his companions arrived, they took up a position some yards off and there continued standing. Tshaka stood forth from his followers, a little in front of them. He then glanced about among the Zulu people and discovered

64 Mudhli's *inceku* winking at him, the *inceku* being seated behind Mudhli. The *izinsizwa* with Tshaka had stood their shields *with the projecting sticks* on their feet in an upright position. On seeing the *inceku* wink, the party turned right about with their shields and made off towards their homes. When Tshaka arrived *back among the Langeni*, he did not stop there any longer but went on at once to Dingiswayo's district among the Mtetwa.

I should have remarked that whilst living among the Langeni, Tshaka had a quarrel with a cousin of his (my father mentioned the name - I forget it) about some stones. The cousin took away a stone belonging to Tshaka. On Tshaka's demanding the return of it, his cousin got angry and refused to give it up. Tshaka thereupon proceeded to the cattle belonging to the kraal at which this cousin lived and deliberately stabbed one of them to death. His cousin asked why, because of a quarrel about a stone, he should go and stab a beast. Tshaka after this *left* and went to the Qwabe. He was obliged to go because there was a good deal of ill-feeling about his killing the beast in this way. Tshaka went now and lived with a man who had *built for Gendeyana*, his mother Nandi's husband. I forget the name of this man. Tshaka spent some time here. Here again, however, he had another quarrel. He quarrelled with a boy belonging to the man he had gone to live with. This boy retaliated by *insulting* him in the following terms 'What sort of little *Ntungwa* is this, the one with the little half-cocked penis?' Tshaka became angry, especially because these opprobrious expressions were similar to those the Lembe people had formerly used in respect of his ancestors. He then left and went back to live among the Langeni. When the quarrel above referred to between Tshaka and his cousin took place, the journey by Tshaka and his party to the Zulu on Senzangakona's invitation had not taken place.

From the Langeni Tshaka now went to the Mtetwa tribe where he grew into manhood. He lived in Ngomane's kraal, son of Mqomboli.¹⁸ Ngomane was already an old man when Tshaka went to the Zulu as king. I do not know if Mqomboli was living when Tshaka fled to Dingiswayo's. Tshaka here became a *warrior* and he went out with the *impi* to fight in many directions.

Tshaka went to Dingiswayo *when he was approaching the age of an insizwa*, and stayed there until he was a full-grown man. He made himself a reputation there.

11.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 14, p. 1.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 Senzangakona *buta'd* the Ntontela regiment, but when Tshaka came to the throne he *buta'd* a regiment he called the Dhlangubo, and this he threw into the Ntontela. Continuing the same name, the regiment came to be looked on as first enlisted by himself.

<13.2.1903 - evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 65-7.

Also present: Ndukwana

65 My father belonged to and lived with the Zulu people, and so did not know what took place at Mtetwa. Ngomane would have known that.

Magidi,¹⁹ a chief in the Lower Tugela Division, is a son of Ngomane ka Mqomboli. He would probably know something about that part of Tshaka's career which was passed or spent among the Mtetwa. [Knows very little indeed - J.S.]

Tshaka was known by Dingiswayo as *'He whose fame spreads even while he is sitting; the ilembe which surpasses other amalembes'*. I do not know what *ilembe* means. Ndukwana suggests it might have something to do with an *igeja* (hoe) in allusion to his stabbing so freely in battle.²⁰

After some years Senzangakona decided to go down to Dingiswayo's to look for a new wife. When Dingiswayo saw him he specially invited him to come at a later time and join in festivities he was going to bring about in the shape of a public dance. Senzangakona proceeded home and informed his brothers Zivalele and Sitayi, and also the important men Mudhli and Menziwa (father of Mvundhlana)²¹ and other people, of the invitation.

Senzangakona thereupon went back to Dingiswayo's with the heads of his tribe and many ordinary members, including my father Nongila. Nothing took place on the day of his arrival. It was arranged that the dance should take place the day following. The next day Senzangakona and his party danced first. After he had concluded, Dingiswayo's people danced. Whilst Dingiswayo's party were dancing, Tshaka was shut up in the calf pen out of sight of the Zulu people. This had been arranged by Dingiswayo. When dancing had been going on some time, Dingiswayo came forward and said, *'Where is the hoe that surpasses other hoes?'* He thereupon directed someone to go and open the pen for him and, as the messenger proceeded to carry out the instruction, Dingiswayo sang out his praises. Tshaka then came out of the pen carrying his war shield of one colour. It had pieces of skins of various wild animals placed in those holes in the shield caused by assegai thrusts. In Tshaka's shield the following skins were used for this purpose: meercat (like a mongoose, but smaller), mongoose, and genet.

- 66 Tshaka came out and then began at once to *giya*. As he did so, Dingiswayo shouted his praises. Whilst *giyaing*, he ran round and round in circles and eventually ended off in front of Senzangakona where he stood still. He then said to his father, *'Father, give me an assegai, and I shall fight great battles for you.'* His father directed assegais to be fetched from the huts. A pile was accordingly brought. Senzangakona said, *'Take one yourself.'* Tshaka replied, *'No, let it come from your hand; I cannot take it myself.'* Senzangakona thereupon felt a number, one by one, and deciding on one, gave it to Tshaka. Tshaka, after getting the assegai, resumed his *giyaing*, and when he had finished he walked off in a certain direction in which it appeared Dingana, Sigujana, Mhlangano, Ngqojana, Mpande, and Maqubana were seated. He then went up to Sigujana and, tapping him on the head with his assegai, said, *'Greetings, my brother.'* Sigujana responded. They conversed a little, after which Tshaka went off and joined the dancing party, taking part in the dance.

The entertainment came to an end. All dispersed and went to their huts. Senzangakona did the same, going to the huts set apart for himself. All partook of meat and beer, and retired to rest. At night,

when all were asleep, Tshaka went out and got on top of Senzangakona's hut and there washed himself with *medicines* given him by Dingiswayo. The water dripped through the hut onto Senzangakona. He woke and at once roused those in the hut and told them to go out and see what that was on the hut which appeared to be washing itself there. As they opened the door they heard a person jump off the hut and run away. It being a moonlight night, they saw the person running away. They saw it was Tshaka. Senzangakona was then *overcome by fear*. He *became sick in the night*. The next day he was ill. He sent men to report to Dingiswayo that he was ill and was going off home. Dingiswayo then came with Tshaka and others to Senzangakona's hut to bid him goodbye as he was going away. Senzangakona told Dingiswayo that what had caused him to be ill was a man washing on top of the hut and the water dripping on to him. The two then *talked of affairs*. Dingiswayo then said to Mudhli and Zivalele in Senzangakona's presence, '*Take good care of this person for me,*' pointing at Tshaka. They replied, '*Au, nkosi, must we look after* 67 *him too, while we are still caring for this one?*', indicating Senzangakona. They then *made their farewells* and went off with Senzangakona to their homes.

They got home and, after (they had spent) some days there, an *impi* went out to fight against that of Donda, *chief of the Kumalo*. At the fight which took place Sigujana was struck with an assegai on the head at the very spot where Tshaka, on greeting him at the dance, had tapped him with his assegai. Sigujana succumbed to his injury.

14.2.1903 - <evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 67-70.

Also present: Ndukwana

The Zulu *impi* then retreated to their homes, where they remained. This was in summer. When winter came round, Senzangakona died. Tshaka then *went up* from the Mtetwa tribe to that of the Zulus. On the occasion of his going up, Dingiswayo directed Tshaka to kill Mudhli and Zivalele 'because they do not like you'. Dingiswayo also gave him Ngomane ka Mqomboli,²² saying, '*This is your father,*' and also allowed him to take a considerable following of people. Tshaka then came to the Zulu country with Ngomane. He slept one night, and the next day an *impi* was sent off to kill Mudhli. After putting him to death it returned to Tshaka at the late Senzangakona's kraal. On the day following it was sent to put Zivalele to death. After these two incidents, all Tshaka's brothers gave him their allegiance through fear of him, and the whole tribe *konza'd* and accepted their new king.

Tshaka's next act was to send a messenger to Pakatwayo, the king of the Qwabe people, to *ask for grain* because, having only just arrived, neither Tshaka nor his people had had time to do any cultivation. On receiving this application, Pakatwayo at once insulted Tshaka in the following terms: '*The little Nguni who wears as a penis cover the fruit-shell used for snuffboxes. Where did he get an impi from? Is the impi from up-country like the rain? It is nothing but a little string of beads that doesn't even reach to the ears*' (meaning that his followers were so few). '*The Nguni who, when mixing food, held it in his left hand and the spoon in his right,*

and had to hit the dog with his head.²³ He would not give the grain.

68 The insulting reply caused Tshaka to be very angry. He went outside and cried until tears fell and the *isigodhlo* also cried. The persons who brought the impudent message arrived at sunset. Tshaka at once called his *impi* together and said to them, '*I have been insulted by the Qwabe. Take up your arms and assemble here in the night.*' His warriors arrived as directed, and the next day his army took up its weapons early, was drawn up, given its orders, and despatched. It then went off and straightway attacked Pakatwayo. Tshaka himself went with it. He looked on at the fight that took place. He noticed where Pakatwayo had taken up his position. Pakatwayo's *impi* was quickly overcome, when Tshaka directed his men to go and make Pakatwayo prisoner, pointing, as he spoke, to where he was. Pakatwayo was readily caught and Tshaka went after his *impi* to where he was. They found Pakatwayo seated on the ground with his head buried in his folded arms. Tshaka arrived to see his prisoner surrounded by his (Tshaka's) warriors. When Tshaka came close up, Pakatwayo looked up and, as he saw Tshaka, was seized with fear. Tshaka then said, '*Take him away to his home.*' Pakatwayo was then carried off to his kraal by the *impi*, which chanted war songs as it went. He was set down at his home. Tshaka returned to his tribe, and on the day following the battle it was found that Pakatwayo was dead, having apparently been killed by fear alone.

Tshaka now rested a little and presently attacked Mzilikazi ka Matshobana who lived near the Mkuze, south side [where, as Ndukwana adds, it joins the Nkongolwana stream]. Tshaka had had no quarrel with Mzilikazi. He was merely an ambitious man who wanted to become wealthy in cattle and have numerous followers. He met Mzilikazi's forces, fought and defeated them, Mzilikazi and the majority of his people fleeing north.

After again resting a short time, Tshaka sent his *impi* to Dube of the Qadini at the place of Mqawe's people. Here too there had been no quarrel. He defeated Dube. This tribe did not flee but paid taxes and Tshaka seized a number of their cattle. Tshaka came home and rested.

He now engaged Pungatshe of the Butelezi and defeated him. He fought Donda (part of this man's praise is '*we siziba*'²⁴) of the Kumalo. Tshaka defeated him and ate up his cattle. The victors returned and rested.

69 It was about this time that Dingiswayo attacked Zwide. The two forces fought till sunset without the one defeating the other. When Zwide found he could not get the better of Dingiswayo, he gave a daughter to him in marriage and, when she went, Zwide told her when having intercourse with him to put into a snuffbox [see (above)] some of his semen. After accomplishing this the girl returned to her father. She gave him the snuffbox. Zwide then 'doctored' Dingiswayo and said, '*O, now I have overcome him.*' Dingiswayo then went off without telling his *impi* and said, '*I am going to fight with Zwide.*' He left home and proceeded at a rapid pace on foot straight to Zwide, leaving the *impi* to summon themselves together, not knowing exactly where their king was going to. Dingiswayo had in the meantime run on. The *impi* too followed at a run. It arrived in Zwide's country to find their king had been apprehended. Dingiswayo's *impi* fought, but on ascertaining their king had been arrested, they desisted. Zwide was of a mind to let Dingiswayo go, but Ntombaze²⁵ said, '*Kill him, or he will kill you.*' Zwide allowed Dingiswayo to live for three days and

on the fourth day put him to death.

When he heard of what had taken place, Tshaka got angry and said, '*To arms! Zwide has killed my father.*' Tshaka went on to say, 'As Zwide is powerful, you must attack him by night, and when you make the attack you must use among you the password "*Kisi*", and whoever does not reply similarly must be stabbed, for it will be dark.' The *impi* accordingly made the attack at night. They *surrounded* Zwide's Nsingweni kraal. Zwide's men woke and a battle ensued, use being made of the password '*Kisi*'. By day-break Tshaka's *impi* had disappeared away into a neighbouring forest. Those at Zwide's kraal then *raised the alarm* and the men of the tribe gathered in large numbers. Tshaka's *impi* in the meantime remained in the forest looking at what was going on. When night came on, Tshaka's *impi* again attacked the place, making use as before of their password. They once more *stabbed* Zwide's people a good deal. They again retreated to the forest and back to Tshaka to report Zwide was too powerful for them to get the better of. My father was in these night attacks. He was wounded at the middle knuckle joint of the little finger of the left or shield-holding hand. His finger afterwards became stiff and he was unable to straighten it out.

Tshaka now thought of a plan. He called up doctors to come and *discuss the power which they could work with their medicines*. The doctors came and *discussed* it. Mbekelo, one of their number, and Mqalana ka Nongweni *made many suggestions*. Tshaka spoke of these two as of the Mtila; as a matter of fact they were of the Nzuza. [Another doctor of Tshaka's was Nombanda ka Mjikijelwa.] They suggested to him as follows: 'We will go away from you, Sir, and say you have chased us away. We will then make our way to Zwide with our medicines.' Tshaka asked, 'But what will you say? How will you act?' They replied, 'We will say you were killing us.' Tshaka said, 'But what will you do then?' They said, 'We will *trick* him (i.e. do to him as Zwide himself had done to Dingiswayo, that is, bewitch him, causing him to run into danger) and pour medicine in the water which he is in the habit of drinking. We will, moreover, *pour* our medicine *in his calabashes*, and our idea is to throw drugs about the path as we return, as well as keep on burning the grass about it so as to cause him to come and continue coming by that way to your place. We will *draw the impi down the Geongco*' - a long, steep ridge - 'then *cross the Mhlatuze* and come here so that you yourself may verify our words. And when the enemy (*impi*) gets here it will be seen that all the members thereof have *shaved their heads*, and no sooner will it see your army than it will throw away its shields and begin to *jerk about on the ground*.' Tshaka said, '*Are you really speaking the truth? Is that what the enemy will do?*' They replied, '*It is true.*' Tshaka then ordered them thus, 'Go off there then, and let me see if you are doctors indeed.' The other doctors were told to go off to their homes. These two men thereupon went and stayed at Zwide's as arranged. Zwide asked where they had come from. They replied, 'From Tshaka. He has chased us away by wanting to kill us.'

<14.2.1903> - evidence given 12.2.1903

File 70, pp. 70-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

Jantshi continues on 12.2.1903: The two doctors were received by

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71 Zwide and they afterwards began to administer him medicine in the manner above roughly outlined.

16.2.1903 - <evidence given 12.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 71-3.

Also present: Ndukwana

At night time they would get up and pour medicine in the spring from which he drank. They dropped the drugs about his *isigodhlo* and the *kraal yard* where Zwide walked. They lived with him three months, dropping medicine the whole time. In the fourth month they *made off* at night and came straight back to Tshaka. On the way back too they continued to pour down medicines and burnt the grass alongside of the path they travelled by. They also came down the Gcongco, crossed the Mhlatuze and came to Tshaka's kraal. They reported to their king all they had done. They told him to be on the alert and watch for the *impi*, for it would surely arrive. 'It will come at once, *with all the soldiers having shaved their heads*', etc. (repeating the prophecy above set forth). Tshaka listened. The doctors got back home when the *moon was new* and said that when the moon became full the *impi* referred to would make its appearance.

True enough, Zwide's *impi* came in sight at the full moon, and by the long, steep ridge of Gcongco as predicted by the doctors. Tshaka gave orders that the whole of his *impi* was to arm the same night. Tshaka's people saw Zwide's *impi* readily enough coming down the Gcongco, for the ridge was only some five or so miles off, and elevated. Tshaka sent out many messengers to call his forces together and they assembled at once as directed. They were called together in these terms, 'Zwide's *impi* is upon us!' Tshaka positioned his *impi* inside the cattle enclosure at his Bulawayo kraal where he was then living. As Zwide's *impi* approached, it divided itself into two large bodies with the evident intention of surrounding the kraal. Tshaka directed his men to allow Zwide's to come up close for, he exclaimed, 'Today I am Zwide's chosen one!' When Zwide's (men) had come close, Tshaka unleashed his forces. True enough, all Zwide's *impi* had shaved their heads as prophesied by the doctors. No sooner did Zwide's *impi* see that of Tshaka than every man threw away his shield and all began to *writhe about on the ground*. A fight ensued. Zwide's (men) retreated and returned several times until all Zwide's sons, those (whose names) Tshaka is praised by, had been slain.

72 As the enemy fled, Tshaka directed his warriors to follow and continue stabbing them until they had driven them home. This was done and Tshaka's *impi* passed on and headed for the place of Zwide's people. My father was in all this fighting but received no wound on that occasion. When Tshaka's forces came in sight of the kraal, the women all came out to meet them, believing them to be their own people. The women discovered only when the *impi* was at close quarters that it was not theirs. They would have seen this by the colours of the shields. They then turned and ran. Zwide saw what happened and ran off to a hill. Tshaka's *impi* thereupon stabbed all women and children they came across and seized large numbers of cattle in all parts of Zwide's kingdom. The victors then returned to

Tshaka with their booty. Zwide was not killed for he ran away in a northerly direction with numbers of his followers. After the fight, the bodies of Nombengula, Mpepa, Dayingubo, Nomahlanjana and others of Zwide's sons were found among the slain.

My father was in all the battles with Zwide's tribe.

Tshaka's *impi* after this rested. In the meantime Zwide remained up-country, but his son Sikunyana, being averse to proceeding northwards, returned within a few months to his old lands with a number of followers. This came to Tshaka's knowledge. He heard that Sikunyana intended attacking him. Tshaka at once raised his *impi* and proceeded to attack Sikunyana, the two bodies meeting at Zindololwana (*overlooking the Pongolo*, visible from Dumbe hill which stands on the north side of the Bivana and south of the Pongolo). A fight took place. Sikunyana was defeated, caught, and put to death. Tshaka then returned home, only, however, to prepare other schemes.²⁶

After Sikunyana's death, Ndukwana says, Somapunga ka Zwide (Somapunga is Mankulumana's²⁷ father) came to Tshaka and tendered his allegiance. Nqabeni ka Zwide, Mlomo ka Zwide, and others also came and tendered their allegiance. These two, however, were still young, for they *enrolled in the Zinyosi regiment*. Nqabeni was killed at Maqongqo when Mpande fought with Dingana. His son Hlokolo was (of the) Imboza regiment and was killed at Nodwengu by the British troops in 1879. He was *induna of the Ndhluwegwe* regiment.

Among Zwide's regiments, Jantshi continues, were the following: Mgazi, Isikwitshi, Iziboya, Amapela. [Mnemi concurs in these as names of regiments - 25.10.1904.] The Amapela regiment was, I think, of the most elderly men as well as the strongest.

73 In a short time Tshaka decided to attack Mapoloba ka Mbele, *chief of the Nyuswa*. He defeated him and seized his cattle.

My father was a spy and so had to go before any expedition left to see the country about to be attacked. He himself therefore had to accompany the forces to act as guide. He once got as far as the 'Cape' (*Kibi*), saw the white people, and reported what he had seen to Tshaka.

Ndukwana remarks that Tshaka also fought Kondhlo ka Magalela ('*the one who attacks with determination, like a lion - a praise*'), *chief of the Ntshali*. Kondhlo was killed but the rest of the tribe fled with Kondhlo's son Nkubu, and the latter afterwards attacked Tshaka and was defeated in the same way that Sikunyana ka Zwide was.²⁸

The Cele were also *attacked* by Tshaka. They were then under their king Mande ka Dibandhlela. [See 'History of Tribes' in *Annals of Natal* - Bird.]

Tshaka *attacked* Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, where he got the praise, '*He ate two sweet-reeds, one being Zihlandhlo, the other Gcwabe, but spat out only one leaf*,' i.e. because he did not kill but merely caught them.²⁹

Apart from the above battles and conquests, Tshaka attacked many other so-called kings that I cannot now call to mind.

I recollect that another was Duzi (I think this was the father of Mashimana, who died recently, leaving Mtambo as successor), *chief of the Makanya*. Tshaka did not kill Duzi; he made him an *induna*.

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[Mtambo is the son of Makuta ka Duze (not Duzi) ka Mnengwa ka Makanya.]

Tshaka also attacked and defeated Mvenya, father of Dumisa, who is the father of the late Saoti.³⁰ Mvenya was not killed. As a matter of fact, Tshaka did not put to death the kings or kinglets he defeated if, when he proceeded against them, they ran away and did not show fight. He made them *izinduna*.

Kutshwayo, *chief of the Dube*, is another of those conquered by Tshaka. This man, like many others, was *attacked* merely to make him *pay tribute*, i.e. reduce him to become a subject and then instate him as an *induna*.

17.2.1903 - <evidence given 12.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 73-6.

Also present: Ndukwana

74 Sotshangana ka Zikode was also *attacked* by Tshaka. He was living in Zululand, I believe south of the Mkuze.³¹ The only king who was not attacked by Tshaka was Mtshwetshwe of Basutoland. He, hearing Tshaka was so powerful, *payed tribute* with *elephant tusks* and acknowledged allegiance.

Tshaka, towards the end of his career, sent an *impi* to attack the amaMpondo under Faku. Faku *left his home* and *fled* with his tribe and cattle. When the *impi* returned from the amaMpondo, Tshaka directed it to proceed on to Sotshangana's at once, a man who had fled north of Delagoa Bay. They had to go on without coming home and had to be joined by people of all ages - *a force raked together indiscriminately from the whole male population*. Even old men went out to fight. The cause of this strange conduct on Tshaka's part was, as my father tells me, because Faku had taken the *assegai* that was red from *stabbing people*, had *slaughtered a beast* with it, and had *tossed it into a storage pot*. Tshaka sent them off because he was *still angry*.³²

It was just after Tshaka had sent his forces on after Sotshangana that he was put to death. For, after going some way, all Tshaka's brothers returned home. Tshaka asked, '*So you are returning on your own?*' <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> It was then that they plotted and killed him, the *impi* at the time being away at Sotshangana's. It returned to find Tshaka dead and it returned dying too along the way, for it was attacked by *malaria*. The men returned in ones, twos, fives etc. at a time.

Jantshi continues in the evening of 12.2.1903. My father (Nongila) *left* the Sotshangana *campaign*, and returned ill with *malaria* and nearly died.

Tshaka's brothers, as already stated, did not accompany this *impi* and they made no reply to Tshaka's question, '*Are you returning on your own?*' My father told me about the death of Tshaka, though it was what he had heard from others, for he was not present. Dingana, Mhlangano, Mpande, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mqubana and other brothers of Tshaka decided to assassinate him. Mbopa too joined the 'brothers'. The plan decided on was that Mbopa should stab him. Tshaka was stabbed by Mbopa. He was seated outside at the time of his assassination. I cannot, however, speak accurately on this matter.

75 [Jantshi is now cross-examined by me on the foregoing statement regarding the history of Tshaka's times.]

In Senzangakona's day there was no *jubaing* of girls as in Tshaka's and other later kings' times, but kings such as Senzangakona were *jutshwa'd*, i.e. given permission to marry, and were not allowed to marry before such had been given.

I admit there was a man who accompanied the girls and who pointed out to Nandi who Senzangakona was, but I cannot allow there was more than one man. The fact that a man accompanied the girls for the purpose tends to show that the errand was one directed possibly by some person in authority, say Mbengi himself, but there is nothing in tradition to that effect. Nor did my father say the girls went any great distance from their kraals to Senzangakona's party, for in that case they would have had to put up at some kraal in order to keep on going to the spot referred to as being that at which the Zulus came to be aware of the girls' presence. My father made no mention of such a kraal, so I am inclined to think Senzangakona *herded* rather near Mbengi's place and it became an easy matter for the girls to visit day by day and return to their own homes to sleep. Ndhlovu's and Mruyi's³³ father Timuni (i.e. their authority) got his information from the same person I myself did, viz. my father. I am prepared to grant Senzangakona's kraal was more than a day's journey from Mbengi's, but I see nothing odd in Senzangakona's party going to herd as far off from their homes as they appear to have done.

I believe the man who accompanied the girls only went with them once, i.e. to point out who Senzangakona was.

Tshaka was *illegitimate*. I feel quite sure on this point. Nandi never became Senzangakona's wife, nor did he ever *lobola* her. Had she been his wife, how came she to marry Gendeyana and have children by him? I will not allow that Senzangakona chased her away for having a bad temper. Nandi never went at all to Senzangakona to be his wife. According to custom, a woman who is turned away goes and lives at her father's kraal. I think Nandi's father was Mbengi, chief of the Langeni tribe.³⁴ I have heard that her grandmother came from the Mtetwa tribe.

76 I cannot agree that Tshaka was continually kept concealed from Senzangakona. He was, on the other hand, actually called by Senzangakona and went to see his father as already stated by me.

The girl's (Nandi's) actual words were, 'We want to see the young one of the chief.'³⁵

Nandi tried to conceal her condition for a time by saying she had *itshaka*. She was also *treated* for a month or more on account of that ailment.

I do not know anything of Senzangakona having been told of Nandi's 'illness' by Mudhli and his being questioned at all about the matter as stated by Ndhlovu. Senzangakona heard of the child for the first time when it was with his mother on the occasion of his sending an *impi* to kill it, seeing it was born before he had been given permission to marry.

I know nothing about Tshaka's mother being directed by Mudhli not to *suckle* it for fear lest her breasts should swell etc. Ndhlovu, I think, is incorrect here.

Tshaka, as a child, was brought three times to his grandmother's

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(Senzangakona's mother); i.e. after having measured his waist she found him able to be brought. It was on the third occasion that it was resolved to put it to death if, after inspection, it should turn out to be Senzangakona's illegitimate child. My father made reference to three visits.

My belief is that it was fairly well known that Nandi had had a child by Senzangakona, and this very shortly after its birth, for the birth was reported to Mudhli. Therefore when it was reported that Senzangakona's mother had the child at her kraal, there was not much doubt but that it was really Senzangakona's, though they might, as a matter of curiosity, desire first to have a personal inspection.

It was Senzangakona's mother, not Mudhli, who caused the child to be *snatched* away from the impending danger.

I do not happen to know if any girl resisted the *impi* sent to kill the child, in the manner referred to by Ndhlovu. Still, there may be something in it. I do not think Senzangakona's mother was to have been killed.

<17.2.1903> - evidence given 13.2.1903

File 70, pp. 76-7.

[Jantshi still under cross-examination.]

77 I do not recollect Senzangakona's mother's name.

The girl (Nandi) was said to be suffering from *itshaka*, not *itsheka* (*cheka*) as Fynn says. [See Annals of Natal.] My father certainly used the word '*itshaka*'.

I do not know what persons were killed at Mfemfe kraal (Mangeni) when the party was sent to kill the child.

Nandi had the son Ngwadi by Gendeyana; also a girl Nomcoba. These were her only children by Gendeyana.

My father frequently spoke of Mbuyazwe (Fynn), and said that Fynn used to be given cattle by Tshaka.

Senzangakona's kraals were Nobamba, Mfemfe (Mangeni), Bulawayo, and another I forget. He had not many kraals though he had many children. In those early days many women were not taken to wife by the kings. Senzangakona had not many followers. In the old days ordinary people did not have many wives. My father said two women were thought ample, for it was said that many *wives would have the effect of a love-charm*, i.e. by having intercourse with so many a man's back would 'break' and he would find an early grave. It was the custom to have small households.

My father was circumcised.

Tshaka was a man of dark colour, not yellowish. He was tall, not very tall. When he came from Dingiswayo's he had not *put on the head-ring*. He *did so among the Zulu*.

18.2.1903 - <evidence given 13.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 77-81.

His buttocks were *broad*, so that one could see that he was a *chief*. He belonged to the Wombe regiment. He was powerfully built and had a bad temper. His strength was remarkable, for he could, when examining a beast, lift up its leg by one arm and stoop to look under it. Only Ngomane ka Mqomboli ever dared to answer him back *among the Zulu*. Even his own relations were afraid of doing so. My

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father did not mention that Ngqengelele used to *answer him back*. I have heard of Ngqengelele. [Nqeto could spit in Tshaka's presence and stood beside him at a festival dance.]³⁶

Ndukwana remarks that Ngqengelele was not an *induna* but yet one of the most important men in Zululand.

78 Jantshi says Dingiswayo gave Ngomane to Tshaka in the capacity of 'father' and 'adviser', not *induna*. Ngomane once advised Tshaka, 'Produce children.' Tshaka replied, 'Would they hold to me? They would achieve their own notability and turn against me.' On these grounds he objected to having children.

Ngomane was like a chief. 'In fact', exclaims Ndukwana, 'you, Jantshi, make him out to be the most powerful of the nation's men.'

'Ngomane had an *isigodhlo* from Tshaka', Jantshi replies. 'Who else could be like Tshaka in so important a matter as the *isigodhlo*? Ngqengelele did not have an *isigodhlo*. By this fact alone it can be seen Ngomane was a *chief*.'

When Tshaka left the Langeni for Dingiswayo's, he went by himself straight to Mqomboli's. (Mqomboli himself might have been dead at this time, in which case he would have gone to his son Ngomane.) Ngomane reported the occurrence to Dingiswayo, who directed Ngomane to bring Tshaka to him to see. On this being done, Dingiswayo ordered Ngomane to continue to look after Tshaka. Mqomboli may have been an *induna* of Dingiswayo's. Ngomane was certainly given to Tshaka by Dingiswayo as his 'father' when he went back to the Zulu. 'Here is your father', said Dingiswayo to him.

A dispute arises between Ndukwana and Jantshi in regard to the status of Ngqengelele and Ngomane. Ndukwana contends that Ngqengelele, a man of the locality, was Tshaka's 'father'. Tshaka and his brothers grew up in his charge. He had no homestead of his own; he was a *menial* among the people of the *inkosikazi Mtaniya*³⁷, but as I do not know exactly where Tshaka grew up, I am rather puzzled.

Jantshi replies that Tshaka arrived already a man in the Zulu country with Ngomane.

Ndukwana says Mdhlaka was the great *induna* of the country, and certainly Ngomane was not as big as he was. Assuming Ngomane, as Jantshi avers, had an *isigodhlo*, there is nothing remarkable in that. He was made a present of it. I know of Ngomane's having 'come up' with Tshaka from the Mtetwa, but it is new to me to hear he was the most powerful man of the nation.

Jantshi replies: I have stated merely what I heard from my father, and although I admit Ngqengelele was one of the heads of the people, still I deny he had anything like the influence of Ngomane to whom Tshaka showed the signal favour of giving him (or allowing him to keep) an *isigodhlo*.

Magidi, a chief now living in Lower Tugela Division, is Ngomane's son. Ngomane's heir died young, or he might have become famous like Mnyamana (the prime minister) who was Ngqengelele's son. I do not know on what land Ngomane set up his homestead in the Zulu country. I never asked this.

79 Ndukwana replies: On the other hand, Ngqengelele's son, Klwana, occupied the large extent of land from near Nkonjeni³⁸ up to the Pongolo. Klwana did this after the death of Ngqengelele's heir Somfongoza. Klwana fathered Bantubensumo who is still living. Mnya-

mana also lived on the same tract of country.

Jantshi continues: I know nothing about Tshaka's going to the Cube people, as Mruyi says, and of Tshaka's being touched on the head by the king of that place as he predicted that Tshaka would one day become a king. My belief is that no sooner did Tshaka come back from his visit to Senzangakona, as already related by me, than he went to the Langeni and from there straight on to the Mtetwa.

Tshaka, after becoming king, attacked the Langeni people, accusing them of *pouring curds into his hands and burning them*.

Tshaka's cousin among the Langeni merely snatched away but did not break or destroy Tshaka's stone, as stated by some. I think it must have been because Tshaka fancied himself heir to a king that, on account of a quarrel about a mere stone, he should go and *stab a beast to death*. Tshaka lived with his grandmother when staying among the Langeni at Mbengi's.³⁹

I know the name Mbikwana⁴⁰ but do not know what part he took in Tshaka's life except that he was a man belonging to Mbengi's kraal. I think that he must have lived at Mbengi's with Tshaka's grandmother. I deny that Mbikwana took Tshaka on to the Mtetwa or that he was concerned in any matter of Senzangakona's *lobola*ing Nandi, for I know nothing whatever of the alleged *lobola* transaction.

When Tshaka got to the Zulu country he sent for his mother Nandi, also Ngwadi and Nomcoba,⁴¹ who then came and lived with him. Tshaka, after a time, built a kraal for his half-brother Ngwadi, its name being Kwa Wambaza [*which was attacked by the Zinyosi* regiment, says Tununu, 14.6.1903.]⁴² Nomcoba did not, I think, marry. Kraals merely were erected for her by Tshaka.

Ngwadi was put to death by Dingana, Ndukwana says. Jantshi agrees.

He, Ngwadi, Jantshi says, once fought with *my maternal uncle*. *My uncle attacked at Ngwadi's kraal*. This kraal was closely fenced in with sticks etc. crossed in the ordinary way at the top. Ngwadi escaped. I do not know if he had any issue. Tshaka liked Ngwadi and gave him *authority over a large number of people*. He had a large *impi*.⁴³ It was afterwards almost forgotten that Ngwadi and Nomcoba were Gendeyana's children; they were spoken of as Senzangakona's for fear of arousing Tshaka's anger.

80 I do not know how Gendeyana came by his death or what happened in regard to him, but I do not think he came to the Zulu country.

Nzibe died of *malaria*, says Ndukwana. Therefore a brother of Tshaka's did go up to Sotshangana's.⁴⁴ Jantshi agrees.

Ndukwana believes Nkulukudhleni, son of Ngomane, was the latter's heir. He was killed at Maqongqo⁴⁵ and was a member of the iziNyosi regiment.

Jantshi continues 13.2.1903, evening. Tshaka's cousin among the Langeni took a stone from those he was playing with with Tshaka. They were playing at having *imps*, and the cousin took one of Tshaka's 'men'.

Mbengi, father of Nandi, was Makedama's son. [Wrong.]

<At this point in the margin of the original Stuart inserted the geneaology given below - eds.>

JANTSHI

Mbengi

Mgabi

Nandi

Makedama

Tshaka went alone from the Langeni to go to the Mtetwa. I did not hear that Mbikwana or anyone went with him. He was afraid of being killed by Zulu forces and so lost all fear of proceeding there alone.

Mqalana was Tshaka's *inyanga* from the Swazi country. Tshaka one day called on Mqalana and Ngazi to produce their medicines to see who had the most. Mqalana, on inspecting Ngazi's drugs, was able to give the name of each one. Ngazi, however, could not give the names of Mqalana's in any satisfactory manner. Mqalana then said to Ngazi, 'Do you give the king this medicine, Ngazi?', referring to *iloyi* (a particular drug). Ngazi assented and said, 'Yes, I do.' Mqalana replied, 'The king will kill all the people if you give him this medicine.' Tshaka then directed both doctors to do up their medicines and go home. But Ngazi, instead of going home, entered another hut, whereas Mqalana went home. After Mqalana had gone off, Tshaka again called Ngazi. He said, 'Why does Mqalana speak in this way? Can you kill him? Yes, kill him!' Ngazi replied, 'Let the king find me a sheep if I am to kill him.' Tshaka sent for one, a large ram. The ram arrived. Ngazi took a drug and bit it as he held the sheep. He then *blew the medicines into the sheep's nostrils, while holding it*. He then told Tshaka it should be forwarded to Mqalana at his home as a present. The sheep was sent accordingly, and duly arrived. He was told, 'Here is a sheep, a present for you from the king.' Mqalana directed it should be killed at once and the *spleen* cooked. The ram was immediately killed and the *spleen* cooked. Presently it was cooked. Mqalana called for the *spleen*. He took down a spoon and put it into the food and raised it to his mouth. No sooner did he take the first mouthful than he fell dead on the spot. It came to be known that Ngazi had *doctored the sheep*. Nothing was done in the matter, for this had taken place by the king's direction.

81

<18.2.1903> - evidence given 14.2.1903

File 70, pp. 81-2.

Also present: Ndukwana

It was Tshaka who sent my father to see the white people at the Cape. He was away many months on this journey. He reported he saw the Europeans living on a ridge projecting a long way into the sea. This ridge was a spur of the Ingele, a chain of hills springing from the Kahlamba (Drakensberg).⁴⁶

My father was at Dukuza when Tshaka sent off Sotobe.⁴⁷ I do not know if any other Zulu went with Sotobe ka Mpangalala. Sotobe's instructions were that he was to go to England to see the white people, and if Tshaka had lived he would have sent more people for he was very anxious to see how guns were made. There is a general

rumour in Zululand nowadays that Sotobe did not return and that the American negroes are his progeny. As a matter of fact he did return. His son and successor was Nobiya (killed by Zibebu at Ondini⁴⁸). Muntuwapansi, Nobiya's heir, is living on the other side of the Mhlataze among the people of Qetuka and Siteku.

82 My father was very frequently employed as a spy by Tshaka. In all the campaigns enumerated, and others I forget, he used to precede by going to see what the country to be attacked was like. He spied out the country's forces. He was, as a rule, accompanied by others, that is, when the *impi* was actually *campaigning*. He used to go out alone when on a tour of preliminary inspection. Tshaka used to *doctor* him on each of his trips, before (his) setting forth. He was not *doctored* on his return. He told me he would sometimes enter a strange person's hut when beer was being drunk and no-one would *greet* him. He would then sit down and they would give him food. After (his) leaving and going some half a dozen miles they would suddenly remember they did not ask where he had come from. These omissions on the part of the people to question as to where he came from, as well as what his intentions were, were of frequent occurrence. At other places he might come up and find meat being cooked in a pot out in the open at night-time. He would go up, open the pot, stick his assegai into the meat and go off with it. He did this on various occasions and was never caught. He used to sleep in the bush when on tour. He made it part of his business to listen and note people's conversations. Near the Tugela there is an *umngcongo* tree with a large leopard's hole underneath. He, on some occasions, used to go into this and pass the night there. The *territory* where this hole is now belongs to Mtonga, seeing Matunjana is dead.⁴⁹ Tshaka gave my father directions not to sleep in people's kraals but in the bush. He depended for food on what he stole from place to place. He did not carry food with him, or mats. He carried a *shield*, two assegais (*stabbing spears* - about 14 inches long), and a *stick*. That was all. I have one of the assegais he used to carry. The two assegais were given him by Tshaka. My father never took clothing with him or even a *skin blanket*. In those days no attention was paid to the fact whether one was clothed or not. He used merely to cover himself with a shield in case of necessity. My father was very tall, well-built, and strong. He wore a headring. He never went on a spying expedition without consulting the king beforehand and being *doctored* by him. The reason why he never slept at kraals was because people would naturally question him as to where he came from, where he was going, and what he was going to do, and if satisfactory answers were not given he would be killed.

The spy would carry *medicine* with him too, which would be *tucked away* on the inside of his *shield*, about the middle. He did not know the name of this medicine. He would never have been told the name of the king's medicine. Whenever he approached a kraal he would *eat* some of this *medicine* and then enter. This would cause those at the kraal not to question him as to where he came from and so on. He went out in all weathers and depended for food entirely on thieving. He did not go as far as to stab cattle, sheep etc.

(Another of Tshaka's spies was, Bovu ka Nomabuqabuqa - both dead. Gebuza is Bovu's son and heir, and has gone to live at Nkandhla. Nomgqula ka Nsizwazana of the Dhladhla was another of Tshaka's spies. He is dead. His sons too have died. He lived near Stanger.

19.2.1903 - <evidence given 14.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 83-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

83 There were other *spies* as well. The two mentioned I have myself seen several times when they visited my father. Both belonged to the Ntontela regiment.

Among Tshaka's brother's was Nzibe. He too went forward to Sotshangana's but returned with the other brothers after going a little way.

Ndukwana says: No, Nzibe went to Sotshangana's where he died from *malaria*. Dingana killed off all his brothers except Nzibe, which supports the fact that he died *in Sotshangana's country*.

Mbopa *stabbed* Tshaka. Senzangakona's sons directed him to stab. Ndukwana says Mbopa was in the plot to kill Tshaka. The part he took was to hide Tshaka's assegais, which were in his hut. He did this by direction of Mhlangana and Dingana when Tshaka had gone out to wash. It was Mhlangana who stabbed first; Dingana only took hold of Tshaka, and so on. He refers also to what Mkabayi said about the matter, also Mmama (*the younger of the two*).⁵⁰ These two were twins, the former the elder.

Jantshi continues by saying that when the *impi* returned from Sotshangana's, they caused Dingana, Mhlangano, Mbopa, Mqubana, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mpande and others to be surrounded and questioned as to who had killed Tshaka. Dingana and Mhlangano accused Mbopa of having stabbed Tshaka. Mbopa was then put to death whilst the others got off.

Had Tshaka's army returned whole from Sotshangana's, Ndukwana says, all the above-mentioned and the others unnamed as well would have been killed.

Jantshi says: I have heard of the stabbing of Tshaka in the arm.⁵¹ I thought it took place at Dukuza.

Ndukwana denies this and says that is why Tshaka called Zululand '*empakeni*'⁵² and came to Dukuza to live.

Jantshi continues: I know Tshaka was stabbed in the left arm, the assegai slightly entering his left side. He drew the assegai out himself and ran into a hut. Looking at the assegai he found it had a *shaft blunted* at the top, and so concluded it belonged to the Qwabe people, whereas it was one of his own people's. After this there was an order that the Qwabe people were to be killed. Having already *konza'd*, they, like the Zulus themselves, lived at Tshaka's kraal at Bulawayo. Those members of the Qwabe tribe found at the king's kraal were killed, a search was made for fugitives at their homes, and the saying arose that members of that tribe would be
84 known by a habit men had of always *placing wood on the hearth* with the right arm. When caught, they were to be stabbed in the left side. Many members of the tribe were accordingly killed. The people scattered in all directions to hide themselves.

As regards Nandi's death, I heard she got ill and died from natural causes. I am surprized to learn from Ndukwana that she was stabbed to death by her son Tshaka. There was very general mourning

on her account. Tshaka himself cried. Many people were killed in the mourning for the *inkosikazi*.

I know Tshaka once wanted to see if *izangoma* were able to find out the truth or not. He would call them up in a body to *bula* and see who had sprinkled blood about his *isigodhlo* (an act done by himself), and such 'doctors' as smelt out other persons as being the cause of this, he had put to death. That doctor who rightly guessed by saying, '*It was done by the heavens above*,'⁵³ was allowed to go free. That man's name was Nkuna. He lived among the people of *Mbete of the Ngcobo*.⁵⁴ Mbete is Gqayinyanga's father (latter alive, is a chief in Lower Tugela Division). Nkuna is dead, but has sons living. Gobe is one of them.

Very frequently did Tshaka cause people to be put to death.

I do not know why Tshaka spoke of the two doctors Mbekelo and Mqalana as of the Mtila.

Amongst Tshaka's extraordinary acts was his causing a pregnant woman to be cut open in order to see what position the child took up in its mother's womb. He did this more than once. He would also cut off a man's ears, giving as his reason for doing so that 'they do not hear'. He would say, '*The vultures are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly*,' when he saw vultures hovering about, and then give orders for them to be fed with human corpses. [No, it was Dingana did this.] He would direct that people be killed to satisfy their appetite.

My father formerly had his kraal at Eshowe near where the chiefs Sikonyana and Ntshingwayo live.⁵⁵ He also built at the Nseleni, across the Mhlatuze, north side.

85 Tshaka spoke the Mtetwa dialect when he became king. He consequently always *tefula'd*. He is said to have lisped or stuttered, or pretended to do so.

I have not given all my father told me. Much is omitted owing to forgetfulness. I have said as much about Tshaka as I at present remember.

Circumcision. My father was *circumcised*; all were *circumcised* in the old days. Tshaka put an end to the custom in the *Zulu country*, though Dingiswayo too might have stopped it on his own accord in his tribe. The custom was a good one and prevented people from ageing rapidly. It made them hardy. *Circumcision* was necessary before a man could take a wife. The practice was not dependent in any way on the king's will. My father was *circumcised among the Mabaso*, near Ntabankulu. He was given permission to marry by Tshaka. Before marriage, my father and others were known as *abalisa*.⁵⁶ I know nothing of girls being *circumcised*. There is no doubt but that the custom of *circumcision* was a very general one all over Zululand. Those of a certain age were *circumcised* together, and an expert did the necessary operation.

<Evidence given 14.2.1903>

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 7-15.

Also present: Ndukwana

7 Dingana. Dingana was in Tshaka's day given that part of Zululand

which is north of the Tugela. From this it seemed Tshaka was making him his successor in spite of the fact that Mhlangano was the right-
 8 ful heir. Sigujana was Senzangakona's heir. Mhlangano would have succeeded Sigujana had there been no Tshaka. Dingana was *made king* by Mkabayi. Nzobo ka Sobadhlhli was his *induna*, also Ndhlela ka Sompisi. Dingana said, '*I do not want an isigodhlo. That is what is destroying the people.*' Nzobo said, 'You can't be called a king if you have no *isigodhlo*. How, without one, can you be a king?' Dingana replied, 'It is the *isigodhlo* which is the cause of people always being put to death. It is a bad institution.' Nzobo: 'The killing of people is a proper practice, for if no killing is done there will be no fear.' Dingana then concurred and the *isigodhlo* continued to exist. Dingana then *retained an isigodhlo during his reign*.

9 After a time Dingana *removed the restrictions imposed on all his regiments*, and said they were to go and *have premarital intercourse* with the girls. The great men, his brothers and others of importance, thereupon entered his *isigodhlo* and *sported with the girls there*. Dingana saw this but said nothing. After a time the regiments came back to *konza* at his kraal. When he found they were all there, one morning when the sun was rising a man was heard to shout, '*Let all the people of Mgungundhlovu assemble!*' All came out and *were all present*. Dingana then directed all to *proceed outside the kraal*. They did so and sat down there. The Dhlambedhlu regiment remained. Dingana then left his hut, and *came out through the narrow gateway of the isigodhlo*. As the Dhlambedhlu saw it was he, they *went out*. When Dingana came to where the people were, he stood with a black
 10 blanket on. He said at once '*Seize that fellow Mfihlo!*' They caught him. Dingana said then, '*Catch that fellow Ngqojana! Catch Mqubana!*', and so on in regard to all his brothers, and all were arrested. He then mentioned the names of ordinary men. He caused all these people to be at once killed with straight, thick, short sticks - not so long as *fighting sticks*. Ndhlela *rebuked him* here, saying, '*You have removed the blanket that covers you. How will you cover yourself now?*' Some say Ngqengelele said this but my father says it was Ndhlela. These executions took place between sunrise right up to sunset when the remark just referred to was made. My father said he
 11 was present and very many men were singled out from the *company* he was in, and when the men carrying out Dingana's orders wanted to take my father, Dingana would *stop them and point to those next to him*. Only my father remained in his *company*; all the others were killed. My father had not been to *sport with the girls* because he felt he was being trapped. In a *company* of the Dhlangubo regiment (a regiment which was *incorporated into the Ntontela*), Magcekeni ka Doyi and Nombemba ka Doyi *were left*.

When Ndhlela *called out* as stated, Dingana turned and went inside. Mpande escaped being killed. I do not know where he had hidden himself. Dingana then *stayed in his hut*. The others returned to the kraal.

I do not know exactly how Dingana came to quarrel with the Boers.
 12 Mpande may not have been present that day.

Mhlangano was put to death by Mkabayi and Ngqengelele for having stabbed Tshaka.

Ngomane died during Dingane's reign. He was not present at Mgungundhlovu.

JANTSHI

Dingana also killed people at Mbelebeleni.

Ndukwana says that those to be killed, both at Mgungundhlovu and Mbelebele, were *pointed out* by the *girls of the isigodhlo*, and that these great executions were known as '*iDili*'.⁵⁷

Jantshi says: I do not disagree with Ndukwana. I know that after this slaughter the *isigodhlo* itself was also put to death. Dingana himself picked out those of the *isigodhlo* he had put to death.

- 13 Ndukwana now gives the story, as he has before told me, about the Boers (P. Retief) coming and being killed.

Dingana sent a present of cattle to Mpande. He intended to put him to death. Mpande was informed of this intention by Ndhlela - some say it was Matunjana. My father says Ndhlela told Mpande beforehand, 'You will see the truth of my words if a present of cattle should come to you.' My father says Matunjana told Mpande at the time the cattle in question arrived. Mpande then *crossed over* into Natal. The greater part of the people *crossed* with Mpande. He came to the Hlawe (river), i.e. this side of the Tongati, near Saunders's mill and the railway station. Mpande and his followers made a stand there. I do not know how long he stayed. He *returned to the Zulu*

- 14 *country in arms*. Mpande then sent my father to go and *spy on* Dingana, my father having *crossed* with Mpande. My father accordingly went to spy. Dingana heard that Mpande was returning with an *impi*. Dingana called together his warriors. My father said he arrived when Dingana's *impi* had *assembled*. He arrived *in the night* at Mgungundhlovu. My father went to Ndhlela's hut that night. Whilst (he was) there, Dingana shouted out, 'Ndhlela, Ndhlela, did Nongila⁵⁸ *cross over with Mpande?*' Ndhlela said, 'He *crossed*, nkosi.' Dingana replied, 'We! Now I am finished. Nongila is here *spying on me*.' Ndhlela then said to my father, 'Go off, for you hear what the king says. You will tell Mpande that *ngi ne ngub' enamasondo*;⁵⁹ I do not know who will rule. If Mpande rules, it is well.' My father left at once and came to Mpande, telling him what Ndhlela had said. No sooner did Nongila return than Mpande ordered that his *impi* should move forward to the attack. The forces went and met Dingana's at Maqongqo. Dingana was defeated. He then left and *made off to the Ubombo*.

I do not know Dingana's history well and connectedly.

Dingana was killed by Swazi *among the Nyawo* after his forces had *deserted*.

Ndukwana says the forces did not desert.

15.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 15-16.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 16 Dingana was of a yellowish colour and tall. My father repeatedly spoke to me but it was nearly always about Tshaka *their king*. I am not the eldest son of my father. The heir was Ndukebandhla. He got ill of *dysentery* in Durban whilst working in scarcity time. I took him home and buried him at Tengetenge, this side of Verulam, i.e. Mt. Edgecombe, where he died. All my father's personal belongings were buried with him except the assegai which he gave me.

<19.2.1903 - evidence given 15.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 85-6.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 85 At Dukusa, while Tshaka was sitting in company, he pointed to the cattle in the kraal and said, 'No ordinary man will inherit those cattle; none but a great man will get them. The day I die the country will be overrun by locusts; it will be ruled by white men. The stars will be bright in the sky. While I am still taking care of you, you alone will smelt one another out. Afterwards, men will be smelt out as *untakati* by their own wives; wives will smelt out their husbands.'⁶⁰

Just as he finished speaking thus, he suddenly exclaimed, 'There is Sotobe', seeing a ship sailing on the sea. Those with Tshaka then looked and saw the ship holding its course at sea. Sotobe had, as a matter of fact, just left and was on his way towards the Cape. My father was present when Tshaka spoke as stated, and he added that, as he spoke, Tshaka was seated in the cattle kraal and pushed the *manure dust* about slightly with the fingers of each hand when moving backwards and forwards as if to emphasize his words.

Tshaka also said, in conclusion, 'No man dare *pala inhlonze yazo lez' izinkomo*, a *yi ti xwe, xwe, xwe*.'⁶¹ He thereupon got up and left the cattle kraal by the small opening and entered one of his huts, leaving those present wondering at the words he had spoken.

- 86 My father said Tshaka was a great king, and very clever, because he defeated all the chiefs in every direction. He was very resourceful in his plans for overcoming his rivals. Dingana and Mpande came on the scene after he had subdued the whole country, and therefore my father did not have very much to say about them. He says he had a hard time in the days of Tshaka by always having to go out to spy.

Tshaka had no children; he did not wish to have any, for they would have been chiefs. In the old days if a king had a child it, when it grew up, might drive its father from home. This once happened, the instance being quoted by my father. Tshaka was afraid of the same thing happening to him. I do not know if Tshaka ever was circumcised. He sported with the girls of his *indhlonkulu*.

<Evidence given 15.2.1903>

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 18-22.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 18 Dingana too died without issue. Mpande was directed to marry by
19 Tshaka and therefore had children. Mpande was not killed, I fancy, because of what Ndhlela said to Dingana to the effect, 'Can there be a king that comes from the *emsizini*?' (i.e. a kraal to which the king goes when he has tasted the new crops and has been fortified with medicine).⁶² <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

My father complained of never having a homestead. This was because he was always on the move.

[Authorities on history of Tshaka: Fynn, Isaacs, Shepstone, Shooter, Holden, Mkando,⁶³ Jantshi.]

- 20 I am certain that Bekapezulu, Sigonogono and Nnja are those who caused the Zulu to *emerge as a people*, because my father specially told me so. My father quoted in support the doggerel,
Wa bek' isigonogono sennja,
*Si hlonywe induk' yamantungwa.*⁶⁴

The word 'pezulu' is left out for euphony and to keep the metre. He heard this from old men in Senzangakona's time. Senzangakona was an *insizwa*, not a boy⁶⁵ when he *herded*. He quickly became king, i.e. after meeting Nandi. Tshaka was born but was still young when Senzangakona became king.

An *umlandwana* is an illegitimate child. Dinuzulu is not an *umlandwana* really. (He is said to be one, because his mother, a daughter of Msweli, was a *menial in the royal household, having been captured at the battle of Ndondakusuka in the civil war between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi*.)

Nandi's father is Mbengi, not Makedama. Makedama is Mbengi's son and therefore Nandi's brother. Therefore Tshaka must have quarrelled with Makedama about the stone.

- 21 Nomcoba may have been married, but if married she had no children. She, Ndukwana says, was given the Tulwana regiment at Ezigezeni near Emakosini. She was asked to give them food. She had another kraal at Mahlabatini below the Mabedhlana hills.⁶⁶ Makuza ka Jojo, a policeman at Eshowe, might give information about this.

When Tshaka arrived *in the Zulu country*, Senzangakona was certainly dead. I have not heard that Senzangakona declared Tshaka to be his legitimate son.

I do not know if Tshaka became an *induna to Dingiswayo*. Probably not. He was a favourite there because he was a great *warrior*.

It was general knowledge that on Tshaka's dying Mhlangana would *rule*. Ndukwana says this. Ndukwana has heard that Mkabayi *ruled* a little after Senzangakona's death, so she may have done so to allow Tshaka to come up.

- 22 Senzangakona had no one who stood armed by his grave as his successor. Sigujana did not stand thus, for when Tshaka got up, people accepted him without a fight. No one was *ousted* by Tshaka. It is probable then that Tshaka was offered the position of king.

Ndukwana does not know the name, 'Ndabezita', but 'Ndaba'. Jantshi agrees. 'Ndabezita' was taken from the Mbata people and from the Kumalo. It was those tribes' *isibongo*.⁶⁷

Ndukwana hears that in Tshaka's day a *ship* was wrecked on the Zulu coast. [This may be the boat *Salisbury* - July 1823. See Theal, p.117, vol. of years 1834-1854.]

Jantshi knows nothing at all about Ndaba, nor (does he) know much of Jama.

Ndukwana says the Mapita people, Zibebu etc., would know something of Jama. Sikizane would know about him.

Jantshi knows nothing about Senzangakona's reign, although his father referred to incidents therein.

16.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 23-4.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 23 Had *lobolo* been given for Nandi, and had the incident (happened)

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about Mbikwana rescuing Tshaka when the dust was up, she could never have gone and married Gendeyana.⁶⁸ She would have been forbidden by ancient custom to do this even if she had been chased away. She would have returned (to) her parents.

24 My father left Zululand because he was old. He turned back the cattle of Mawa ka Senzangakona near the Tugela. She was sister of Mpande and Dingane.⁶⁹ The cattle did not arrive back in their proper numbers, so those belonging to others were seized, it being supposed they had taken them, and several persons were killed. My father thought they might kill him too, so he fled. The alarm was raised when Mawa crossed over and people rushed to head off the cattle. My father turned back 400 head. He was bound to rescue the king's cattle, for had he failed he would have been accused of assisting Mawa in her flight.

Mtaniya was one of Senzangakona's wives.⁷⁰

I left Zululand when I was about to reach the age of puberty. My father first fled alone, leaving all his kraal. He never lived under John Dunn. John Dunn at first lived at Mbilo, near Durban.

Ndukwana thinks Jantshi is of the age-grade of the *Ndhluwegwe* regiment, i.e. was one of the senior section of the *Kandempemvu*. He would have been of the *Nqakamatshe*.⁷¹

We crossed over just before the *Ndondakusuka* battle.⁷² Mantshonga (Walmsley) made my father an *induna*. He once quarrelled with So-bantu.⁷³ They made effigies of the two, and people struck Walmsley's. I saw a *Hottentot*, Bokisi, Walmsley's servant, strike people back for doing this with fists and head.

16.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 1-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 Somveli went up north, Ndukwana says, being afraid of Tshaka. (His people had become, Tshaka's followers and (were) not independent tribes.⁷⁴

Jantshi says Mngoye is Chief Matshwili's father.⁷⁵

I believe the Lembe lived near Ntabankulu.⁷⁶

Mageba comes before Punga.

Gwalagwala⁷⁷ lives up the Mzinyati river. He is there now. Sifile was Fynn. (He was also called, Mbuyazwe and Misifile. My father spoke of Diki, i.e. Dick King. Febana - '*isilungu si ka Febana*' is a saying used by all native people.⁷⁸ [N.B. This would very likely be Farewell's native name.] Hohlo married native women and had bastard children. [Probably Ogle.]

2 Tshaka used to have European guns tested by setting them cattle to aim at at various distances. He was fond of seeing the power of a gun, and his intention was to send a regiment of men to England who there would scatter in all directions in order to ascertain exactly how guns were made, and then return to construct some in Zululand.

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I do not believe Ntombela was a chief of the Zulu. I fancy he was merely of their line.⁷⁹

Building in the old days. (People would, build on one or two hillsides; they lived together for mutual protection. They were afraid of other peoples. They fought by hurling assegais at one another. They fought one another, although (living, close together.

Ndukwana says just as Sambana fought with Lubelo, Mtshelékwana too fought with the same tribe.⁸⁰

Many men would live in a kraal, which would be large. No-one built a kraal apart from others. It is well known that a fight
3 only lasted a day, and that at the conclusion they would visit one another and make it up again, for they knew one another well.

The same food was eaten in the old days. Cattle always existed, (as did, sheep and goats, but not fowls. These seem to have come with Europeans. My father would never eat a fowl, saying he knew nothing about it. There were no cats in the Zulu country. People called cats '*impaka*', and any person in possession of one was killed. '*He keeps a cat at his home. It mews like an impaka which goes about, with an inswelaboya.*'⁸¹

There were *cannibals*. Famine caused these to exist. They appeared in Tshaka's time. Tshaka once sent out a force against them. They were supposed to live at the Mhlatuze. No-one used to travel alone.

Ndukwana says there was a great famine in Tshaka's days which caused people to go and buy among Magonondo's people near the Mkondo
4 river and the Mhlongamvula hill.⁸² This famine was a general one, and far greater than the Mbete famine in Mpande's time, which only affected part of the country. People had to protect their gardens against human beings. For starving people would make their way into a garden and eat raw the green mealies growing there.

Jantshi says Gcugcwa was a *bandit* but instead of eating people he seized cattle. He lived in a forest (precipice) south of the Tugela. Tshaka sent out a force and he was hunted down and caught. He was taken to Tshaka. Ndhlela greeted Gcugcwa. He said, '*I see you. You too they will see tomorrow.*' He was thereupon killed. He lived alone in his forest.

Tshaka assembled those from the old Zulu heartland to select from them spies. My father was called with others and went up to Tshaka's kraal. Tshaka expressed his wish several times before Nongila would come forward. My father was created *induna* of all
5 the spies. I do not know others of Tshaka's spies than those given. My father enumerated a large number. Noge ya ka -- <sic> of the Mtetwa was also a spy. He went up with Tshaka. Noge ya's sons are living. Mbambane (heir) is one, and is living near Stanger - close by. He lives under Makewu or Cakijana or Zidumo, probably under Makewu. My father visited Noge ya. He drinks *isitshimeyana*.⁸³ Mbambane broke up the household.

Nongomela ka Masongo knows about Dingana and can *bonga* him. [Matshwili, Mbambane.]⁸⁴

Tshaka said *cowards* must be picked out from the regiments at Bulawayo, near where Mkungo⁸⁵ now lives. The bush exists.⁸⁶ In those days all stayed at the place of the great one. If Tshaka saw

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wounds behind, (the man) was killed because (Tshaka) said he must have been running away.

[Jantshi leaves - anxious to go on account of a boy of his suffering, I fancy, from consumption - 16.2.1903.]

17.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 6-8.

Present: Ndukwana alone

- 6 Ndukwana's opinion on Jantshi's story. I do not know who Mka-nyile, Sitayi, Nkunga ka Sitayi, Mataka ka Mpasa, Zivalele, Mpasa (all of the, Gazini) fathers are.⁸⁷ Jantshi makes no reference to Sojisa, Mapita etc., whereas they belong to Jama and ranked with Senzangakona.⁸⁸ Jantshi, when I questioned him, said Sojisa belonged to the *indhlunkulu*, for Mapita was spoken of as '*mtanenkosi*'.⁸⁹ I cannot understand how Sitayi and Mkanyile come to be associated by Jantshi with Senzangakona so much, and yet no mention be made of Sojisa. I want to hear where the importance Jantshi gives Mkanyile, Zivalele, Sitayi, and Mpasa is derived from.
- Tokotoko and Domba - sons of Sojisa. Mgazini - Masipula's section.⁹⁰

Jantshi should have said Ntombela, the father of Zulu, was a *chief*.

- 7 Jantshi threw light on *the return of Tshaka to the Zulu country*. Jantshi says on the one hand Mkanyile, Zivalele, Sitayi, and Mpasa are all brothers of Senzangakona, and therefore sons of Jama, and yet on the other he speaks of them as belonging to the Gazini tribe and apart from the Zulu tribe - *as a small house to the side*. I cannot see what can have caused the Gazini section to separate away so close to Jama. One could have understood it if taking place, say, two or even one generation afterwards.
- Simoyi ka Nkabana ka Sitayi, now living, would I think throw light on this point.
- I am aware the men Mkanyile etc. are of the Zulu.
- 8 I have never heard of the doggerel before. When Cetshwayo died we heard of the *original* Lubulolwenja *isibongo*, but I never heard of the three men named by Jantshi. Ndhlovu ka Timuni first mentioned them.⁹¹

Notes

¹Formed 1868; age-group born 1848.

²Formed c. 1816; age-group born c.1785-90.

³After his acquisition of supreme power in the Zululand area, Shaka elevated Myandeya (Mlandela) to the Mthethwa chieftaincy over the heads of the heirs of Dingiswayo, the former chief. Myandeya's grandfather Shangana(e) was a brother of Jobe, Dingiswayo's father. Thus, with Myandeya, the succession passed to a junior branch of the Mthethwa royal line. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 85, 202-3.

⁴i.e. the first known ancestor in the Zulu royal line.

⁵Literally, 'dog's penis'.

⁶We have been unable to trace this list.

- ⁷'A ba se zansi' in the original. The Qwabe occupied the country on the north side of the lower Thukela.
- ⁸'...we ehla'd ne silulu' in the original. The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467. A possible meaning may be that the ancestors of the group came carrying their provisions with them.
- ⁹Literally, 'He looked at the dog's earwax which had a stick of the Ntungwa people thrust in it.' The connotations of the references to the names are not known.
- ¹⁰*Umkhozi* is a term of relationship used between a man's parents and those of his wife. We have been unable to establish the meaning of the expression.
- ¹¹The original has '... Dingana was the first to start *ukujuba*.' The verb *juba* means to give permission or to order, especially in the case of a king's giving permission for a regiment to marry. The origins of this practice are usually attributed to Shaka, not Dingane.
- ¹²The informant later identifies Sitayi (Sithayi) and Zivalele as brothers of Senzangakhona. In Olden Times, Bryant also indicates that Senzangakhona and Zivalele were brothers (see p. 39, where Zivalele is referred to as son of Jama, who was Senzangakhona's father), but does not indicate any familial relationship between Sithayi and Senzangakhona.
- ¹³Chief of the Langeni and sometimes given as Nandi's father. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 125-6, and Dictionary, p. 756; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 126.
- ¹⁴A cousin to Senzangakhona who acted as co-regent with Mnkabayi during Senzangakhona's minority. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 45-6.
- ¹⁵Mntaniya ka Manyelela of the Sibiya people. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 40.
- ¹⁶Names for a beetle believed by the Zulu to cause intestinal disorders.
- ¹⁷Of the Mbedwini sub-group of the Qwabe (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 63).
- ¹⁸Ngomane of the Mdletsheni clan was an *induna* of Dingiswayo (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64).
- ¹⁹Another of Stuart's informants.
- ²⁰*Ilembe* is sometimes translated as 'axe': see Cope, Izibongo, p. 88.
- ²¹For Zivalele, Sitayi (Sithayi), and Mudhli (Mudli) see notes 12 and 14 above.
- ²²See note 18 above.
- ²³Bryant (Olden Times, pp. 191, 196) records Phakathwayo's insulting Shaka in similar terms, though his account differs slightly from that of Jantshi.
- ²⁴Literally, 'of the deep pools'.
- ²⁵Zwide's mother.
- ²⁶Sikhunyana's invasion of the Zulu country took place in 1826, i.e. some seven years after Shaka's defeat of Zwide, and not 'a few months' after, as Jantshi says. An account of Shaka's campaign against Sikhunyana has been left by H.F. Fynn, who accompanied the Zulu army. (Stuart and Malcolm, eds., Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 122-8.) See also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, p. 60ff; Bryant,

- Olden Times, pp. 588-94.
- ²⁷ Mankulumana, a younger son of Somaphunga (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 213), was one of Dinuzulu's chief *izinduna* and a leading figure in Zulu politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- ²⁸ Bryant (Olden Times, p. 179) gives Khondlo as Magalela's father, not his son. The praise here translated refers to Magalela.
- ²⁹ Zihlandlo and Gcwabe were chiefs of the Mkhize people (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 403, 405).
- ³⁰ Of the Seleku people; see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 529-31.
- ³¹ Soshangane was head of a section of Zwide's Ndwandwe people, and commanded the army which was routed by Shaka in Zwide's second attack on the Zulu kingdom, c.1819. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 160-1, 447ff; Morris, Washing of the Spears, p. 63.
- ³² 'The assegai that was red from stabbing people' probably means Shaka himself, but the meaning of the rest of the imagery is not clear. For Shaka's reaction, see Fynn, Diary, pp. 150 - 1.
- ³³ Two of Stuart's informants.
- ³⁴ Bryant gives a different relationship for Mbengi and Nandi. See Olden Times, p. 126.
- ³⁵ '*Izinyane le nkosi*' in the original.
- ³⁶ Ngqengelele of the Buthelezi was one of Shaka's chief councillors. Nqetho, chief of the Qwabe, had submitted to Shaka and earned his special favour.
- ³⁷ Mother of Senzangakhona and grandmother of Shaka, according to Bryant (Olden Times, p. 40). Jantshi later refers to her as one of Senzangakhona's wives.
- ³⁸ Presumably the range of hills of that name just north of the White Mfolozi on which present-day Mahlabathini is situated.
- ³⁹ Langeni chief.
- ⁴⁰ Bryant gives Mbikwane as brother to the Mthethwa chief Jobe and uncle to Dingiswayo. He describes him as Shaka's 'earliest of friends' and as being 'prime minister of the Zulu realm' in 1824. (Olden Times, pp. 85, 569.)
- ⁴¹ Ngwadi and Nomcoba were children of Nandi. Jantshi gives their father as Gendeyana; Bryant gives Ngwadi's father as Gendeyana, and Nomcoba's as Senzangakhona. (Olden Times, pp. 49, 53, 63.)
- ⁴² Tununu was another of Stuart's informants. For an account of the attack, which was one of Dingane's first acts after the assassination of Shaka, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 668-9.
- ⁴³ Bryant (Olden Times, p. 668) also states that Ngwadi was allowed a considerable measure of autonomy by Shaka.
- ⁴⁴ Nzibe was son of Senzangakhona, full brother to Mpande, and half-brother to Shaka. He died in 1828 on the Bhalule campaign against Soshangane. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 670.
- ⁴⁵ The scene of Mpande's victory over Dingane in January 1840.
- ⁴⁶ The Ngele mountains lie at the source of the Mthamvuna east of present-day Kokstad.
- ⁴⁷ Emissary sent by Shaka in 1828 on a mission to the English king. He got no further than Port Elizabeth, from which he returned after a series of delays and unproductive interviews with minor officials.
- ⁴⁸ In 1883.
- ⁴⁹ The Mathunjana referred to may be the person of that name who was a household servant to both Shaka and Dingane, and who, in 1839,

- warned Mpande of Dingane's plot to kill him. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 218 and 324-5. One of Mpande's sons was named Mtonga, but it is doubtful if this is the person referred to.
- ⁵⁰ Mkabayi and Mama were twin daughters of Jama; elder sisters of Senzangakhona; aunts of Shaka.
- ⁵¹ The incident referred to is presumably that recorded by Fynn as occurring on his first visit to Shaka in mid-1824. See Fynn, Diary, p. 83ff.
- ⁵² *Empakeni* is the locative form of *impaka*, which means, according to Bryant (Dictionary, p. 480), 'cat possessed by an *umtakati* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands'.
- ⁵³ i.e. by the Zulu king. The original has '*Kwenz' izul' e li pezulu*', with a play on the word *izulu* which literally means 'the heavens'.
- ⁵⁴ Mbethe was a famous rain doctor in the reign of Mpande. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4.)
- ⁵⁵ Khoza chiefs. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 274-5.
- ⁵⁶ Bryant (Dictionary, p. 359) gives *umlisa* (pl. *abalisa*) as 'young unmarried male in the full activity of his youth'.
- ⁵⁷ Literally, a large gathering, as at a festival.
- ⁵⁸ i.e. Jantshi's father.
- ⁵⁹ Literally, 'a skin blanket with hooves', i.e. a beast. The meaning intended is not clear.
- ⁶⁰ Presumably Shaka is here predicting that his death would be followed by certain unnatural phenomena and a collapse of moral order among the Zulu.
- ⁶¹ Literally, 'No man dare scrape the hides of those cattle, going *xwe, xwe, xwe*', i.e. 'scrape, scrape, scrape'. This may mean that Shaka regarded the cattle as being completely safe from harm.
- ⁶² At a certain point in the annual *umkhosi* ceremonies, the chief, daubed with powdered medicines (*umsizi*), was required to spend the night not in his private quarters but in another hut in the *isigodlo*, known in consequence as the *eyasemsizini* ('the one of the powdered medicines'). He would be attended by a selected wife, or a girl from the *isigodlo*, with whom he might have intercourse. A child born of this connection, as Mpande is sometimes said to have been, was called *owasemsizini*, and held an inferior rank in the family. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 593; and Zulu People, p. 519.
- ⁶³ Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁶⁴ See note 9 above.
- ⁶⁵ In the original the word is *ibungu* (*ibhungu*), which means a youth of 16-20.
- ⁶⁶ The Makhosini valley, the heartland of the original Zulu chiefdom, lies just south of the White Mfolozi and west of the present-day road between Mahlabathini and Melmoth. The Mabedlana hills are just across the river to the north.
- ⁶⁷ '*Ndabezita!*' ('*Ndabezitha!*') is a form of adulatory address used among the Zulu when saluting the king or any of his sons. Bryant writes that the word was originally the polite address-form for several clans 'whose great ancestor seems to have been an individual...called Ndaba'. He adds that after the conquest of these smaller groups by Shaka the address-form 'seems to have been assumed by the Zulu clan to whom it is now solely applied'. (Dictionary, p. 410.) See also Olden Times, pp. 221-2.
- ⁶⁸ The structure of this sentence in the original makes its interpretation difficult. In his evidence of 13.2.1903 (written up on

- 18.2.1903), Jantshi identifies Mbikwana as a man probably living in the household of Nandi's mother at the homestead of the Langeni chief Mbengi, but denies that Mbikwana had any hand in taking Shaka on to the Mthethwa, or in arranging *lobolo* for Nandi.
- ⁶⁹ The reference is to the great exodus led by Mawa from the Zulu kingdom into Natal in 1843. Jantshi's identification of Mawa as the daughter of Senzangakhona and sister of Mpande and Dingane is at variance with Bryant's statement that she was Senzangakhona's sister (Olden Times, p. 40). Theal (History of S.A. 1795-1872, vol. 2, p. 384) gives Mawa as 'a widow of Senzangakhona'.
- ⁷⁰ Bryant (Olden Times, p. 40) gives Mntaniya as Senzangakhona's mother.
- ⁷¹ Nqakamatshe seems to have been an alternative name for the Khandempemvu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 237.
- ⁷² 1856.
- ⁷³ Bishop J.W. Colenso.
- ⁷⁴ Somveli was one of Dingiswayo's sons, who sought refuge from Shaka in Tongaland. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 84-5.) In the original, the final sentence of this paragraph reads, 'They became Tshaka's followers and not independent tribes.'
- ⁷⁵ Mngoye was another of Dingiswayo's sons. Mashwili was a chief in the Lower Tugela Division. See genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85; Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B12.
- ⁷⁶ The Lembe were an offshoot of the Sikhakhana people (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 231).
- ⁷⁷ H.F. Fynn junior, resident magistrate at Pomeroy, 1876-96.
- ⁷⁸ Literally the saying means, 'the white man's country of Febana'. Febana was the Zulu name for F.G. Farewell.
- ⁷⁹ See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37.
- ⁸⁰ Minor chiefs who engaged in a series of conflicts along the Ubombo in the nineteenth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 340-4; and Zulu History, pp. 19-23.
- ⁸¹ For *impaka* see note 52 above. *Inswelaboya* was the word used to denote murderers who obtained human flesh for purposes of witchcraft. (Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 773.)
- ⁸² In present-day Swaziland. The Mkondo is shown on older maps as the Assegai river.
- ⁸³ Intoxicating drink made from sugar cane waste.
- ⁸⁴ Stuart here appears to be listing the names of potential informants.
- ⁸⁵ Mkungu (Mkungu), son of Mpande by Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 680), was another of Stuart's informants and is probably the person here referred to.
- ⁸⁶ The place of execution at Shaka's Bulawayo *umuzi* is today known as Coward's Bush.
- ⁸⁷ The names given are those of chiefs associated with the Gazini offshoots of the Zulu royal line. These offshoots began acquiring a distinct identity about the time of Jama and Senzangakhona (i.e. late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries). Uncertainty exists as to the identity of these men and their familial relationships. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39-40, 130; and Dictionary, pp. 757-8, 761.
- ⁸⁸ Sojisa (Sojiyisa) was son of Jama; brother of Senzangakhona; father of Maphitha; grandfather of Zibhebhu of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu. According to some accounts, Sojiyisa was fathered by an

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adopted son of Jama and was therefore not strictly of the royal lineage. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5.

⁸⁹Literally, 'a child of the chief'.

⁹⁰This paragraph occurs in the original as a marginal note.

⁹¹Ndhlovu was another of Stuart's informants.

KAMBI KA MATSHOBANA

<Kambi's evidence as given below is taken from Stuart's transcription of rough notes which he recorded in notebook 18, File 60. Typescript copies of the transcription are to be found in Files 14 and 41 - eds.>

9.4.1903 - <evidence given 8.4.1903>

File 70, pp. 86-8.

Also present: Mtshwayiza, I. Windham

- 86 Qwabe tribe, history, per Kambi and Mtshwayiza, 8.4.1903; I. Windham present. Mtshwayiza, aet. about 42, is a borough police sergeant. He lives in Eshowe District, and is a son of Mamfongonyana, former chief of the tribe. He is more or less cut off, the main section of the tribe being in Natal, i.e. that portion there lately under Zidumo (deceased). He now claims the chieftainship in Zidumo's place until the latter's children (heir) shall have grown up.

Kambi is aged say 38 or 39, and is a member of the Qwabe tribe at present working as a togt boy in Durban.

Mamfongonyana was a member of the Mdhlenevu regiment.¹

Qwabe was originally the name of a person, just as that of Zulu was, and both were the sons of one man, Malandela. Owing to a quarrel between Zulu and Qwabe, their father caused them to separate. Zulu went further north whilst Qwabe came and settled on the south side of the Mhlataze river (not merely in Eshowe District).

Before this separation, Kambi (who is principal spokesman) does not know where the people all lived together. It may have been in the White Mfolozi valley. He believes the common *isibongo*, prior to separation, was Lufenulwennja. It is certain this name did at one time apply to the Qwabe people. Owing to living north and so in the direction of or close to the Basutos, the Zulus came to be spoken of as *abeSutu*. This appellation was never used in respect to the Qwabe.

- 87 During the early part of Tshaka's reign, Pakatwayo was king of the tribe. He died on account of being attacked by Tshaka. It was proposed, says Mtshwayiza, that they should *hold a dance together*, i.e. the Qwabe and Zulu tribes. To do this meant of course that no assegais would be brought. The Qwabe tribe came to the dance altogether unarmed whilst the Zulu people had one and all secretly armed themselves. The end of it was that the Zulus attacked the Qwabes, defeated them, and secured Pakatwayo, who very quickly died from fear.

As regards Pakatwayo's ancestors, they are these, Kambi says:

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He was the son of Kondhlo, son of Mncinci ka Lufuta ka Simamane ka Kuzwayo; then come Sidinane and Mahlomo [Mahlobo, according to Tununu], as to whose order Kambi is not certain.² Nor can Kambi trace the line up to the man Qwabe and so connect with the Zulus.

When Tshaka defeated Pakatwayo, the Qwabe people became subject to the former. Mtshwayiza does not know what *induna* or chief was placed over them, but numbers seem to have left for what is now Natal, being dissatisfied with the government. Pakatwayo's heir was Mamfongonyana (Mtshwayiza's father).³ The latter at a later time became chief over a section of the tribe in Natal. Mamfongonyana's heir was the late Zidumo, living in Lower Tugela Division, and whom I knew.

The main reason why the Qwabe tribe left Zululand is because, when in July 1824 Tshaka was stabbed in the arm and side, it was found he had been stabbed with a Qwabe assegai. This could be seen by the shape of the wood at the end of it, and thereupon Tshaka sent bodies of men out to massacre all members of the tribe. The punitive expedition were told that a characteristic of the people was for them to be always pushing wood further into the fire. Assisted by this and other information, many of the Qwabe people were killed and the majority of the people came south of the Tugela. Many came and lived on a plain known as Kwa Davati near Makanya, not far from Isipingo.

Vubukulwayo was a brother of Pakatwayo's; so also was Godide. Pakatwayo's grave is near where the chief Mkungo now lives in the Eshowe District.⁴ Kambi cannot indicate where graves of former kings were. He is able to recite Pakatwayo's *izibongo* at some length.

Mamfongonyana left Zululand in Mpande's reign. He left because of indignities he had to put up with; he was, for instance, made an *inceku responsible for milking* and *had to extend both hands, like an inferior, to receive curds*.

88 Mtshwayiza says he does not know much because he was obliged to treat his father with the greatest respect on account of his high rank. He had, for instance, to go behind the hut in which he was, and not before the door of it, and if he entered the hut there was a something about the place which was oppressive; one felt one's *mbombo* [forehead? - bridge of nose (Colenso)] get hot.⁵

Kambi and Mtshwayiza are familiar with some of the incidents respecting Nqeto which are recorded by Fynn [see vol. 1, Annals of Natal, pp. 149, 150].

11.4.1903, Saturday.

File 70, pp. 88-93.

Also present: Mtshwayiza

Per Kambi alias Ntshokobela, and Mtshwayiza. I learn Kambi is of the same age as the Falaza regiment⁶ (i.e. about three or four years older than myself). His father was Matshobana.

.... <Annotated praises of Phakathwayo omitted. All except three lines of these praises appear as lines 2-34 of Phakathwayo's praises published in Cope, *Izibongo*, pp. 143, 145. The order in the latter differs slightly from that given by Kambi - eds.>

90 To this day, Mtshwayiza says, Nomo's⁷ kraal Entoyeni [should it not be Entoyeyeni? - yes] is existing; it was *re-established* by Mamfongonyana, and hut tax for it is paid at Stanger Magistracy, seeing it was under the late chief Zidumo.

The Qwabe tribe had regiments of its own. The only one of Pakatwayo's which Kambi and Mtshwayiza can name is the iziNkonde, which was so large an one that if it began in the course of the morning to enter the kraal the process would continue until sunset. Regiments were enlisted according to age and *incorporated* into the iziNkonde, which then became a huge body of men of different ages.

A characteristic of the Qwabe people is that they *tefula*.

My informant Kambi got much of the information he now gives, especially the *izibongo*, from his late uncle Mnyaiza, son of Maganga,
91 who was well-informed and knew the tribal kings' *izibongo*.

Among Pakatwayo's kraals were the following:

eMtandeni - the principal one

eNtoyeyeni

eyiDedeni

eNdhlekezeni (eziNdhlekezeni)

eMteteni - [a section of the Mtandeni, not a separate kraal
- Tununu, 31.5.1903]

eMaganukeni - [Nqeto's kraal]

All these were in land lying south of and adjacent to the Mhlatuze river. The eMaganukeni kraal was *that of Nqeto*.

Pakatwayo wore a *headring*. He died an elderly man but not *very old*. A man at present living near Stanger [under Ntshingumuzi], Ndhlembeni ka Mgqogqoza, can give a good deal of information as regard Qwabe affairs. He belongs to the Qwabe people proper.

In the old days there was a very strong objection to *abatakati*. This being so, the greatest restrictions were placed on people becoming doctors. The Qwabe people paid special attention to the matter, and so controlled the keeping of drugs as to confine them to a few well-known and respectable men. Whenever there was a supposed case of *takataing*, the king would call his *izangoma* together and *have them divine*; i.e. the doctors would be encircled by a large body of men etc.; they would *leap about* inside and, by *bulaing*, proceed to smell out the evil-doers.

The Qwabe people were spoken of by the Zulus and other northern tribes as *those from down-country*.⁸

Nqeto. When Tshaka was assassinated, Nqeto sent to Zwide and said, 'Let us attack them (Zulus) whilst they are in a state of confusion.' I, says Kambi, do not know what Zwide's reply was. [Zwide was dead and buried.] Nqeto then went off with a large section of the Qwabe tribe, carrying with him considerable numbers of cattle belonging to the Zulus. Nqeto was a brother of the late Pakatwayo, being, like him, a son of Kondhlo. At this time Mamfongonyana was a boy, living with his uncle Godide,⁹ son of Kondhlo. Among the sons of Kondhlo, the preceding king, were Pakatwayo, Vubukulwayo, Nqeto, Godolozzi and Godide. It is said Tshaka was fond of Nqeto. Godolozzi, Godide and other sons of Kondhlo were killed
92 by Tshaka.

Tshaka on one occasion, when he had slaughtered some cattle, sent *the head of a beast* to Nqeto. This Nqeto took up and dropped in front of Tshaka's hut, refusing to eat meat which ticks ate,

for was he not the son of a king? Tshaka replied, 'He is quite right,' and at once ordered the *rib meat*¹⁰ to be sent to him. The same sort of thing happened when beer was sent. Nqeto would cause his *izi-naeku* to taste it, and if they found it [not?] as good as that previously given, would return the same and remonstrate about being treated in that way. Tshaka would acquiesce and say the son of a king should not be supplied with beer of an acid taste.

Of a night the more important men would assemble about the king at the upper end of the cattle kraal. One would be directed to call Nqeto. He would then shout out in a loud voice, 'Here, Nqeto.'¹¹ (This was the mode in which men were called.) Nqeto would proceed to the place where the king was sitting and, not having answered to his name, would inquire who it was who had called out to him in so unseemly a fashion - this in Tshaka's presence. Tshaka would then say chaffingly that he was no longer the son of a king, and therefore he must expect to have his name shouted out as was done in the case of all others. Nqeto would then turn and leave, when a person would be sent after him to turn him back, addressing him, as he did so, as if indeed he were the son of a reigning monarch. Nqeto would then return and take his seat among the party.

If the king called anyone else but Nqeto, they would come running up, even if they were the sons of late kings. One only would dare to respond to the summons by walking; that was Nqeto. All other men too would accept whatever food the king gave, *beast heads* or anything else. Nqeto, as has been shown, acted differently.

Among other important men of the tribe was Batintile, son of a former king Mncinci. He was a brother of Kondhlo. The man Ntshingumuzi, now in charge of the late Zidumo's section of the tribe, is a son of Mkwetu, who was the son of the Batintile in question.

93 In former times the tribe used to dress differently to what members of it do now. *People wore their loin covers low on the buttocks. We wore loin covers of twisted tassels of black sheepskin. In former times people would need hooked sticks with which to hitch them up.* Men carried about with them two wooden small hooks, one in either hand, and with these from time to time lifted up the side of the loin cover if it pressed too closely against the upper hind portion of the leg, and so again on the other side. There appear to have been strings affixed alongside of the loin cover, of which the hooks or prongs were intended to take hold, and these hooks were made of *thorned mimosa* wood.

Then there was a *numuza*¹² custom which would be practised when men had assembled in company. A pot of *curdled milk* would be put in the midst, provided with one spoon only. The principal man would take the spoon, put it into the pot and take onto the spoon a quantity of the food, consume that one spoonful, and then pass the spoon on to the person next on his right, who in his turn would act similarly, and so on to the end, when the last man would cover the pot and lay the spoon on top.

Beer made of *upoko*¹³ would be brought in sometimes, and would be passed from one to the other in small vessel. Each would take a short drink and, when all had partaken thereof, would proceed to discuss affairs.

Another *numuza* custom was that when one of the men present

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wanted to leave, he would get up and ask to be accompanied home. All would then get up and go along with him in the direction of his home. They would go some 600 or 700 yards and then return to the kraal, and the man they had been accompanying, and who had said he was going home, would go back with them! Another two or three would speak of going home and ask to be accompanied. This would be done, and the party would be joined by the man who had already been accompanied as if going home. All, having again gone some little way, would again return, and such process would go on into the night when, seeing it was night, the whole party would decide to remain the whole night. A beast would then be killed by the *umumzana* as food for his guests.

The Qwabe lived on both sides of the Tugela. Makuta was probably a contemporary of Pakatwayo, and was chief over a portion of the people.¹⁴ Mtambo (living), son of Makuta, has a following among the Makanya, and pays taxes in the Umlazi court.

Notes

¹Formed c.1843; age-group born c.1823.

²Bryant (Olden Times, p. 186) gives a slightly different genealogy for the Qwabe chiefly line. Tununu was another of Stuart's informants.

³For Bryant's account of the succession dispute that followed the death of Phakathwayo, see Olden Times, pp. 199-200. He makes no mention of Mamfongonyana as being Phakathwayo's heir.

⁴Mkungo, son of Mpande by Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo, was another of Stuart's informants. He lived on the Ngoye hills south of the Mhlatuze.

⁵*Umbombo* means the ridge of the nose.

⁶Formed c.1877-8; age-group born c.1856-60.

⁷Nomo was a brother of Phakathwayo.

⁸A *ba se zansi* in the original.

⁹Bryant (Olden Times, p. 186) gives Godide as Mamfongonyana's father.

¹⁰The *insonyama*, or meat covering a beast's ribs, was 'specially prized as the perquisite of the head of the kraal'. (Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 600.)

¹¹'*Nangu Nqeto bo*' in the original.

¹²The verb *ukunumusa* means to lead a comfortable life, to live a life of pleasure and prosperity.

¹³A species of millet.

¹⁴Bryant (Olden Times, p. 187) gives Makuta (Makhutha) as the chief who, after the accession of Dingane, established himself just to the south of present-day Durban with most of the Makhanya section of the Qwabe.

KUMALO, JOHANNES

11.9.1900 - <evidence given 10.9.1900>
Royal Hotel, Ladysmith.

File 74, p. 141.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 141 Zulu regiments. I had a conversation with Johannes Kumalo yesterday afternoon on this subject. He says he is of Dingana's Dhlambedhlu regiment,¹ that he and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, whom he knew well, used to discuss the point as to which was the elder of the two, he or Sir T.S. This fact tends to fix the age of this regiment. Sir T.S. died in --, 189- at the age of 7-, having been born on --, 182-.² Johannes Kumalo, whose father-name is Nhlabati (not father's but father-name, i.e. name given him by his father), says that when Tshaka died he was a herd boy. Assuming his age then to be at the lowest for a herd boy, 7 or 8, and that Tshaka was killed in September 1828, this would tend to fix his age at about 81 or 82. I think, however, as there is no doubt the Dhlambedhlu was Dingana's first regiment, so, as Dingana began to reign at once after Tshaka's death, we should reckon Kumalo as beyond 81 or 82, say about 85 or 86. He is a wonderfully hale and hearty man; he does not look very old at first sight, but after consideration (Ndukwana was present when I examined him) I think his age now might fairly be fixed at about 85 [or 87 - 11.11.1900]. I must find out at what age regiments were as a rule *buta'd*.

13.9.1900, 7.45 p.m. - <evidence
given 10.9.1900 and 11.9.1900>

File 74, p. 141.

On 11.9.1900, after writing the above, I saw J. Kumalo for a minute. He says when Tshaka died he was a *mat-bearer*, and indicated for me the size, about 14 years of age I should think. This therefore tends to fix his age at 85 or 86.

On 10th I made notes during the conversation and immediately afterwards (five minutes after), Ndukwana assisting. J. Kumalo said - I write from these notes - that Tshaka's oldest or first regiment was Ufansimba and the last Izinnyosi; that Ufansimba was followed by Zibolela, then Jibinqwanga (Jubingqwanga), Ngqobolondo, Tshoyisa, Dubinhlangu, Gibabanye, and Ndabenkulu, followed last by Izinnyosi as already stated. Another name for Izinnyosi was Ingcobinga. The regiments Gibabanye, Dubinhlangu, Tshoyisa, Ngqobolondo, and Jibinqwanga were all thrown together and known by the name Izimpohlo. J. Kumalo appeared to me to be in some doubt as to the proper order

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or sequence of the regiments between Ufansimba and Izinnyosi. It is possible he may have omitted a regiment or two, and it is possible those included under Izimpohlo are not correctly given.³

Mswazi, king of Swaziland, Kumalo says, threw a number of regiments together and called them Inyati, just as Tshaka did in regard to Izimpohlo.

Dingana's first regiment was Dhlambedhlu, then Imvoko, then Imikulutshane, Ihlaba, and Ndabakawombe (Ukokoti). The Dhlambedhlu (Dingana's) was known as 'Mgamule ka Nomakwele' and as the Izindhlovu. *The Izinnyosi and Dhlambedhlu were 'palane' regiments. 'Palane' means a great or extra-sized regiment like the Ngobamakosi. [Bryant has a different version.]*⁴

Tshaka, according to Ndukwana, once ordered the Jibinqwanga regiment to cut off their *headrings* because they were still so young and had not attained an age of dignity. He said they were to *drink from the udders like boys* again.

'Ndabakawombe ate a horse.'

Ntengo was *induna* of the Dhlambedhlu. He once said, '*Even if the king should kill me, the Dhlambedhlu will still perform great deeds*' (referring to war). Ntengo had a very long neck.

26.9.1900

File 74, p. 141.

[Per Ezra Msimango. Johannes Kumalo is probably over 85 years of age, especially as he is of Dingana's first regiment. Ndukwana says that Dingana *buta'd* the Dhlambedhlu first, then the Inhlekane, which he *incorporated* into the Dhlambedhlu, so that regiment might be looked on as *the Little Dhlambedhlu*.]

Notes

¹Formed c.1829; age-group born c.1809.

²The Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 1, p. 715, gives Shepstone's date of birth as 8.1.1817. He died on 23.6.1893.

³For other lists of regiments see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 645-6; Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, pp. 235-6.

⁴Bryant (*Dictionary*, p. 482) gives *upalane* (*uphalane*, pl. *ophalane*) as meaning 'Egyptian vulture...generally going in pairs; hence jocularly applied to lovers...or to certain regiments of Dingane, Cetshwayo etc. which regularly accompanied each other in a fight'.

KUMALO, JOHN

<Typescript copies of the evidence given below are to be found in Files 6 and 27 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

12.10.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 111.

111 I had a conversation, lasting about 1½ hours, this afternoon with John Kumalo, an important headman at Roosboom (where a number of *koluxas* etc. live) in Klip River Division. He, I should think, is about 62-64 years of age (about (the age of) the Ndhlonhlo regiment).¹ He formerly lived in Estcourt Division among the Mangweni (people) near Pasiwe, Little Tugela.

He said there are two main grievances natives have against the Government: (a) rent charged by Europeans against natives squatting on the land; (b) loss of control of fathers over their daughters. As regards (a), a man, for not paying, is turned off by the white man, say in 10 days. An appeal to court, or if the white man brings a case on, merely confirms the white man's action; the man leaves; he drives away his belongings, goats etc.; perhaps these are then impounded by some other white man, and the native has to find a resting place as best he can; hut tax comes on and the magistrate expects immediate payment. As for (b), natives object to their daughters *having premarital relations* with their lovers; they desire young men first to get permission. Girls may then have to be corrected (beaten); they run off to some town, like Ladysmith, to work; they engage in the service of some European woman; the father goes off to look for his daughter, finds her after some trouble, speaks to the mistress; in the meantime the girl, afraid of her father, goes on with her work; the mistress says, in her indifferant 'kitchen kaffir', 'Oh, no, you can't have your daughter; she is engaged to work for me. If you want to talk about the matter, see my husband. He is away just now, but will be back soon.' The husband comes. 'What,' he says, 'you want your daughter? No, I can't let you have her; she is working.' Father goes off powerless to do any more. In course of time the girl will let a lot of dishes, plates etc. fall on the ground; she will then be beaten and dismissed by her mistress; she is afraid of returning to her angry father; she comes across gaudily dressed girls in the streets who question her and ultimately persuade her to join them and earn by prostitution that money which will enable her to dress as stylishly as her comrades. The girl goes entirely to the dogs, and the father curses his luck as he perceives no prospect of coming by the *lobola*

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which, but for this, was within his reach and his rightful due.

There are other matters a native does not understand. When he gets drunk he is arrested and fined for being in a state of intoxication. He asks, 'Why am I arrested for being drunk? Was not the money I got drunk on mine?'

13.10.1900, 2.25 p.m. - <evidence
given 12.10.1900>

File 73, p. 112.

- 112 *Kolwas* cannot understand natives who are not exempted from payment of hut tax from the mere fact that they have built a square hut or house.² A privilege not deserved seems to have been conferred here.

[No-one was present when I had this conversation which took place in my room, no. 12, at the Royal Hotel.]

12.10.1900

File 73, pp. 111-12.

- 111 Generally speaking there was no grievance against Sir T. Shepstone. He governed well, but there is however one point. A body of men - Ngoza's - including Mkungo (who could read and write), went to Shepstone. He saw them in public. *Kolwas* were, I think, present.
- 112 The subject was (the relations of, Ngoza's people, and Mkungo's, with the missionaries.³ Shepstone said, 'The white people *bonga* their *amadhlozi*; you too should *bonga* your own.'⁴ The *kolwas* saw from this that Shepstone favoured the raw native; that he did not wish the native to rise to the higher civilization; that in fact he was inimical to the highest interests of the native race. He advocated a separation between Europeans and natives instead of promoting unity.

Shepstone frequently discussed native affairs with important natives. He did this usually out in the open and at meetings. When he heard a *case involving dispute* as to the successor to the late Nodada, John Kumalo was present. The tribe was the abaTembu people. Mafongozi [or some such name] was one of the disputants. John Kumalo sought permission to speak. He asked, 'Did not Nodada tell you all what the laws of the land were; was it never his custom to educate you?' Upon this one of the raw natives replied, 'Get along, you *kolwa*; off you go from here and drive your waggons.' John Kumalo is of course a *kolwa*. The case was decided against Mafongozi.

When Shepstone said that about *bongaing* their own *amadhlozi* and advising natives to continue in their own way, the missionaries were made acquainted with Shepstone's remarks and a good deal of influence was brought to bear on him.

As for Colenso, he was so much the natives' friend, so much did he identify himself with them, that people (Europeans) disliked him on that account. He once wrote (propheisied) in a little book about Columbus's voyages that the whole world will yet bend the knee, saying 'Amen', and give their allegiance to Africa. John Kumalo says he has not, for long past, seen this book; i.e. it may be out of print. [6.50 p.m. - It is not in the '*Inhlanganisela*'.⁵] John Kumalo frequently visited Bishopstowe.

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<At this point Stuart cross-refers to other notebooks for further details of this conversation and of a conversation with Solomon Kumalo. These notebooks appear to be lost - eds.>

28.10.1900, 1.54 p.m. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 113-18.

Also present: Ndukwana

113 I had a conversation with John Kumalo of Roosboom on miscellaneous subjects from about 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. today. He said that what first created in him the desire to learn to read and write and to become a *kolwa* was when, years ago, before the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley (i.e. before the opening of the mines there), he was out at work in the Cape Colony and had occasion to go to an office to ask for a pass back to Natal, in company with others. Such pass was written out and given to him by a Fengu⁶ - a black man. It astonished him to see a black man able to read and write. He then left with the pass, travelling via Basutoland with his friends. In Basutoland he was asked for his pass by a Basuto who had on no other clothing than a skin *covering* etc., purely native clothing. At first he was surprised at the Basuto calling for the pass and would not produce it, but when the boy, for boy it was, persisted, he gave him the pass. The boy at once read what was thereon, telling the very names of the party by reading them accurately from the paper. After this there was a very keen desire to learn.

John's father had four wives. Two had one child each. John's mother had five children of whom two died. John's eldest brother is still living, is not a *kolwa*, and refuses to become one; he has had more than one wife; all of them are dead (from dysentery?). One of his children is a *kolwa*. John told his father of his wish to go to Pietermaritzburg to work in order to learn, as well as to find out about Nkulunkulu.⁷ His father was much opposed to this and, in striking him, scratched him with his hand. His mother was silent, afraid of course of her husband. John, however, was determined to go, and go he did, being accompanied part of the way by his mother, who gave him his little parcel of food and was so disconsolate that John had to shut his eyes and tear himself from her. John went to Pietermaritzburg, came to Mkungu ka Mpande whom he had heard of, and was 114 taken by Mkungu to Bishopstowe (Bishop Colenso). Bishop Colenso had John taught; he was taught by a Mr Bo (written as pronounced). He made rapid progress as he took a keen interest in his work. For instance, when he heard people talking he used to try and think how the words they used would be spelt if written. In this way he learned to read and write.

Bishop Colenso was a man endowed with prophetic vision. He (Colenso) once asked a Dr. -- if he could tell what the origin of the Zulu people was. The doctor said he thought they were descended from the Jews. Colenso expressed approval and proceeded to indicate a few things upon which such conclusion could be based. He referred to their strict laws, where people were killed for adultery and for a number of other offences; circumcision; the offering up of incense (*impepo* as the Zulus call it); and the *spirits* worshipped seem to find a kind of prototype in the serpent set up in the wilderness.⁸ Colenso very eagerly took down native customs etc. from elderly

natives' lips. He would write whilst the man was talking and without looking on the paper, except to see where he was writing. He did a very great deal of writing. John cannot understand how it is there are so few followers of Sobantu⁹ nowadays. They have dwindled to nothing, and yet on great subjects no-one dared to approach him. Any question a man might ask would at once be swallowed up by the great Know-all. Sobantu denied the existence of hell: he said Christ only spoke figuratively, comparing it to Gehenna, the place of rubbish outside Jerusalem, for, Colenso would ask, 'If your child does wrong do you kill it? The answer is, "No". Why then shall God, who is our father, send us to perdition for doing wrong?' Colenso was a fluent linguist, could hear everything a native had to say, and always wished him to speak in a manly and not in an effeminate way.

Langalibalele. Langalibalele did no wrong. What happened was this. W. Shepstone,¹⁰ Nsokonsokwana, at the instigation of his father, came to the Amahlubi tribe and got labourers for the Kimberley diamond fields. When at Kimberley, these men were set out to work among Europeans. At that time it was possible for Europeans without any difficulty to buy guns in Kimberley. The natives took it into their own heads to buy guns through their European masters; they succeeded, and afterwards brought the guns back to their tribe. Langalibalele was not in any way the person who instructed them to buy guns. The whole of the misunderstanding that arose, and the consequent fighting, was due to Mahoyiza, the *induna* sent by Somsewu to see Langalibalele in regard to the registration of the guns.¹¹ Mahoyiza took some of his own messengers with him and conducted negotiations with Langalibalele by means of them instead of personally. No doubt the young men at Langalibalele's resented this action on the part of Mahoyiza and, by influencing their father, caused things to come to a crisis which, if Somsewu had managed the whole affair personally, would never have occurred. The secret of all the trouble was Mahoyiza.

115

John, after the disturbances, had occasion to go and try to recover his relations from the Langalibalele tribe. Before going on, it should be noted that John went at night once to Bishop Colenso about this Langalibalele affair, taking the chief's side and carrying certain information. When, later on, he went to ask for his relations, he saw Mmango (A.J. Shepstone¹²) who accused him of carrying messages to Bishop Colenso at night time, and quarrelled with him about the matter. He said, 'You thought Langalibalele would not be imprisoned and made to cross the sea, did you? Where is he now?'

Land. In Klip River and Estcourt Divisions many years ago there were large native locations. These locations were afterwards surveyed and divided up into farms. Rents varying from £1 to £3 and £4 were then charged. In Klip River Division there is now very little location land compared to what used to be. This part of Natal used to be looked upon as belonging to the Zulu king, for all these heads, like Langalibalele, Nodada, Pakade, Nyamayenja, etc. used to pay tribute to Tshaka etc.¹³

Kolwas. John says: We belong neither to the Europeans nor to the

KUMALO

natives. We are a people apart and without proper laws. He thinks the best thing for the natives is to have them taught trades, boot-making, building, waggon-making, as the Trappists do, for whilst they are learning they are selling the fruit of their labour. He considers that the Government should try and cause natives to become more industrious than they are, viz. by teaching trades. The natives do not care for the *amako'wa*, and the *amako'wa* do not care for the natives.

John belongs to the Kumalo tribe, also Johannes,¹⁴ and they are members of that tribe which was headed by the well-known Mzilikazi. Johannes Kumalo was once called on by Maqaqa (Moodie) to furnish labourers. Johannes said, 'Why should I, who own a farm, be required to furnish men when the white farmers are not called on to give them?' Maqaqa caused him to go to gaol. There was an appeal to the Supreme Court and Maqaqa's decision was upheld.¹⁵

116 When, many years ago, a great Governor came on a visit to Natal [was it Sir Bartle Frere or Sir George Grey?], John and a number of other natives decided to send a petition to him, and did, setting forth the various grievances and disabilities from which they suffered. John was the foremost of the petitioners. The petition was presented by Rev. Mr. Markham of Polela. Amongst the various petitions (items) was the having to pay hut tax (7s), the having to pay £5 to the Government on account of each marriage, the being called out to work to pay hut tax, seeing in Zululand they were used merely to military service and were never required to work. Sir T. Shepstone had to report on the matter. The first thing he did was to call up a large gathering of chiefs and headmen, like Mqundane, Ngoza, Teteleku etc.,¹⁶ and put the petition before them and call for an expression of their opinion. The meeting called the petitioners a lot of 'cats' who had been borne by them but had gone off to live elsewhere on their own account. With the exception of the £5 marriage fee, the men were opposed to the petition, which consequently fell flat. The petitioners were told that in future they should lay any grievances they had before the Legislative Council.

John also went into the new 'Order of Ethiopia'.¹⁷ He told Bishop Baynes a short time ago (several weeks) that there was no branch of the Ethiopian Church in Natal that he knew of. John very much disapproved of Bishop Turner's¹⁸ notion of being apart from the European communion in order that, as in America, they could have their own manufactures, newspapers, etc. It is right the natives should be inside, not outside, the Christian communion.

6.55 p.m. Same conversation continued, and also further one this afternoon from 4.30 p.m. to 6.15 p.m. John knows Mr Winter¹⁹ very well. Mr Winter once said to him, 'We white people are very few in number: there are about two of us, whereas you natives are very numerous. If we educate you in such a way as shall enable you to compete with us, you will rapidly obtain ascendancy over and ultimately oust us. We, therefore, will not pursue what is obviously a suicidal policy.'

I put a number of questions on the foregoing three pages, to which I got these answers: I, says John, worked at Buffol beyond

Vitoli [the two so pronounced]²⁰ in the Cape in the early days. The Cape is called *Erini* by natives. The reason I went to work so far off was because I heard wages were good there. My father of course did not object to my going there.

A Fengu is so called because when the Amahlubi tribe was scattered and routed in 1873 many of them took refuge among the Amaxosa, who said these refugees had come to *fengusa*, i.e. to *konaa* or seek refuge. [There were other refugees besides Amahlubi. Read about *fengusa* p. 70, *Annals of Natal*, where Fynn gives what seems a far truer explanation - 14.11.1900.]

On my return from Cape Colony I did not pass through Basutoland but through Griqualand, Adam Kok's country, and the educated Basuto who asked for my pass was aged about 30-34.

When I wanted to go to Pietermaritzburg I said to my father I wanted to go and learn reading and writing. I did not say I wanted to become a *kolwa*; the *kolwaring* came afterwards. I lived at a waggon-makers - Mr Glik and Mr Whitelaw (Whitelock?). I was about 36-37 at the time. Colenso caused me to be taught. I was not present when Colenso spoke to the doctor, but I was afterwards told of the conversation.

117 Besides the similarities between Zulus and Jews named, there are the following: *isivivana*, i.e. a pile of stones often seen along a path on to which every passer-by throws a stone or a tuft of grass tied into a knot and spat on, for luck; also the habit for a Zulu to go miles and miles to make a trivial purchase, say with ls, or he may go a great distance to sell tobacco and what not - distance is no object.

The relations I had to recover were two daughters of my sister married to one of Langelibalele's tribe. She had been obliged to leave the girls with friends because compelled to flee with her husband. I afterwards restored the girls to my sister when she returned.

I was caught by one of Somsewu's spies, Adamu - Somsewu's snuff-box bearer - going at night to see Sobantu.

The occupants of the old locations in Klip River and Estcourt Divisions were Zikali ka Mantiwana [?], Putile ka Matshoba, Langelibalele ka Mtimkulu, Pakade ka Macingwane, Nodada ka Mkubukeli, and others.²¹

The labourers called for by Maqaqa from Johannes were required for Government duties just about the time of the Zulu War of 1879.

I, John says, do not know the name of the Governor who came. He arrived in Natal shortly after the Langelibalele disturbances.²² Among the men consulted by Somsewu were Ngoza, Teteleku, Mahlanya, Mqundane etc., i.e. those in the neighbourhood of Pietermaritzburg. Sir T. Shepstone did not summon men who lived in the outlying parts. We were called 'cats' because we had practically deserted from our kraals to enter the service of white people.

My father's name was Mayikana ka Mzondo, and Mzondo's father etc. run thus: Mzondo ka Katide ka Mtshengu ka Ngununu. (This last name became the name of a hill in Zululand beyond Vryheid. This was on account of my ancestor.) The name given me by my father is Myeye.

A royal messenger who used to visit Sobantu from Zululand was Sintwangu.

Sir T. Shepstone was to all intents and purposes exactly like a native chieftain. He behaved like one; witness the having a snuff-

box bearer [see above].

118 The greater difference natives notice between Boer and British government is that the latter depends on the principle, 'love thy neighbour as thyself', as seen in this: a man gets drunk, falls down in the street; he is picked up and taken care of, even though lodged in gaol and subsequently punished. He is taken out of harm's way; his money is saved from the risk of being lost by being taken from him; also his pipe and what not are kept until he is himself again. Again, a man gets ill; he is removed to a hospital and there properly tended and looked after, and when he is well, reasonable fees are asked from him. Nothing of this kind of solicitude can be seen in Boer rule. Kaffirs are *amakafula*; they are 'bobijanas' (monkeys). A Boer once said, 'The English are attempting to educate you. They may as well go into the bush, catch a monkey and educate that. The latter would be an easier feat than the former.' In the old days when the Boers went in for slavery, when one man used to sell slaves to another all over the country, it became impossible for natives to know the relationship they truly stood in towards the other slaves they saw about them, and thus a man might find himself having connection with his sister, cousin, etc., and from such might arise the aspersion cast by Boers on natives that they are a set of whoremongers. In Klip River Division there are many Boer farmers; none of these except Bester (and he only on half his farm) charge rent; they exact service instead. Natives are, some of them, already regretting that the Englishman is taking the Boer's country, saying, 'Where shall we get the money to pay rent, hut tax, etc.?'

John is averse to the abolition of the tribal system. He is loathe to destroy what gives comfort to so many people. If a chief is in need of anything he falls back on his people who willingly respond. Sibamu²³ is a case in point. This chief lives in Estcourt Division. He came a short time ago to (visit) his people in this division to ask them for contributions to an object he had in view. They all responded, here a 2s 6d, there 5s and 10s, until at last some £140 was collected. This amount was all sent in to the Government to be given to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the war. Sibamu says he is much impressed by the spectacle of his sovereign fighting and spilling his blood whilst he, Sibamu, so far from being called to assist, is with his people, engaged in the ordinary avocations, marriage, beer-drinking, sowing crops, and what not. John saw and spoke to Sibamu on this point. Sibamu spent a night at John's and had a goat killed for him.

John mentions *Amakoboka* as the name of a people who live towards the interior and who were made slaves of by the Boers.²⁴ The Boers state clearly what their policy towards natives is; English people beat about the bush, hum and ha, pretend to be doing everything for the good of the native, and yet the reverse is often the case. There are a few people who will so devote themselves to promoting the good of the native as to practically ruin themselves; many on the other hand are quite unmindful of the fact that anything requires doing. John does not place great reliance in the young Englishmen of today; they do not go as thoroughly into matters as Somsewu, Mr J. Bird,²⁵ etc., and yet they fancy they know more than their elders. A white man much appreciated by natives and who under-

stood them was Mtshwetshwe (deceased), who used to be in the firm Walton and Tatham (Ladysmith).

29.10.1900, 1.15 p.m.

File 73, pp. 119-21.

119 This morning I had a further talk with John Kumalo, after which he returned to his home at Roosboom. I had asked him to come for two or three days. He said, chiefly in answer to direct questions: I think the best way to solve the native question is by referring the matter to parliament. Through discussion, ways will be found of dealing with the matter. Some single man even might be able to find out something of a solution. As for myself, I am unable to propose a solution. It seems to me that instead of endeavouring to deal with each grievance or difficulty, some definite policy should be discovered and announced.

There are several grave objections to the Indians and Arabs. The former become domestic servants in the principal places like hotels, refreshment places etc., thereby displacing natives. Moreover the money earned by them is not spent in the country; it is sent out of South Africa to India. This applies specially to the Arabs. An Indian once said, 'We have come here to South Africa to fight, not against the Europeans, but against you. We have come to compete and enter into rivalry with you.'

At Kimberley there was a protest made by Europeans against the employment of native labour in the mines. A white man got up and said such protest was monstrous, for these Europeans who were clamouring to be employed in the mines were the very ones who, as soon as they had filled their pockets, would carry their earnings out of the country, not spending them in it as every (native) does. I do not remember the name of this white man. We do not understand the Indians and Arabs; we cannot communicate with them, however much Europeans may manage to do so.

Many *amakolwa* continue to *hlobonga*, seduce girls, etc. Some of them, though Christian converts, revert to the former way of living and take more wives than one. In former times *kolwas* were more careful about infringing the canons and regulations of the church. I, for instance, would never have dared to behave thus.

There appears to be a growing tendency amongst *kolwas* to become exempted from the operation of native law. This seems to be due to inheritance. Natives see that exemption carries with it the following positive advantage: every man's property is enjoyed by his own progeny rather than by his elder and younger brothers. If a man's daughter is married and *lobola* received by him, then, at his death, he is unable to assign any of his goods to his married daughter, for, being married under native law, her husband would appropriate anything so given. A man has a natural and great wish that the fruit of his labour should be enjoyed by his own children. For this reason - I have a wife and five [?] children, girls and boys - I have made a will (written) under which, at my death, my wife will have charge of the whole estate. At her death the property will be divided up in 120 equal portions to my children, in the same way as Europeans.

The divisions in the church are to me inexplicable and a very serious matter. I saw a good deal of the quarrel between Bishop

Colenso and Dean Green's party. I noted then that members of the opposing sides would pass one another by in the street without speaking. I observe many differences between Johannes Kumalo's people (Wesleyans) and our church.²⁶ Johannes's people are said to be converted when, having a presentiment that they have seen God, they burst into tears. I do not believe in that sort of thing; no-one has ever seen God. Their method of praying, their services etc., are different. We belong to the root church. So long as these various denominations are at one with the root church fundamentally, there does not appear to be much objection to their being apart.

7.20 p.m., same continued. There are no mission stations in Natal which can be called good. The Trappists are doing good work. They teach trades to young men and make girls labour in the fields.

Kolwas have many grievances of their own, the chief being (refusal of) education. *Kolwas* may not be educated above standard IV, and they are not allowed to enter the government service. Benjamin Kumalo, in spite of the fact that he had the highest testimonials from his magistrate, Mr Paterson, at Estcourt, yet was compelled to leave the service. Benjamin was much affected by the apparent injustice of this step. He, after this, resolved to enter the church and left Natal for the Cape, where he now is.²⁷

Kolwas' wives do not cause much trouble, likewise their children [any more, possibly, than European children etc.]. There is a bad woman here and a disobedient child there - not more than that. My wife, John says, has never given me any trouble, nor my children.

There are large numbers of the Kumalo people in Natal in various places. Sibamu in Estcourt is a Kumalo chief.

Kolwa women do commit adultery with raw natives, and *kolwa* girls are often seduced by natives who are not Christians.

There are not very many *kolwas* who refuse to receive *lobola* for their children; many do refuse and many don't. The reason for refusal is the desire to settle the fruit of one's labour on one's own children, wife etc.

A *kolwa* man and wife sleep together as Europeans do. What is noticeable is that *kolwa* women, finding they have the husband to themselves, have engendered the desire always to be having sexual intercourse with him. The man may go away for a short time and the woman will crave for his return. But it seems now that many *kolwas* are taking to the old native custom of living apart from their wives. I, for instance, says John, have my own room (*ilawu*) and my wife her room. The children will be made to sleep with the woman and they, as men find, are a relief by causing women to devote their attention to them instead of expecting the husband perpetually to be having intercourse night after night.

Among the chief representatives of the *kolwas* in Natal are the following: Johannes Kumalo (Driefontein), Timothy Gule (near or at Dundee), Abram (Nkunzi, Waschbank), William Africa (a Basuto, near Eland's Laagte), John Kumalo (Roosboom) - [my interlocutor] - Solomon Mbasa and Lasi (Driefontein), Stephen Mini (Edendale), Lutayi (Camperdown), Majozi (Richmond), Fluwayiti Mdhuli (Springvale), Isaac Mkize (Cedara), Mhlanimpofu and Nkomokayidhli Lutuli (Mvoti Mission Station). The latter man takes a considerable interest in native affairs. The next congress will be in January.²⁸

22.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 180.

Also present: Ndukwana

180 Per John Kumalo, about 5.15 p.m. - 6.15 p.m. I cannot give the conversation in order, as I write from memory. What struck me most was John's strong preference for the old *chiefs* of the Zulus or simply natives, so much so that if he had been younger he would have given his allegiance thereto instead of becoming a Christian convert. Now this is very remarkable. He approves (the system of Chief Ncwadi ka Sikali ka Matiwana [?]),²⁹ under which he allows his boys and young men to become proficient in reading and writing. They may dress and become *amakolwa* if they like, but they are all managed according to ancient custom. He still holds the *umkosi*. Those who are in the habit of dressing will take off their clothes and put on *loin-covers* etc. He calls his *assembly of men* together and instructs them in the affairs of the white people, i.e. political questions etc. Ncwadi is one of the hereditary chiefs.

John is of opinion that the old Zulu system of government was very like that of the English people, especially if, after a man has been appointed to an office and if he be found unsuitable for it, he is let down as gently as possible. It was very difficult in Zululand, in the old days, to remove a man who was once established as an official.

Rev. Thompson, before going to Springvale, stayed a month with John in order to learn the Zulu language etc.³⁰ He was like an orphan, having no means. He subsequently was able to interpret well for the Bishop.

Some European clergymen, when they meet John in private, will shake hands effusively with John, but when they meet him in a public place, as in the street, they do not do so. Again, members of a church are, whilst in it, called brothers by their clergy; should they leave they are no longer brothers.

Great credit is due to Sir T. Shepstone for having managed to control a savage people as he did, and keep them in order for so many years. He made a number of his own chiefs, viz. Ngoza, Mqundane, etc. - men previously with no rank. The main defect of his system was not educating the natives; by this time many more would have been so far advanced as to send representatives to Parliament.

When John came to live in these parts, Nobamba was already the name of Weenen, named after the Zulu kraal, like Mgungundhlovu.

Years ago, the Governor of this colony, foreseeing natives had trouble in store, advised them strongly to buy land, as Europeans would soon arrive in large numbers and purchase all available land. The missionaries, however, did all they could to dissuade natives from buying.

C. Barter, magistrate of Pietermaritzburg,³¹ once said that it would be very bad policy to cause native and European prostitutes to leave the town as, if there were none, the soldiers would break into peoples' houses and ravage ladies and their daughters.

KUMALO

24.11.1900

File 73, pp. 180-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

181 Further conversation with John Kumalo. He considers that some definite policy ought to be devised for dealing with the natives in their relations with white people who have come to South Africa to stay. The Shepstone policy appeared to be the right one, but other measures must now be taken.

8.12.1900. Ladysmith.

File 71, pp. 1-3.

Also present: John Africa, Ndukwana

1 The seduction of girls by their lovers. I this day had over two hours' conversation with John Kumalo, John Africa, and Ndukwana in my room, Royal Hotel. John Africa is a man aged about 60, for Ndukwana seems to think he is his own age. His father was a native of Zanzibar. He says he comes from near Zoutspanburg in Transvaal, was for years a slave of the Boers, and arrived in Ladysmith in 1860, or just 40 years ago. He has a brother called William Africa, well-known, who lives near Waschbank in this division. He appears to be of Basuto bringing-up, and although his knowledge of Zulu is very good, his accent is not pure. John Kumalo brought him and introduced him to me. He is a man with a clear head and of an inquiring nature.

The subject was broached by John. We dealt with it as far as the young man was concerned, and then in so far as the girl was concerned. John Kumalo, John Africa, and Ndukwana, whom I will style K., A. and N., were all agreed that the amount of seduction (*making pregnant*) of girls is altogether abnormal and a matter which calls out urgently for treatment. All assure me that nothing of this kind ever occurred under the Zulu kings. There were seductions, but a girl who became pregnant was looked upon as having disgraced herself and, though *vimba'd*,³² was immediately married off to some other man, and the meat of the beast killed in her honour would not be partaken of by the other girls. Pregnancy arose through sheer accident. In these days, though young men often plead 'accident', women are always, after inspection, able to discover whether there was or was not a *bona fide* accident. [*'Kwehl' itonsi*', as they say.]³³ Women are undoubtedly adepts in these matters.

When girls or women visit Ladysmith they may go to any houses they like, and the same remark applies when in native locations. Parents have practically lost control over their girls and women. They leave home; no time is fixed for their return and, if fixed, the time will probably be overstayed, leaving the father and husband to get on at home with the young children and food as best he can. Among Europeans, K. observes, when girls leave home, it is known exactly where they are going; in the evening they have chaperones, and it is known when they are due back, and they obey their parents' wishes. In former times girls and women (native) rarely left home, except on special occasions - a wedding, etc. - and when they went
2 they would return all together with their brothers and young men.

K. wanted to know how it is English people manage to control their children; how it is there is so little seduction amongst us. I pointed out that we sue for breach of promise, claiming £1000 or so. This acts as a deterrent. Then again, public opinion, as influenced by religion, acts as a great restraint. Every man has a natural desire to preserve his good name and reputation. It is among us a great disgrace to put a girl in the family way and not to marry her, and a girl's life is ruined. It is then public opinion, as far as I could see, which checks offences of this kind. It is, moreover, easier to sue for breach of promise because we are monogamists. There is a provision under the Native Code under which damages to the extent of £10 [? no limit] may be recovered by the father in the event of a young man failing to marry a girl who engaged herself to him, and he may be fined for seduction, £10 or six months with hard labour. All three agreed that if young men could be imprisoned for, say, a year, with 25 lashes, as well as be liable for damages to the extent of say £50, much of the present nuisance would be put an end to. Natives do not know that the father can claim damages; they claim merely the *vimba* beast, this being according to custom, the other notion being foreign to them.

K. points out that a daughter of his once went off to Estcourt without his leave, and when he sent for her and she was brought before Mr Paterson, she pleaded that, being exempted from Native Law, and over 21 ('I'm 22,' she said) her father had no longer any control over her. This fairly startled K; he did not know that exemption from Native Law carried with it emancipation of children from parental authority. In Zulu law, once a father, you always enjoy control over your children.

A. observes that all girls should be, whilst still young, 'bent' to the way they should go. Owing to present influences, there is no opportunity for exercising that influence of bending into the right way. A Mrs Blackman (or some name like that) has a house or 'home' in Pietermaritzburg just below Market Square in Longmarket Street, where many young native girls working in the town are housed for the night, being allowed out at 6 a.m. She, Mrs Blackman, goes about from place to place picking up girls. Such an institution would be a great boon, A. says, in Ladysmith. It seems impossible to prevent girls coming to Ladysmith or to other towns where, as N. remarks, there are such great attractions in the way of food, etc. The only alternative seems to be to make arrangements in the town that girls shall not get into harm's way. The placing of restrictions on Europeans in regard to girls working for them should also be beneficial. K. thinks Europeans ought to enter into an undertaking to take as great care of their native girl servants as they do of their own children. I remarked that more drastic legislation in regard to girls wandering from their kraals into towns would be a means of checking them and, by increasing the authority of the father, improve the unsatisfactory state of affairs which prevails at home.

A. says he has married off several of his daughters. He makes it a condition that a man shall have a home, properly furnished, to take his daughter to and, instead of accepting *lobola*, causes the money that would go as *lobola* to be spent as indicated. I suggested that by his plan - the European - parents and their daughter tended to separate, whereas *lobola* implies perpetual obligation to her

father and mother in respect to their daughter's welfare which time could not extinguish.

9.12.1900, 2 p.m.

File 71, pp. 3-8.

Also present: John Africa, Ndukwana

Further conversation with same three men on same subject from about 6.45 a.m. to 8.45 a.m. this morning. We were all agreed that mere punishment, however drastic, could not prevent men from having carnal knowledge of girls. It is, for instance, well known that in the days of the Zulu kings young men would enter the *isigodhlo* and have connection with the girls there, even though the punishment for such offence was invariably death. Under the British Government there are many laws devised to check the evil, but fine, (imprisonment), and even lashes, if for such offence they might be awarded, are all equally ineffective.

John Africa (he is known by Europeans by the name John A., whereas natives call him Josiah) pointed to *circumcision*, both of young men and girls, which used to go on in the old days under the Zulu kings, the latter being required to go to the hill for some three months, during which time they were *instructed and admonished in preparation for womanhood* by elderly women who stayed with them. A. seemed to think that the father's influence over his children ought in some way to be increased. K. once spoke to a man who appeared in great distress about his daughter; she was engaged to a young man who said 4 he had no cattle to *lobola* and yet wanted to marry the girl. K. advised him to demand *lobola* openly for his daughter and, if not paid, to break off all further dealings with her. The man took the advice, demanded the *lobola*; the young man gave his usual answer, but when the girl next met her lover, the father followed them up at once and found him *hlobongaing* with her. He then seized him and brought him before the magistrate, Roqoza (W.D. Wheelwright),³⁴ whereupon the magistrate, taking the father's side, fined the man £5 or so, and there was an end to the trouble.

I pointed out that the causes of the ignoring of parental authority by girls were fairly clear; there were many of them; the evil exists, and the main question is not how it has arisen but how it is to be cured. If a child, when directed by his father to do something, as for instance to bring home the cattle, were to say, '*Tula, msatanyoko!*',³⁵ what would be thought of him? K., A., and N. all replied no such thing could or did ever happen. I asked what it was that restrained him from treating his father thus. Leaving aside fear of corporal punishment, K. said that he was afraid others would refuse to associate or have anything to do with him; in other words he was afraid of the opinion of all those who knew him. Public opinion it is which keeps a man straight. This public opinion is different in different countries; an Englishman will do things a Zulu would never do, and *vice versa*. Every man has a name or reputation which he wishes to preserve unspotted. Even a confirmed prostitute has the keen desire to live the true life; the only thing preventing her is the impossibility of being lifted by anything out of her present degradation. If only she saw a way she would undoubtedly seize it. Now public opinion, taste, sentiment, appears to be what

needs to be modified. Natives must be made to feel that it is wrong and ugly (disgraceful) to seduce girls. Public opinion seems to be affected primarily by religion and, in the case of natives, by their belief in *ancestral spirits*. K. and N. point out that if a woman is unable to be delivered of a child and recourse is had to an *isangoma*, it very often happens this *isangoma* will say the complication has arisen because the *spirits* disapproved of something the woman said to her husband sometime previous.

5 I pointed out to K. that he appeared to be greatly impressed by the integrity of Europeans in respect to their children, (and by the fact that, there is little or no seduction observable among Europeans. I said he must not be deceived by appearances. We are not living in our own land; we are living well apart from one another, and there are only few of us. Everyone of us, moreover, knows the other's business and position etc. It is therefore unlikely but that out here we shall, for the most part, behave in an exemplary manner. And I said that it is a frequently heard cry among us colonists to live true and upright lives for the sake of the natives, who are children, young and impressionable. At home in England, where a vast struggle is going on between man and woman, things are very different. There the loss of control by fathers over their daughters is clearly manifest. There, and in all the towns and cities of Europe, prostitutes may be counted by the hundred thousand. To prove that English people are desirous of keeping the darker side of their life at home from the natives, look at the clandestine and quiet manner in which those natives were brought back from Earl's Court some months ago. Thus, then, the true side of our life cannot readily be seen by natives, into whose life however we can readily and fairly easily gaze. I have myself tried to understand the life of the Indians, but with indifferent success. The reason is clear. They are on their guard; they are keeping up a fictitious appearance. Natives therefore must not expect to read us accurately. Europeans can read natives, but the reverse process is extremely difficult. Deductions from our life, as seen in the colonies, are not sound, as the premiss is shown to be false.

In my conversation yesterday, I referred to the Gothenburg 'Bilag' or company system. I indicated as well as I could the fundamental principles as an illustration of what we must do in dealing with this question of seduction.

A. observes that formerly a man or woman would not hesitate to correct the daughter of a friend or relation if he found her doing wrong, or even beat her, and this would, by the father, be taken as a kindness. Now this cannot be done, for the child will at once question her reprover as to his authority.

6 The conversation also proceeded thus: A. said there is a tendency for natives to be entirely independent of one another, for all of them to be *chiefs* living in their own houses apart.

K. says Mr Moor, Secretary for Native Affairs, once remarked that it would be a good thing to allow natives to have liquor, to be able to purchase it with their threepences and their sixpences, as they would then soon find themselves compelled to go out to work.

The true policy will be a combination of that of the Zulus and of the English people, for there are good elements in the Zulu way of living as in that of Englishmen. I expressed this opinion to Kumalo

several weeks ago; he repeats it today as his own, and yet it may have been his as well as mine.

A. appeared to be of opinion that chieftainship will in time die out, even though 100 years may be required to do that. K., N. and I were against him, and he explained that he meant only customs would die out, and people to all intents and purposes be like Europeans. K. and N. were decidedly opposed to the notion. I observed that at this very day natives say '*Bayete*' to their chiefs, and *diviners are active* in every direction. Moreover, look at the Celts in England, in existence to this day though defeated by foreigners 1000 years and more ago. Look again at the Jews, though I did not happen to mention them.

I observed A., like every man, speaks from experience. His own experience is slavery under the Boers, whereby he was removed from his home years and years ago and never returned. With the Boers vanquished, there will nevermore be slavery in South Africa, and therefore people will continue in their own homes, thereby preserving their traditions.

A. referred to there being many classes in Ladysmith: there was the *kolwa*, the *mumutsha* (himself), the *isigqokwa*,³⁶ and the ordinary kraal native. Kumalo thinks Natal natives should be represented by more than four Europeans,³⁷ approving thereby what he says was my formerly expressed opinion. The next meeting of congress will be in Pietermaritzburg in January.

Further conversation today between J.K., N. and self; subjects, various. There are two young men K. recommends who live in Pietermaritzburg, viz. Francis Magwaza and another, well known to Francis Magwaza, who comes from Inanda. These two, especially Francis Magwaza, are intelligent and take a deep interest in native affairs. Francis Magwaza can speak English slightly; he is a teacher and employed by Rev. F. Green.³⁸ He is going to try and bring Mabaso, an elderly native living 18 miles from Roosboom, next Saturday. He and Mabaso frequently discuss native affairs, sometimes all night.

About the time of the Zulu War, J.K. proposed at a meeting of the *kolwas* of a mission station near Estcourt that, as soon as a girl chooses a young man, the latter should ask for her father's consent, and such consent should not be withheld, except for strong reasons. Men, women, girls and young men attended the meeting. K. placed the proposal to each of the sections indicated separately. All thought it a good one, even the young men, who at first asked how they could go and ask the father until they were sure the girl would have them - this, of course, being explained away by K. After this, followed 20 marriages according to this self-initiated custom, and it seemed to answer admirably. But the custom soon fell into desuetude because broken by the young men. Law could not enforce it, so the notion, though apparently a sound one, came to grief. K. is of opinion that if the above notion had been embodied in the form of law, with penalties for infringement, it would have been a complete success. Nothing, it will be seen, was said about *premarital intercourse*. K. specially omitted to refer to the matter, leaving it to the engaged couple to do as they saw fit after the necessary consent had been got. [See what K. said bottom of p. 3 bearing on above suggestion; also top of p. 4].

K. says Josiah (John) Africa has two daughters married to Euro-

peans, and both according to Christian rites, by Archdeacon Barker.³⁹ One of these is at present living in Ladysmith with her husband. Josiah's father, K. says, was a Zanzibari, whilst his mother was probably a Basuto woman, though there may be *nhlwenga*⁴⁰ blood in him.

8 K. says that the proposal that there should be four European representatives is not one which has originated or been initiated by the native mind. It is not unanimously and spontaneously approved. What natives do desire is an officer in this country who represents the Queen (Imperial Government), apart from the Governor, who is hampered with responsible government affairs. I suggested that there be an *induna* (secretary) to the Governor with an office of his own, clerks etc., resident in Pietermaritzburg, whose business shall be all matters of a political nature touching native interests. Natives could come with their grievances direct to this officer, whose duty it will be to keep the Governor and Imperial Government correctly and truly informed on native affairs, grievances and aspirations, very many of which, K. assures me, are purposely withheld because there is no one to express them to. Samuelson⁴¹ was practically nominated by natives, but natives find now he is simply an officer under responsible government. I added that the man holding the appointment referred to must be a good and reliable Zulu scholar, be entirely independent of the Natal Government, hold office for five years at a time and be allowed to be re-elected, or let him go on indefinitely during pleasure, and be in direct touch with natives in every part of Zululand and Natal. Let all native cases, civil and criminal, all executive work, be dealt with by the present Secretary for Native Affairs etc., and let the officer's duties be purely diplomatic. K. and N. thought such proposal would give great satisfaction. I think such an appointment, of a man who has native interests at heart, would safeguard and promote native interests better than having representatives in the House; moreover, though I did not say so to K., it would to a great extent satisfy the Aborigines Protection Society.

At public meetings of natives some of the young men get up and speak in English. The older men strongly object and (say) if a secretary were given them they (would be) quite ready to leave and hold their meetings apart. This speaking in English, when there is no necessity for so doing, is due to a species of pride and sense of importance.

Dean Green once said that all men desire to be *chiefs* and that *chieftainship* is derived from *ukulunga* (righteousness); it is an upright and honest heart that transforms a man into a king. K. says: I asked myself what the meaning of this saying was, for I could not understand it.

It is apparent that in some directions there is among girls, a disinclination to be one of the women of a *household with many wives*, for if, in Natal, a young man has been *chosen* by say three girls and he proceeds to the father of one of the three to ask his consent, the other two will immediately break off their engagements because they feel the chosen one will be the *main wife*, and so above them in rank, whereas they hold they are in every way her equal. And these two girls will be laughed at by others for having been passed by.

10.12.1900

File 71, pp. 9-10.

Present: Ndukwana alone

- 9 Conversation with Ndukwana on what was said by Josiah Africa and J. Kumalo on 8th and 9th as above recorded. N. gives the following version of some of A.'s opinions: The cause of boys *making girls pregnant* is because boys and especially girls *have defied their parents*; formerly, when *admonished about their behaviour*, they were obedient. All natives therefore ought to surrender or hand over their children to Europeans, as the correction to be given by them would probably be more effective than that of parents who, to a very great extent, as is evident from this universal seduction, have lost their influence. N. and K. replied, as N. observes, that it is not possible to do this. As it is, their girls come to the very doors and houses of the white people; they get into mischief whilst there; they *misbehave* before white people's very eyes, whereupon, having done wrong, Europeans *become exasperated with them and get rid of them*. How then can it be said that the only hope for our children is in the Europeans?

It would be a wise measure to totally abolish the system of chieftainship and institute one law in place of two as at present. [A. stoutly maintained this opinion until shaken by me, J.S., by reminding him that he was once a slave and like every man, speaks from experience.]

N. and K. *denied* that any *instructing* of girls used ever to be done by Zulus *in the hills* or elsewhere. There was no *circumcising* of girls. One hears of something of this sort among Basutos.

A. advised retreats for girls in Ladysmith as in Pietermaritzburg where at night they could go and stay; they should be under elderly women's supervision.

- 10 N. observes, now, that it is not right chiefs should not *amukela*⁴² when they come to magistrates' offices on duty; they do not *amukela* at Ladysmith for instance.

K. thinks natives ought to be allowed to go into magistrates' offices as clerks, just as Indians do. I pointed out to N. that to a large extent we cannot help ourselves as very few Europeans can speak the Indian dialects.

I said yesterday to K., in N.'s presence, that I had warned his son Solomon that those in the van would not reap the fruits they expect to reap, and which appeared within measurable distance, until the whole of the natives, the vast mass behind, which they were deserting, had been raised to their own level.

15.12.1900

File 71, pp. 12-15.

Also present: Mabaso, Ndukwana

- 12 Conversation with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Ndukwana this 15th December 1900, from about 3.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. There were two main topics, viz. the seduction of native girls and the meaning of *ukukanya*⁴³ (i.e. Christianity), but the conversation became more or less general towards the end.

Mabaso is a man I suppose of about 53-54, for when Ndondakusuka⁴⁴

was fought he was about 12-14 and had not arrived at the age of puberty. N. fixed his age at about (that of the, Mxapo regiment.⁴⁵ He is intelligent, a quick speaker, not verbose, keeps to the point and is suggestive, somewhat impulsive, and businesslike. His daughter, aet. 32, married John Kumalo's son Solomon. He thinks no remedy can be devised whereby the present laxity can be put an end to. I reminded him that before applying remedies a doctor first diagnoses. So we proceeded to examine the causes. We found that in the old days there was nothing of the kind going on. John Kumalo says the first indications he remembers of girls leaving their
 13 parents to come to white people was in Pietermaritzburg when he was still quite a young man, say 30-40 years ago [vide p. 16 (below)]. Mabaso says he has passed nearly all his life in Ncwadi's location among the Nguni in this division and did not have opportunities of observing early effects of European influence [see also pp. 16 and 17]. Still, many years ago at the German mission station near where or at which he lived, he remembers weddings taking place, and after they had been concluded the guests remained on, congregated as before, for two or three days; such a practice led to trouble. Another cause was young men coming with concertinas; the playing of these drew audiences, and here again the sexes coming together brought trouble, for they went home, when they dispersed, two and two etc. in the dark. In such ways did parents begin to lose control over their children.

I referred to Zulus running to white people at Durban for protection in Tshaka's day and Dingana's, and laid stress on the fact that it was this protecting which appeared to cause the mischief. We protect missionaries, being bound to do so because they preach our faith, and they, in their turn, protect children from their fathers. The cause of the trouble seems to arise, we found, out of the missionaries.

Mabaso said the truth of the matter was that *ukukanya* (Christianity) was the cause of the mischief.

Now followed an inquiry into the meaning of *ukukanya*, for N. strenuously maintained that the Zulu life and civilization was *ukukanya*, for that life was far more clearly apprehended by the natives than the ins and outs of European life, which had Christianity for its basis.

I suggested that both civilizations were, or possessed, *ukukanya*, and that it seemed merely a question of degree, and Europeans had no right to call Christianity 'The Light', though it was 'A Light', and possibly a far more powerful one in some respects than *Dhloziem*.⁴⁶

Mabaso said that enlightenment (knowledge) may be compared to a garden with growing crops. Into such crops cattle will break in. So it was with *isigodhlo* in Zululand; though men were distinctly forbidden on pain of death, they nevertheless entered and suffered death, (but) the same course might be followed by others shortly afterwards. Thus the tendency seems to be a perpetual struggle between Light and Darkness, and it seems as if Light is always on the weaker side and in constant danger of being overcome.

I observed that there was a fallacy here; viz. if men were
 14 without testicles they would not have been killed for entering the *isigodhlo*, for then there would have been no prohibition necessary.

I went on to remark that dress virtually turns every girl into an *isigodhlo girl* for she hides her person and creates a desire in men which would not otherwise have been so strong.

N. and Mabaso discussed the meaning of *ukukanya*, when the principle of loving one's neighbour as oneself was brought in by the latter with various illustrations. Mabaso said that during the Zulu War wounded Zulus were brought, I think he said to Msinga, where they were attended by a European doctor specially appointed to that work. Mabaso himself had a bad knee at the time and went to be attended by the same doctor. The doctor gave his full attention to the wounded Zulus who, after they got well, were allowed to go home, and some of them, no doubt, are living to this day. Now Zulus would never have allowed their enemies to escape thus; every people, it was well known, was given no quarter. Here then, Mabaso observed, was the *ukukanya* he meant. N. admitted at once the force of the illustration. J.K. added that a perfect stranger drunk in the street is taken off for fear of his being run over or meeting with injury, carried off to a cell, locked up, and brought to the magistrate the next morning, who fines him money, like a father chastising a child, and this money goes to paying the expenses of the person who picked the man up. Another case is a person with an illness. He is taken to a hospital, cared for, cured and sent away; the Government bears the whole or most of the expense. Here is more *ukukanya*, illustrations of what was unknown in Zululand. And yet, as I remarked, there was a great fuss made if any person got ill in Zululand.

I now went on to observe: True, the cases just given are illustrations of enlightenment and Christianity, but what was the nature of such enlightenment when cases of this kind occurred? Europeans receive a child, say a girl, who leaves her home, 'protect' her against her father, practically adopt her, treat her as one of their children up to a certain age, and then, fearing to allow the child to associate too much with them, cause a break by giving it its meals in the kitchen, thereby letting it understand there is an impassable barrier between the two. What kind of enlightenment is that which allows its clergy to shake hands with their native parishioners at the mission station, and when they meet them in the street in towns will pass them by practically as strangers?

- 15 Mabaso gave a further illustration of this. The old missionary at Ncwadi's location (missionary now dead) when celebrating the Holy Communion to his native converts was in the habit of wiping the chalice with a cloth after he had finished passing it round his parishioners and it was his turn to drink; natives saw him do this. Let it be, however, added that this man, who, on the approach of old age, retired to the farms of his sons, leaving the mission work in other hands, when he got ill and felt his end was near, directed that natives only were to be pallbearers, and this did, in fact, take place, much against the wishes of the local Europeans, a large number of whom attended the funeral. If, I urged, these are the fruits of light, can this be light? Where did loving one another vanish to here?

Johannes Kumalo, J.K. says, is always the same; he never behaves one way at one time and another way at another.

Mabaso referred to prostitutes, saying they sell themselves; they are practically articles of purchase. I remarked: Europeans speak

of *lobola* being purchase, but how can that be; is not the truest purchase here in a practice taught the natives by the Europeans themselves?

We spoke about a secretary or native representative being appointed for the purpose of advising Her Majesty's Government as to native affairs, i.e. stating grievances and pointing out ways in which there could be relief and improvement. Both Mabaso and I think it impossible to create such office, as no single man could be got to fill it as it ought to be filled.

Mabaso thinks magistrates ought to be more in touch with natives than they are, to call natives up to their offices and discuss native affairs in public.

Samuelson's appointment as Under-Secretary for Native Affairs does not give satisfaction, for the reason that natives feel he is not theirs but the Government's servant. They do not derive that benefit from his appointment which they expected to be able to reap.

I mentioned the occasion on which I met a girl when riding to Mbikiza's⁴⁷ who was frank and open and not in any way afraid, a very picture of innocence, thereby causing me to realize the greatness of the Zulu stock.

Mabaso says that when his son is of age he dare not appropriate his earnings without his permission. The son would at once bring an action against him in a court of law. [See attached cutting from Mercury, 15.12.1900.]⁴⁸

16.12.1900

File 71, pp. 15-20.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Josiah Africa, Ndukwana

- 16 I had a conversation from about 6.30 a.m. to 8.45 a.m. today with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Josiah Africa in the presence of Ndukwana at the usual place, viz. my room, No. 12, at the Royal Hotel, Ladysmith. Josiah was introduced by John Kumalo though, of course, I have before had talks with him, as these notes show. I began by calling on each for their first experiences of the unsatisfactory conduct of girls, on which subject we have already said so much recently. I want to get at origins. John Kumalo said: The first case I know of whereby a native girl left her home to go and work for Europeans occurred about the coming of the Prince [Prince Alfred?] to Pietermaritzburg⁴⁹ and some years after the Ndondakusuka battle, when I was about 30-32 years of age. I was then in Pietermaritzburg in the employ of Mr Gilikis (Grix). The girl in question was the daughter of Sipida of the *Hlubi* people (a tribe somewhere near Pietermaritzburg).⁵⁰ She was a grown-up girl, beyond 15 years of age. She arrived with ox waggons which had come to Maritzburg from the country, and these waggons outspanned at the usual outspan at Pietermaritzburg. The girl came to work at the house next to that at which I was working [or staying - K. lived in one house and worked at another, I believe]. Presently her father came to Pietermaritzburg in search of her and, coming across him looking about, I told him where he would find his child. He went to the white man, who had a wife. I was present when he went and saw him. The first thing he did was to take hold of his daughter and attempt to drag her off with him. Such conduct led to the father being struck by

the European (with his fist). The native then went to the court to complain; the clerk of the court [was it my father, for it was *at the place of Nyoniwentaba?*]⁵¹ dealt with the matter, saying nothing could be done as the girl had engaged her services to the white man, and such agreements could not be ridden over roughshod by the father. Repulsed both by the European and the court, what more could the father do than go home? The upshot was that in time this girl left her employer, joined others in the town like herself who had no home to go to, and, after apprenticing herself to them, became herself a prostitute, after which what necessity to tell her story further?

Solomon Mabaso said: The first occasion on which I observed unsatisfactory conduct on the part of girls was in the year 1872 at the German mission station at first established by Rev. Posselt [?] who was followed by Rev. Zunckel, the person who, as I said yesterday, wiped the chalice and directed that his pallbearers were to be natives.⁵² I remember a young man, living at the 'school' ['*sikole*' = mission station] having been *chosen as a lover* by three girls. He was questioned by the older men, who called him before them, as to what he, a Christian, meant by engaging himself to three girls instead of to one, for to be so engaged meant that he must *hlobonga* with each of them in accordance with native custom. He replied that the girls merely liked him and that he did not *hlobonga* with them. The older men carried the matter to the missionary in charge, who said he could do nothing; he saw no cause for interference until actual and visible wrong and injury had been done. Up to the present, he urged, no wrong had been done. 'I myself,' said the missionary, 'when young was liked by six girls, and yet I in the end married one. Why then may not this young man be liked by three?' The men remonstrated, saying harm had been done by the mere fact of engagement, for the young man would succeed in meeting each of his girls secretly, and with ease evade detection by their respective fathers. The missionary had, however, stated his view of the matter; the evil was not nipped in the bud, the result being things proceeded from bad to worse.

I know also this which occurred in respect to myself. At the said mission station I was in my young days liked by four girls; three of these were Xosa girls (when Mr Posselt came to found the station [school] he brought with him a number of Xosa people who formed the nucleus) and the other a Basuto. Now what at once struck me in being liked by these girls was the fact that they, without my courting them, liked me and proceeded to attach themselves to me. I could not understand how a girl can select without first being selected. Did mere looking at a girl constitute courtship? I did not, in consequence of this state of affairs, care really for any of these girls who had thrown themselves at me. My father about this time exercised his authority over me. He said he knew of a girl at Edendale who, he thought, was an excellent girl and would probably be a person after my own heart's desire; in short, he wished me to marry her. I at once saddled my horse and proceeded to where my intended bride lived. I met the girl and her father. He lit a candle, showed me his daughter, and I courted and won her hand, and shortly afterwards married her. She was and is still my only wife. In 1877 I removed from the mission station to somewhere near Bester's railway station and Driefontein (where Johannes

Kumalo lives). I bought land there and settled there, and there I still am. There are a number of other *kolwa* farmers about me. In the old days drivers (waggon) would come by with their concertinas and attract our daughters. In 1872 I had young children, so the incident re Xosa girls occurred prior to 1872. My father is still living. Before coming to this part of the country, I lived at the foot of Table Mountain beyond Maritzburg.

18 Josiah Africa said: I arrived at Ladysmith in 1860 and have lived in and about Ladysmith ever since. I have property at Bluebank to which I shall return as soon as hostilities between Boers and British cease. The first knowledge I have of loose morals among girls was at the time of the Zulu War of 1879 when hundreds of waggons, which were drawn both by mules and oxen, arrived and stationed themselves round about Ladysmith on the hills etc. I cannot say how many hundred waggons came; there might have been six hundred. Ladysmith was the base of supplies for troops which had gone in to Zululand, and all the waggons referred to had brought food etc. The commissariat was of stupendous proportions. Now all these waggons were driven by Xozas, Cape Boys, Hottentots etc., whilst a considerable number of Hottentots went on to the front, being enrolled as Light Horse. No sooner did this concourse of men arrive than the *kolwa* and other native women began to go wrong. The women ran after the foreigners who had arrived. At that day did that blight begin which ever since has remained over Ladysmith, for large numbers of Xozas, Cape Boys etc. who arrived are here to this day with all their progeny.

As regards the fact that so many coloured people speak Dutch in Ladysmith, I may mention that I know certain men (six) who, escaped years ago from the Boers whose 'apprentices' they were and took refuge in Ladysmith. This formed a nucleus; these men were followed by others who knew them - other 'apprentices', all of whom of course knew Dutch - and so the numbers increased. I can give the names of the six *Amamumutsha* (as we are called) who first came to Ladysmith. For some time I lived at (or near) William Africa's, outside Ladysmith, he being my brother.

19 I observed that this question of the loose morality of native girls seems to resolve itself into a conflict between the Government and parental authority. In the old days in Zululand there was never any conflict between the state and the parent; all heads of kraals were treated with the very highest respect, were in fact the true kings of Zululand, not Tshaka, Dingana etc. In Natal there is a struggle; the Government stands in direct opposition to the householder. And this opposition arises out of the will to protect whatever appears to be oppressed. The essence of the position, the ultima ratio, is this principle of the strong protecting the weak from an exercise of the authority of the original owner. I observed further that in Zululand it frequently happened that members of one tribe would flee for protection to another chief, and such refugees would not be given up. Here then, it seems to me, is an illustration of that principle which, as regards the loose morality which prevails, we regard or tend to regard as the true source of all the mischief, the causa causans of the many different manifestations of loose morality, be it the seduction of girls, disrespect shown by young men towards their fathers or others, disrespect to constituted authority, to morals generally, and religion. N. remarked that

though men in Zululand fled from one chief to another, yet they fled with their whole families, and this family system in its new environment was not in any way tampered with; if protection was shown in Zululand, it was only to a complete unit of the state, not to mere solitary individuals. I replied that nevertheless there was an exercise of protection, for such unit was part of the body politic of a tribe, and therefore to protect a whole unit of a particular tribe was wrong if once we allow that protection of what rightfully belongs to another is wrong. [I used the word *isihlangu* for 'protection'; Mabaso, who is a man possessed of an extensive Zulu vocabulary, suggested the verb *biyela*.]⁵³ The protection of a family seems to me merely a particular illustration of the general principle. How then, I asked, are Europeans to attempt to remedy this evil of 'protection' of a man's children if such, under the ordinary existence of a Zulu, is one of the fundamental principles of his government or, rather, if such is one of the conditions of his own natural and undisturbed mode of life?

Both Solomon Mabaso and John Kumalo laid a great deal of stress on the independence of children, both girls and boys. The English system is apparently to allow everyone to do as he or she likes. A girl has a free choice of her husband. The Zulu plan is to exercise control over the marriages of their children and to get them to marry where, by long experience, the father has found out to be the most desirable direction, not only where he may acquire cattle (*lobola*), but where he feels his child's welfare will receive the greatest care and attention. In these days, Mabaso says, one's effort is often destroyed by the influence of others; e.g. a man may naturally desire to bring about a marriage of his daughter with a particular young man; this girl, if left alone, might have married the proposed person quite contentedly and lived happily afterwards, but she will associate with others of her own age and these girls will suggest to her that she may successfully withstand her father's wish and marry whomsoever her own heart most truly fancies. This then leads to disharmony between father and daughter, and the negotiations for a marriage, eminently desirable in every way from the parent's point of view, are brought to nought by the uncontrollable caprice of a girl. As soon as children reach the age of 21 they cry out that, having reached their majority, they are independent of father and mother and may do as they like. It is this allowing children to follow their own desires (*izinkanuka*) that tends to bring about the unsatisfactory state of affairs that exists. Another destructive tendency is observable in everyone being a little king on his own dunghill; all are *amakosi*.

I said I thought the whole thing resolved itself into a conflict between Christianity and what we may call the old patriarchal system. Which, I asked, is true? Mabaso thought Christendom would eventually swallow up (*gwinya*) the African nations by obliging all to come, *nolens volens*, into their fold, be it the true one or not. Being the rulers of the land (i.e. Europeans), what can the natives, who are without power, do? They must conform. Yesterday I said all these Zulu grievances must be uttered; all must come out, and it is (from) feeling that urgent necessity that K. seems so keen on the appointment of a Secretary for Native Affairs responsible to no one except the natives on the one hand and the Queen's representative on the other (the Governor).

I said (today) the world is very old; there have been many

civilizations which have come and gone, as for example the Roman Empire, and it seems, unwilling and afraid as we are to confess it, the British Empire, that great *dhlozi*,⁵⁴ I called it, which is in the act of swallowing the Zulus and other nations, is itself doomed one day to come to an end. If this is so, to what is thought to be anchored?

Further conversation this 16.12.1900, 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Ndukwana. The subject was changed from laxity of morals among girls to the land question and then, as bearing directly on that, the labour question. Natives do complain a great deal about the rents they have to pay to Europeans. They look upon the Government as having sold them to the Europeans for the purpose of being fleeced by the latter, who, it would seem are the rightful governors of the country, and the Government follow up behind and call upon natives to pay a hut tax.

17.12.1900 - <evidence given 16.12.1900>

File 71, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Ndukwana

21 Mabaso thinks that the natives do not mind paying the rent; the only thing they do mind is not having the money to pay it with. Of the two things, labouring themselves and paying their money as rent, they prefer paying the money. Their love for money is not so great that, after procuring it, they would exert themselves to retain it. Their natural desire is to have no worries, no sooner to pay their rent and hut tax than revert to an existence of inactivity until the necessity again to pay arises. A native, I think, has very little desire for wealth; what he wants is for his immediate requirements, his standard of living being such that there is no ambition for earning large sums of money, and hence no need to exert oneself beyond a certain point. J.K. pointed to a number of chiefs in this division who live partly on location and partly on private lands (*farms*). There are numbers of *kolwas* who live on land they have purchased for themselves. Natives were first advised to buy land by Mr Allison, Umneli, the one who was at Mahamba.⁵⁵ He said, 'Beware, the white people are coming'. His words have turned out truly and *kolwas* feel very grateful for the advice he gave.

N. then stated the conditions under which land was occupied under the Zulu kings, remarking that no tax was levied on account of it by the king. K. explains that the reason why no tax was claimed was, of course, because all the people were soldiers; the natives did no labour because their only labour was to fight and be always prepared to fight. N. says that outlying districts like Tongaland, Sambana's, Mbikiza's and Mtshelekwana's, all paid *tribute*, but this was not a tax paid by individuals but by whole tribes or nations.⁵⁶ K. remarks that these outlying peoples paid tribute in *blue monkey skins*, elephant tusks and what-not, with which the Zulu warriors proceeded to decorate themselves. What these foreigners paid as tribute the Zulus used to dress and ornament themselves with.

Mabaso and K. feel that the Government cannot, if it so desired, pass laws ameliorating the condition of natives living on private

lands. The Government is afraid of the vast body of private owners, and by taking the natives' side would at once bring a hornet's nest about their ears; hence it is that natives tend to look with pity on the position the Government finds itself in. Instead of blaming, J.K. really feels compassion for Government on account of its abject helplessness.

We also touched on the labour question on which I laid especial stress. I said natives called *abelungu* originally *abalumbi* from *Lumba* to create;⁵⁷ this shows their leading characteristic. They are workers and inventors, a 'nation of shop-keepers'. Their whole soul is wrapped up in commerce; money in all directions is the great objective of every individual. On the other hand, I said, the natives feel really oppressed on account of the heavy rents they have to pay, which cause them a multitude of sorrows. The matter
22 seems to me to be one for compromise. There must be a wedding of the land and labour questions. The natives must endeavour to awaken to the fact that what Europeans do require of them is labour; so much do they need manual labour that they have been obliged, owing to stolid inactivity of the native races, to send to India, and in Rhodesia they talk of sending off to China and to Abyssinia. As an evidence of a union of rent and labour, see the conditions under which natives live on Boer lands in this very Division. The two questions must be dealt with as one. There is among Europeans a great want which can be filled or supplied by natives; among natives again is a great want which only the Europeans, rulers of the country, can supply. Various schemes may be proposed whereby the two can be treated together.

K. thinks a factor in any scheme that may be proposed, which would tend to defeat it, is the fact that the great bulk of labour required is for Johannesburg; boys have to leave their country to work in another. I proposed that the formation of a great syndicate or company in Natal of men of private means, with the object of buying up large tracts of land at present held by European individual farmers, might effect this union I refer to. The syndicate, after purchasing lands, could say to the natives that they were their tenants and call on them to name the conditions of occupation on the basis that what is required of them is labour. Such syndicate could arrange that all men proceeding from their lands for service at Johannesburg would be treated in the best possible manner, have their own *indunas*, work together, be kept from liquor and other mischief, be paid wages fairly etc. Legislation seems out of the question, as landholders will not consent to reducing their rents or relaxing the conditions of occupation. I referred to the Glen Grey Act as an attempt to deal with this very question of land occupation and the labour supply.⁵⁸

Mabaso said he found the matter very, very difficult and could see no possibility of a solution in any direction. I said that difficult or not, we must address ourselves to the problem and meet it fairly; it was no good passing over to other matters because this was too difficult. Again I said one way by which attention can be drawn to the matter is by some body of natives rising against their landlords and resisting exaction of rent. This would cause enquiry to be made into the whole affair. I spoke academically, not suggesting of course that any such course should be tried.

23 Things may one day come to that.

Mabaso drew attention to the way in which *kolwas* are treated whenever they come to the magistrate's court, Ladysmith and elsewhere. Many years ago he went to a magistrate's office with a note; this he took direct to the clerk of the court, R.H. Addison.⁵⁹ Addison got very angry with M. for having the impudence to come straight to him instead of through the court *induna*. It ended in Addison ordering M., then a young man, to carry a bundle of potatoes off to some place indicated as a kind of punishment. M. thinks that when natives come to apply for a licence to be married according to Christian rites, which in itself is a matter of no mere third-rate importance but a high mark of enlightenment, they ought not to be made to stand at a window, as Roberts (the clerk)⁶⁰ makes them do, and give their names etc. as if they were ordinary natives. It would be better to treat such a matter as apart from Native Law and procedure, as in fact it is, and rather than make such natives stand at the window, to deal with their cases in even some roughly constructed shanty. Another grievance is that Christian natives are always obliged to go through the *induna*, even though exempted from the operation of Native Law, and this native *induna*, knowing the hold he has on Christian natives, will jeer at them, keep them waiting for a long time, and all the time these natives are wishing to get back to their work at home. In short, the court *induna* vents his spleen on Christian natives in every manner, and treats them as ordinary natives, which they are not, and despises them as well, seeing they belong to another class, having become turncoats. There is, M. thinks, room for improvement in these matters. *Kolwas* ought to be treated with some consideration to mark in some way the fact that they are apart from ordinary native procedure, having in some sense risen above it.

24 J.K. wanted to know very much what it was that caused the immense gulf between Europeans and the natives, especially the more enlightened. I said there seemed to me various causes, none of which, seeing the short time left for discussion, we could do more than touch on briefly. One great reason, I said, is that the Zulus or natives of South Africa have never done anything. Other nations of the world, Indians and Chinese, for instance, had produced evidences of originality, but the Zulus, for instance, can show nothing. Thus it is that Europeans despise natives as beings of inferior intellect, though I dare say there are good reasons why no works could have been done. For instance, it would seem the South African races have been in a state of perpetual motion, always fighting and chasing one another about, giving no opportunity for that rest which meditative wisdom and creative art requires. This argument would tend to be supported by the case of the Tongas, who certainly appear to have advanced beyond the Zulus in manufactures, if not in other directions. K. said, 'But we do work; we assimilate the cunning of the white man; we can and do make chests of drawers, chairs, boots, boxes etc. etc.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'all monkeys can imitate; it requires more than that to create. You are like monkeys; you copy; anyone can copy; the great point is to create for yourselves. It is, however, too late; if you were to create now, such fact would not make so great an impression in your favour on Europeans as would have arisen had they come and found you with something, in the shape of art and science, already done.' Mabaso admitted that this argument was a vital thrust, and true.

KUMALO

I wish to say here that at the beginning of our conversation early in the morning (16th inst.), J.K. wished very much that I should meet, at some place other than this hotel, six or so native men of standing and intelligence to discuss some of the same subjects we have already entered upon. I at once dissuaded him. I said I thought information was best acquired and argument was far more fruitful in discussions of three or four such as we sometimes have. He accordingly proposed the summoning of a man Lazi (Lazarus) to our next meeting, the day of which he asked me to name. I suggested December 29th next, a Saturday, and added that I had been allowing them to talk at random; when they return I shall have a series of searching questions to put to them. 'That is just what we want,' they replied.

29.12.1900

File 71, pp. 33-6.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana

- 33 Had a conversation, by appointment, with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, and Lazarus Mxaba - Ndukwana also present. It took place this day, Saturday, 29.12.1900, at my room, No. 12, Royal Hotel, Ladysmith, 3.15 p.m. - 6.15 p.m.

I did not know quite how to begin, so, after consulting Ndukwana yesterday, I asked the three men to name a subject for discussion. This is the first occasion of my meeting the last of the three, i.e. Mxaba. He had a great deal to do with Sir T. Shepstone, whose messenger he afterwards became, in connection with various important matters relating to Cetshwayo and otherwise. He is aged 60, having been born, as he says, in 1839. He is older than Henrique, William (Nsokonsokwana) and Offy Shepstone, also their sister Ntombaze,⁶¹ all of whom he remembers as children. He has been to England.

- 34 The subject was proposed by Mxaba and was this: What is the cause of Europeans not amalgamating with (natives)? Why do not the two races merge into one another and become or tend to become one instead of the two living apart? I explained that this was a very great subject to which no answer could be given unless the whole conditions of the problem had been gone into. As an introduction to the discussion I thereupon recited the list of matters of inquiry (hereto affixed) showing 30 more or less distinct heads.

<The list of topics that follows appears in the original on a loose sheet annexed to p. 34 - eds.>

- 1 What is *ukukanya*?
- 2 Seduction of girls and general disrespect of children and women to kraal head.
- 3 The results of mission work; its denominational character; the future of it.
- 4 The poor, a terror in England; are there any poor, or likely to be, in South Africa?
- 5 The liquor question; the difficulty of magistrates in dealing with those who are half-castes etc.
- 6 The Indians; causes of their coming; what are the effects produced by their permanently taking up their abode in our midst throughout S.A.?

- 6(a) Colenso and his teaching.
- 6(b) What is the meaning of *lobola*?
- 6(c) What are the most ancient Zulu things, made by Zulus, and where can they be obtained?
- 6(d) Old legends and traditions compared with the Adam and Eve legend.
 - 7 What customs are common to the various native races in S.A., say Amampondo, Amabaca, Amanhlwenga, Swazis, Zulus, Amaxoza, Amalawu, Amafengu, taking into account such customs as *lobola*, *bula*, belief in *amadhlolzi*, military organization, circumcision etc?
 - 8 The origin of the Zulu people.
 - 9 The earliest history of the coming into contact of European with native races.
 - 10 The labour question.
 - 11 Rent and the purchase of land by natives.
 - 12 Education; to what extent to be carried?
 - 13 Industrial education; is not this of more value to the native people than reading, writing and arithmetic?
 - 14 The Shepstonian policy.
 - 15 The *kolwa* class and exemption from Native Law.
 - 16 The general policy of Her Majesty's Government as seen in successive administrations - Shepstone, Moor, Hulett; its characteristics.
 - 17 The franchise; its results at the Cape; is it advisable?
 - 18 Should chieftainship be abolished?
 - 19 Should locations be maintained?
 - 20 Is the policy to tend to do away with polygamy likely to bring about good or evil in the end?
 - 21 Passes and registration.
 - 22 Why do not Europeans amalgamate with natives?
 - 23 Laws of Europeans; do natives understand them? What course should be adopted towards making and promulgating new laws?
 - 24 Ought there not to be a tendency towards uniformity of laws and towards British ideals? Ought any positive effort therefore be made to preserve the various native systems, or should we merely negatively preserve by simple toleration? Tshaka made the tribes conform to his law; ought not England therefore, now she has South Africa, endeavour to make all races conform to hers?
 - 25 The Boers and natives; what is their policy?
 - 26 The Portuguese, their policy.
 - 27 The Glen Grey Act and experiments; are they advisable?
 - 28 Importation of Chinese in Rhodesia and more Indians in Natal.
 - 29 The influences of Johannesburg and Kimberley.
 - 30 The Order of Ethiopia.

All the men appeared to be impressed with this lengthy list of subjects, each of the very first importance, and on each of which Mxaba said he felt he could say something, all of which he hoped we would some time or another discuss. J.K. expressed a wish to have a copy of the list drawn up (I hurriedly drew it up in the half-hour preceeding our conversation and there is no method as to its arrangement) so that he might take it home with him. He would like to have it in the Zulu language. Mabaso was struck with the vast range of subjects, and all agreed it would require days and days to go through it.

Mabaso asked what the principle was upon which magistrates are appointed. Were they directed to protect European interests specially? Were they to devote their first attention to the natives, or were they simply to manage their respective districts without fear or favour to anyone? I replied that, as far as I can see, the policy is to rule both European and native in an equitable way, for our Government is broad-based upon the maxim 'Do as you would be done by'. But the natural desire is undoubtedly to make the natives subservient to our ideals which, because they are similar to those of the many kingdoms which comprise Christendom, we believe to be truer than those of the natives. Ages ago we cast aside ideals similar to those natives now possess for those of Christianity. '*Idhlozi li ya bekelwa*',⁶² I said, meaning and explaining that it is to the interest of our commonwealth to acquire as many followers as possible. A nation's power of protecting its inhabitants varies as the number of its members. I then gave briefly the history of the Portuguese coming to discover Natal, remarking that the King of Portugal had two special reasons: (a) he wanted to extend his kingdom; (b) he desired to Christianize barbarians and make them members of the Roman Catholic Church [vide p. 21, *Annals of Natal*].

Mxaba made use of an expression which struck me very forcibly: *ukugqabuk' (dabuka) igoda*.⁶³ This expression is used by Zulus and other natives in regard to Mpande's having come to the Boers in Natal and solicited their protection against his brother Dingana [15th October 1839 - vide p. 536, *Annals of Natal*, Bird]. By so doing, he put an end to native methods of living; he introduced the foreign European element into the country in a deliberate manner, thereby as it were severing that imaginary rope (of grass) that runs through Zulu national life from generation to generation. (*Igoda is a rope plaited from the fibres of the inkomfe plant.*)

35 Mxaba says that Europeans regard natives as they do flies which have fallen into their drink, as something to be taken out and thrown away. And yet the natives are attached to the English people; if they were not present in the country to protect them (natives) they would all die off. What then is the cause of this disinclination of Europeans to associate and become one with the natives, who are not only prepared but actually do place implicit confidence in the English? Mabaso, following up his former remark about magistrates, explained that he would like to see natives of the various districts, or say in particular places, be authorized to select their own magistrate, one to whom they could communicate their grievances and who would from time to time discuss native affairs in the various aspects indicated in the list read. My answer formerly given settled this point as well.

It was now agreed between us that, in order to find an answer to the question proposed by Mxaba at the outset, a discussion of the various subjects quoted on the paper affixed to the preceding page should take place, and as every subject was worthy of discussion so, Mxaba suggested, the others approving, that we should begin at the beginning and proceed steadily through the whole. We accordingly entered upon the first: What is *ukukanya*? Mxaba stated there were two kinds of *ukukanya*: there was light in its physical as well as in its mental sense. I pointed out that by rubbing two sticks together light was produced; similarly, by discussion and conflict of opinion, light arises. We proceeded to analyze closely the meaning of

enlightenment, the discussion, as it became more abstract, being carried on chiefly by Mxaba and myself. J.K. put in a word here and there, whilst Mabaso and Ndukwana remained almost silent.

Mxaba suggested that the meaning of enlightenment, in the mental sense, was synonymous with the acquisition of knowledge, and knowledge arises out of communications thereof to us by others, or our own personal observations. I remarked that the said communications were impressions on our minds, and this repeated beating on our mind created what we know as knowledge; hence there is an analogy here with the friction or perpetual contact which produces light in the physical sense. J.K. remarked that in his opinion *ukukanya* meant *ukulunga*,⁶⁴ and that Europeans were enlightened because they were altruistic in an eminent degree. I observed that *ukukanya* in its mental sense divided itself up into two parts, viz. science and religion, and I proceeded to explain the meaning of the three great fields of knowledge. I asked the three men if, having knowledge
36 which might disturb them, I should impart it to them. Mxaba and Kumalo wished to hear; Mabaso hesitated and afterwards wishing to know, I as far as I was able, gave them briefly the fundamentals of agnosticism and its effect on the world, and noticed the conflict that has until recently taken place between science and religion. I told them that the object of philosophy was to discover some all-reconciling theory, but hitherto no success had been met with.

I impressed on the men the necessity for making a diligent search for origins and causes, illustrating what I meant by examining a shoe, the various materials of which it was made, where each came from etc. Most of our discussion was of a very abstract character. Both Mxaba and Mabaso, also Kumalo, spoke up for the Bible, saying that nothing could wean people from it. Mxaba said that when in England he heard the doctrine that Galileo's discovery came into direct conflict with the Bible, and also the doctrine that monarchy should be abolished and only a president be appointed from time to time. We, at Mxaba's request, fixed next Tuesday, 1st January for our next discussion. J.K. and Mabaso will however return tomorrow to proceed with subsidiary branches of our great subject.

30.12.1900

File 71, pp. 36-43.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Ndukwana

Further conversation - present John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Ndukwana - this morning, 7.10 a.m. - 8.45 a.m. I began by making inquiries about Lazi (Lazarus) Mxaba who was with us yesterday. Mabaso informs me Mxaba and he live on land near Bester's railway station which is part of land purchased by them and other natives as a company. Mxaba has a wife and children; his father and mother are both living; the former is so old that no real advantage can be derived from conversing with him. Mxaba was very frequently employed by Sir T. Shepstone as his messenger; Elijah Kambule, who was killed in the Langelibalele disturbances, was another of Sir T. S.'s messengers, and used to be employed with Mxaba, though older than Mxaba. Mxaba went to Mzilikazi with Kuruman, the prince of that part;⁶⁵ he travelled in Swaziland with the Shepstones, and went to England with

Cetshwayo and Henrique Shepstone. He is a Zulu but is familiar with the English, Dutch and Basuto languages.

Mabaso says there is another man living near him; that he would like to be present at these discussions of ours, viz. Mjoji Dhlamini; he is, however, something of an invalid and could not be a regular attendant. I said I felt three men were as many as we could do with; if too many were to come attention would be attracted. Ndukwana agreed with me, but I was sorry to have to say this.

37 I now called on Mabaso to explain a little more fully the reason why, yesterday, he wanted to know what a magistrate's duties were, to rule Europeans or natives or both. He said one reason for his asking was because the clergy are appointed either to a European or a native diocese [?] and, seeing that natives are given their own pastors, wondered if a similar procedure was in any way followed in respect to magistrates. I explained briefly, adding to yesterday's remarks, that magistrates were formerly called, and are still actually, though not styled, Administrators of Native Law. The disuse of this is no doubt due to a desire of the British Government to bring the Zulu people etc. under one common law. In churches, magistrates are prayed for that they may be given 'grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth', this truth being of course the Christian religion. I might have referred to oaths of allegiance and office but inadvertently omitted to do so.

The subject of conversation turned to *ukukanya*, to missionaries etc., the drift or purport of it being as follows. I wanted still further to know what in its essence *ukukanya* was. Yesterday we got down to knowledge being due to repeated beating, so that in its simplest sense knowledge arises out of impact of observations (of others or our own) on our brain; it is due to our coming into the merest contact with notions dissimilar to our own, which however are based on fact and are verifiable.

Mabaso now turned to a practice in magistrates' courts to stifle truth. For instance, a person will, in connection with some matter, be asked a question; he will give perhaps a direct enough reply and proceed at once to qualify and explain the meaning of the reply, but he is instantly caught up and told not to evade the point. 'Is so-and-so so, yes or no?' The man cut short, not having been allowed time to state the truth, says 'yes' in despair, not knowing what to do. Inquiry proceeds, and when the man states, in the course of it, something at variance with the admission snatched from him, he is reprimanded and accused of going back on his word; his evidence too becomes unreliable, having lost the mark of truth. I admitted this was frequently done in magistrates' courts, but the motive for so doing was to prevent unnecessary digression. There are many cases that come daily before the magistrate, and in order not to bring about a block and cause the public to suffer, he is obliged to hurry and cut short where he feels he can do so without causing miscarriage of justice.

38 Mabaso repeatedly made use of the remark, as if a self-evident truth, that God made all things. I questioned him on the point. He said he was convinced of the existence of God because it was laid down in the Bible that there was a God, though no man had at any time seen him, and he felt convinced that the Bible was inspired by God because, as a young man, he became conscious of the error of

his ways from what he read there. As a young man he was full of lust for girls etc. This lust was checked and controlled by enlightenment derived from the Bible; as this enlightenment had power to keep him from doing evil, so it must be certain there is a God, the inspirer of the Bible. Apart from this, all people from time immemorial believe in the existence of a God; therefore there is a God, seeing all men testify thereto. I then drew attention to the men of old time having believed that all swans were white; with the increase of knowledge it was some 2000 years later discovered that elsewhere in the world black swans had been found, wherefore there is no real force in the argument that because all admit a thing to be, and believe in it, it must therefore be according to the very form they place credence in.

J.K. observed that Christianity in its origins is perfect, absolutely good; it is only after it is applied by the state to practical affairs that it becomes corrupted. It is the civil service, the administration and executive, which brings about bad results. And yet, I remarked, we find the church itself splitting up into many denominations; that J.K. himself, in belonging to the Church of England, has separated from the true source of Christianity; he is apart from the great original body. 'How', I asked, 'have you come to leave that which you say was at the beginning good?' Can that be Law and Truth which allows its members to shatter themselves into a thousand fragments?

After discussing in this manner - after pointed warning, however, by me yesterday - Mabaso observed that I have an *induna*, viz. Ndukwana, whom I take about with me from place to place. If he, Mabaso, and J.K. and Mxaba were as I said yesterday, children, what must Ndukwana be who had not yet become a Christian? What will he think of Christianity after our iconoclastic discussions? I ought to endeavour to train Ndukwana into the way of truth (Christianity) and not, by such discussions as these, increase his doubts as to whether Christianity is or is not the Truth. I replied that N. was no longer a mere boy; he, like them, was able to protect himself and could appreciate our conversation and estimate its proper value. I could, of course, have said more, but refrained. I remarked that *ukukanya* was progressive, and that as the Zulu *ukukanya* was in advance of what preceded, so there was ground for thinking Christianity may be followed by increased enlightenment. Neither Kumalo nor Mabaso could see, they said, how this could be.

39 J.K. observed that the Zulu people in effect follow the law of Moses; their laws and customs to a great extent are very similar to those of the Jews. They follow the Jews although they cannot read or write. Assuming that at one time there was contact between natives and Jews, how could such have taken place? I pointed to the isthmus of Suez which is the door through which Asia could pass into Africa.

Ndukwana gave the grounds briefly for his belief in *amadhlozi* as he has given me before [recorded in my Native Customs etc. book]. And I concluded by giving an account of my testing *isangoma* (*bulaing*) at Richmond [also fully recorded in my general note book].⁶⁶ Mabaso remarked that he himself was once, or pretended to be, an *isangoma*, and succeeded by taking in credulous people. In his opinion it is the person who comes to *bula* who has already formed an opinion as to who is the guilty person etc., and all the *isangoma* really does is to wring this opinion or concept from those who *bula*;

he is only able to discover on information given him by those who *bula*.

As far as I can judge from what my native friends say from time to time, they like these fundamental discussions; it is a thorough-going inquiry into causes that they like. Mabaso returns home today to come back tomorrow. Kumalo comes back with Ndukwana for further discussion. I never make any pencil notes during these discussions, except if some purely native phrase or name or Zulu word be used, but as a rule the conversations are good grapplings and therefore leave clear impressions.

12.35 p.m.: Yesterday Kumalo laughingly called my room, No. 12, *Kwa Sogekle, Kwa Tulwana*,⁶⁷ for it is there that elderly men meet.

Further conversation (2nd this day - Sunday) with John Kumalo and S. Mabaso, Ndukwana present, 3.15 p.m. - 5.45 p.m. Mabaso did not go off home as he expected to do. The subject chosen was the Boer native policy. Mabaso was anxious to institute a comparison between Boer government and Zulu government to ascertain which was the better form of government. I pointed out that the main cause of disagreement between English and Boers arose out of the native policy of Boers at the Cape in the early years of this century, under which was enforced a universal system of 'apprenticeship' called 'slavery' by the English. Mabaso is very much indeed opposed to the Boer method of governing native races; he says they (Boers) *busa nge nsilane* - govern sjambok in hand. There is no redeeming feature, not one, in their whole government. They turn natives out to work on farms at all times and in all weathers. Not the least interest is taken in the welfare of the natives; no opportunity of any kind is afforded for raising themselves from their degraded position. They (Boers) seem to take a pride in keeping the people back as much as possible, and in not causing them to be dressed but in torn and tattered garments. And, added J.K., they think nothing of shooting down a native, speaking of him as a *crow* and, on arriving home, boast of having succeeded in shooting a *crow*. I remarked that it was a principle of Boer government that no native could at any time hold office under the state or become a member of their church, such principle being contained in their constitution. Ndukwana agreed with Mabaso and hadn't a good word for the Boers.

I said I found two redeeming features in their government, which is strikingly analogous to that of early Judaism (Jews): (a) though their idea was narrow it yet enforced obedience; (b) there is no immorality to speak of among the Boers, nor do children show disrespect to their parents. Mabaso said that Zulus governed with a rod of iron, but as soon as they conquered people they invariably treated them with becoming dignity, recognizing them to be men and human beings, even though (taxes) tribute was exacted from them. I explained that the first Dutch who arrived in South Africa, as well as the French Huguenots who shortly followed and amalgamated with them, were far more advanced in civilization than the present Boers, who have obviously deteriorated through being cut off from their mother country for so many generations. I find an extraordinary analogy between the Boers, who in regard to the natives, are followers of the Old Testament, and the Jews of old, and there seems to be a similar solidarity in the Boers as there was and is still in the Jews; and I ventured to prophesy that the Boer people

would endure as a compact nation after England had fallen to pieces like the Roman Empire. Moreover, I added, I shall be very surprized if the present war concludes without our witnessing some significant and striking act on the part of the Boers, as for example another *exodus en masse* to adjoining lands.

- 41 Mabaso extolled the British policy in respect to natives, pointing out that though natives had many grievances still they were treated like men, and many opportunities were given of rising in the scale of civilization. The British Government *governs with righteousness*. I remarked that *ukulunga*, righteousness, was something to be obtained only at a white heat. Order and righteousness is maintained by the greatest possible effort, not by mere *dolce far niente*. <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> Look for instance at Mpande, so slack and easy-going and kind as to be called a woman. What did this spirit lead to? Did it not lead to his tendering his and his people's allegiance to the Boers in 1839 and thereby *gqabulaing igoda*?⁶⁸ That is, instead of bracing himself up, accepting the responsibilities of the position, and doing himself with his own people what was required, he must needs flee to the alien Boers for protection and help (*tol' uhlonze lo ku kula*,⁶⁹ as N. says). Nothing of this kind can be urged against the Boer government. I admit that the Boer form of government is bristling with objectionable elements, but then if a man has a dog which protects his home and is a terror to the whole neighbourhood, will he not, even though many complaints be made about it, treat it in a very mild way, knowing his own safety is due to its ferocity? So with the Boers; their government, as far as their own people is concerned, is thoroughly satisfactory and adapted to their own national and individual welfare. I could not understand how the Boers, originally Protestants, have swerved round to the Old Testament point of view in regard to the natives, unless it was due to their coming upon low species of natives at the Cape, and through lapse of time falling from their former high ideals. Kumalo said something about the mode of marriage among the Boers, whereby a girl going off to marry is replaced by another who marries into the family her sister-in-law came from etc., mentioning this as a good custom or redeeming feature, but I could not quite understand.

- We spent a few minutes on the subject of *zila-ing* i.e. penitential rites and ceremonies, mourning etc. During Holy Week, Europeans *zila*, and the following are instances of *zila-ing* among Zulus: when a woman is menstruating she will not for seven days sit on her husband's mat, nor will she take a pinch of snuff from a man's (male's) hand, but hold her hand open for the snuff to be poured into it, and when she has finished she will return the snuff (if any remains) by pouring it back to another [male?] with her open hand; when men have been called out to fight they do not cohabit with their wives, and the mats will, at such a time, be taken down, made to stand upright against the huts with, as N. says, some *nyaloti*⁷⁰ rolled up inside. Mabaso referred to the case in the Pentateuch where a
42 woman carries off the household gods and sits on them to hide them from her husband who might be angry. This too was *zila-ing*. We went into this subject incidentally to trace the analogy between the Zulus and the Jews.

I drew attention to the fact that in the Orange Free State if a

woman leaves her husband, the law courts will not interfere and cause her to return, on the ground that the state does not look on marriage among natives under their customs as binding. Nor can *lobola* be claimed in law courts.

We turned to the early history of the Zulu people. I began by giving in brief outline the history of Godongwana (Dingiswayo) and Tshaka as written down by H. Fynn and Sir T. Shepstone, as found in the *Annals of Natal*, showing as well as I could where the two accounts differ from one another. Ndukwana and J.K. said they believe Dingiswayo must have derived information from one or more Europeans which enabled him to transform the military organization of the Mtetwa tribe. It seems certain he returned on a horse and with a gun; as these must have come from Europeans, so it is highly probable he derived other ideas from them. Mabaso sided with me to the effect that it seems hardly probable that Dingiswayo could have learnt from Europeans the idea upon which he reorganized his army, his method of warfare etc., seeing that the Cape, the only place where there were European troops, could only be reached by traversing many different states, some of them hostile, and seeing that if Dingiswayo did not get to the Cape and merely for a few months met Dr Cowen,⁷¹ he could hardly in that time have assimilated the ideas he afterwards put into practice. Dr Cowen for instance could hardly have known the Zulu language.

J.K. and M. were very pleased with all I told them. M. regretted that Europeans never conversed with natives on those great subjects upon which we are engaged, in order that the one could question the other, to their mutual benefit. Mr Moor,⁷² Secretary for Native Affairs, knows practically nothing of the natives he governs. Natives keenly desire to discuss all these subjects.

J.K. remarks that it jars on him to hear Nukani and Ngini, *indunas*, expressing their opinions in cases in court when they have not been called upon to say anything, and believes Sergeant Burdett disapproves. I said I did not interfere, as such appeared to be the practice of the court.

Mabaso, in regard to pure Zulu affairs, especially back history, called himself *ilidhliwa* or *ibimbi*, both of which I think mean

43 'ignoramus'.

Among the Boers there are many *amakoboka*,⁷³ that is, people (natives) taken captive by them from neighbouring states and made slaves of. I compared the Jews going down into Egypt in famine time to the Natal natives going to Pondoland etc. in Tshaka's day where, because of their destitute condition, they were called Amafengu.

After hearing me give the early history of the Zulu people, Mabaso wanted to know how it had come about that I should take so deep an interest in native affairs; not even the very oldest men could recount much of the history I had given. What was the cause of my taking this interest? I said I was like Godongwana as I too had wandered from country to country. M. replied, 'But you are not, like him, a fugitive.' I said that perpetual travelling about, even though I was always in the government service, tended to quicken one's faculties and powers of observation.

There are rumours to the effect that Boers are causing eyes to be taken out of natives' heads; they castrate them, cut off a hand and so on, in connection with the present war. It is not however as yet known what truth there is in such rumours.

31.12.1900

File 71, pp. 43-4.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

Conversation with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana, 31.12.1900, 4.15 p.m. - 6.30 p.m.

J.K. says the name of that daughter of his who ran away to Estcourt [vide p.2] is Elizabeth, after her mother. She is married and living at Livdale [?] mission station, some four or five miles out of Estcourt. She is married to an ordinary non-Christian; she is exempt from native law. Kumalo himself came to live at Livdale [?] mission station about the year 1879 (Zulu War), and moved to Roosboom somewhat over four years ago.

The date of Congress as far as J.K. and Mabaso know is not yet fixed.

It was at one of the first *Funamalungelo*⁷⁴ meetings some years ago that a number of young men wanted to carry on the discussions in English.

These remarks were made before Mxaba's and Ndukwana's arrival. As soon as they came (in five or so minutes) we went on to the subject of 'The poor: are there observable in Natal any tendencies towards poverty?' Mxaba was the first to speak. He said there were tendencies. Under the old Zulu regime a poor man would have cattle given him to look after by his chief; the cattle would be *sisa'd*;⁷⁵ he would look after them and, collecting the butter which he had made, would cook it, skimming off the dross [?] etc., or allow it to bubble over and then pour the melted or cooked butter, in a highly purified (clarified) condition, into little *gourds*. These *gourds* he would then dispose of, bartering them for goats, and when 44 he had got together ten goats he would purchase a cow, and this cow would be his own personal property. In time his small beginnings would increase; he would ultimately get sufficient cattle to *lobola* a wife with, and then he would have children, girls and boys; the girls would be married off, and his property increase proportionally on account of *lobola* paid for them. He would then found kraals (*amanzuluma*, corresponding to *amakanda enkosi*)⁷⁶ in various directions, becoming still more prosperous and affluent. The fat referred to is the kind held in highest esteem among the Zulus; it is held to be better than meat fat. Ndukwana and the others quite agreed with this method of the Zulus for dealing with poverty - keeping it in the background. N. adds that a man's chief would *lobola* a wife for him. It was the chiefs who looked after their people, giving assistance where they felt it was required, and on that account there was in Zululand no class known as the poor.

Poverty, Mxaba says, arises out of having no fixed abode. It resolves itself purely into a matter of land. He who has no land is like one laden with a heavy burden; hence it is there can be no increase of wealth whilst we are in debt. Look at the natives of Natal; they are squatters on farms; they have to pay rent and taxes. If they cannot pay rent they are ordered to quit, and do quit. This practice is universal and unceasing, therefore there is a tendency to pauperism. The first requisite, if we would keep pauperism out of sight, is to give every man a piece of land to live on, or, simply, every man needs land. J.K. says that poverty in Zululand was gently covered as with a cloak by the chief. He described the

difficulties natives living on farms have to contend against. They are ordered off farms for not paying rent, have difficulty in finding another home, and when they have got there, no consideration is shown by the Government, but they must needs pay hut tax as before. They cannot understand the dual control, i.e. landlord and Government - two *chiefs*. Mxaba observes that possibly a man has his holes full of corn or mealies; all this produce he is obliged to dispose of for next to nothing, and yet when he, after a lot of trouble, finds a new home, he is obliged to buy at the highest market price.

[Could not finish account of this conversation because obliged to keep an engagement - dance at Mrs Bennett's - 1.1.1901.]

<2.1.1901> - evidence given 31.12.1900

File 71, pp. 56-60.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

- 56 Conversation of afternoon 31.12.1900 resumed. A man in affluent or easy circumstances is said to be *nawaba* (*said of one who needs nothing*), a word which is connected with the *fat* which is used for making a *skin skirt* or skin (soft and pliable, or *nawaba*). Mabaso says natives are reduced to poverty by their own tastes. A man is taught to take to clothing; this creates for him a certain standard
- 57 of living up to which he, from fear of being ridiculed by others, strives to live. Thus it is due to the advent of Europeans that there is this tendency to spend one's means merely for the sake of being like others; they bring all manner of goods which increase the desire to spend. J.K. speaks of clothing and other things made by Europeans as *ngwaqubulungu*.⁷⁷ He disagrees with Mabaso when he says the articles brought into the country by Europeans are a cause of poverty, on the ground that of *kolwas* and raw natives, i.e. those who are in the habit of purchasing European clothing and what-not and those who rarely buy, the poorer are undoubtedly the raw natives, those who have not yet learnt to need the articles referred to. How, he asked me, is it that more poverty is found among raw natives than among those more enlightened? I replied that the Europeans brought with them into this country not the things only but the spirit of continuing to create or manufacture them; they brought with them the spirit of competition, and it is this rivalry which the raw native does not understand, but which to some extent has been assimilated by the more enlightened among them, viz. the *kolwas*. That at any rate appeared to me partially to answer J.K.'s question. Raw natives have not the means because they have not risen to a consciousness of the reality - that spirit which is practically the soul of Englishmen. And yet there are but few natives in Natal, even the rawest, who do not purchase, and what is more, are (not) in the habit of purchasing European goods; every man, for instance, is required to have a coat and a pair of trousers when he enters a town. Natives must come to see that Europeans are *abalumbi*, i.e. inventors and manufacturers; that the end of each is to acquire wealth; that they are a commercial people. As there is a spirit of perpetual competition, so, it seems, poverty among natives will increase in the future.

J.K. asked me to give some account of pauperism in England. This

I did by drawing attention to the effect of the introduction of machinery etc. on cotton-spinning and coaches. Many were ruined on the coming into use of steam etc. Mabaso observed that here in Natal many natives who had purchased waggons and to some extent depended on transport were deprived of that means of earning a livelihood owing to the coming of the railway. I emphasized the gravity of the problem of the poor in England, as well as in other countries, and said the state was obliged to deal in a special manner with it (poor laws, commissions, workhouses etc.), and that it formed one of the most expensive undertakings and heaviest moral burdens.

58 We dealt with the question: 'Liquor - should natives be absolutely prohibited from procuring it or should all restrictions be done away as with Europeans themselves?' Mxaba said liquor is drunk by every nation on earth in one form or another. It is right that liquor (beer etc.) should be drunk by peoples in moderation, for 'wine maketh glad the heart of man'. Spirits taken in moderation add to man's sociability, therefore it would be wrong to proscribe them. On the other hand, drunkenness is something which no good Government can tolerate. In Zululand a man who got drunk was severely dealt with, beaten, not allowed to drink again etc.

Ndukwana supports this statement. There is no trial, but the chief, if present, might give an order to have him beaten etc. Mxaba says in effect that beer is a 'good familiar creature' if well used, but 'every inordinate cup is unblessed and the ingredient a devil'.

On the ground that all restriction gives rise to a desire to know and to have, so Mxaba is of opinion that no restrictions should be placed on the sale of liquor to natives. Let every man have what he wants, for he will have, even though the prohibited article is hedged round by the heaviest penalties, as witness the *isigodhlo* in Zululand into which men broke from time to time as thick as flies.

Mabaso spoke next. His view was somewhat as follows: I am neither for total prohibition nor for abolition of all restrictions; what I should rather like to see is an educative influence at work. Let people have an opportunity of satisfying their wants, but let them always feel that they are accountable to their parents as well as to the state for their conduct; let both the parent and the state punish. None of us could follow quite clearly what Mabaso meant, but what I have stated appeared to be the general drift of his words.

J.K. favoured total prohibition, and at the same time blamed Europeans for putting up large signboards informing the general public that choice spirits etc. could be obtained within. But for this notice, which has caught the eye of the traveller, he would have passed by contentedly enough. That is true, I remarked, but when you people cook your beers, do no smokes rise? This remark tickled Mxaba and Mabaso. J.K. replied: No doubt the smoke and smell do attract people, but it must be remembered a portion of this beer may not be drunk; not all the beer cooked is drunk, for some is carried off to the chief. Yes, I said, but the remainder is drunk nevertheless. I might have added that European Governments tax spirits heavily, being one of the chief sources of revenue.

Mxaba, in his former speech, informed me that in Zululand beer used to be drunk universally. There used to be *imitayi*, i.e. the simultaneous making of beer in a particular part of the country, and

59 that on such occasions there would be widespread rejoicing and innocent conviviality. There would be no quarrels, wranglings and fightings, for the only causes of the fighting of regiments were when going out of the gate of the kraal, or else at the drifts when desiring to cross the same. Beer drinking did not give rise to fighting.

I drew attention both to Swaziland, where spirit traffic was controlled, and Tongaland, where it was not controlled. I said Europeans in England (English Government) were quick to take alarm when I reported the matter; that the Boers imposed very heavy penalties, which succeeded in checking the supply by traders. It was by holding the traders responsible that the supply was effectually put a stop to, not so much by punishing the individuals who got the liquor. In Tongaland, through liquor being freely introduced by the Portuguese etc., and anybody and everybody thereby being enabled to get what he wanted, the whole family system had been undermined, causing men to neglect their homes, women to commit adultery, children to roam about as they saw fit. It would therefore be criminal to allow natives to have liquor whenever they liked.

We turned to 'Indians: why have they come to Natal?' I said I wanted to know what were the circumstances under which the Indians came to South Africa; what is the motive which prompted their being introduced, and that which gave rise to such motive? I continued that as far as I could see the natives are themselves to blame for allowing Europeans to introduce Indians. Why did not natives perceive the spirit of commerce which animated the English, and endeavour to satisfy their wants simply by furnishing the labour they required? The Europeans gave the natives a long trial, and it was only when they had employed every means in their power to secure good and reliable labour and an unfailing, constant supply of it, that the notion occurred to them of importing Indians. I said this after J.K. had remarked, when I asked them to explain why the Indians had come (been allowed to come) to Natal, that they looked to me to give the reasons (being a white man). How could they, J.K. added, be expected to give the reason for an act done by the (alien) Europeans? Mxaba, hearing me give the reason, said: You Europeans are impatient and impulsive. You send off to India before you have made a real effort to educate the natives and teach them to work. As it is, by the introduction of the Indians, you have made the problem far more complicated, for are not Indians employed in your
60 hotels, your civil service? They are your cooks etc.; they take positions which are the nearest to, if not in actual touch with, yourselves. Natal is comparatively speaking quite a new colony, merely, as you tell us, 77 years old. How can you expect natives to compete with Indians with whom you have lived, in India for a couple of hundred years, educating them all that time in your ways and methods? I replied that it is a mistake to suppose that Indians were educated by us; they, for by far the most part, educate themselves. The proportion of Europeans in India at this day is, I think, far less than in Natal.

[The Spectator of 1.12.1900 arrived today, 2.1.1901. I read, p. 797, 'The keenest observers in India doubt whether, if we withdrew, there would in fifty years be any trace left of our century of dominion either in the thoughts of the people or their ways of life.']

1.1.1901

File 71, pp. 44-56.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana

44 This morning I had another talk for about 1½ hours, i.e. from 6.35 a.m. to 8.20 a.m., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana present.

The subject of conversation was, for a few minutes, liquor. Mxaba says that Europeans, not content with running a fence round their own liquor, are now endeavouring to exercise a control over their beer (*tshwala*); they *zulumba*⁷⁸ it. They are deriving profit from our liking for beer, viz. by taxing it.

45 We turned next to this: 'The Indians: why have they come to Natal?' This is a matter we went into at some length yesterday; it was nevertheless continued, and the conversation proved to be the most fruitful of any single one we have had. During this striking conversation the speakers were Mxaba and myself. I explained that the Indians had been brought by the English to South Africa in despair because the natives were not steady or reliable workers. It was because every chance had been given to natives to satisfy the Europeans that the latter felt obliged in their own interest to import Indians. I wanted to know why it was that the native would not awake to the fact that the English are a commercial people, *abalumbi*; that their ideal embraced labour, for it is in labour that the true dignity of man lies. It is by invention and labour, which invention implies and includes, that nations rise to dignity and importance in the world. And one of the true reasons why Europeans refused to associate and amalgamate with natives, and therefore a partial answer to the question propounded by Mxaba at the outset [p.33], is that Europeans do not find among any of the South African aboriginal peoples any positive evidence of greatness. They have created nothing to which they can point and say, 'Here, this is great and worthy!' But the Indians, on the other hand, can point to many great works. They weave clothes; they can read and write in their own tongue; they build fine mansions; they deal in precious metals which they manufacture into beautiful ornaments; the whole people is instinct with the notion of the necessity for labour. The Chinese, moreover, are creators. Did not they invent writing first? Did not they first find and use the magnet? Other nations, whose civilizations still exist or have died out, can be pointed out who have great productions to show as the result of their long residence on earth, but the South African people can show nothing.

Mxaba replied thus to these remarks: I allow that the aboriginal races of South Africa cannot point to any great work or discovery, but there is a cause for this backwardness, and that is our restlessness. It is owing to being in a state of perpetual flux (*umrada*)⁷⁹ that we have been unable to produce. The land we live in is of great magnitude, and the people that live in it can and do attack one another. We are nations who have always had to be prepared in case of attack, consequently we have tended to making an art of warfare. It is to the affairs of war that the effort of our men has been turned, so much so that, by way of illustration, I may observe that, in the days that preceded the great upheaval identified with the reign of Tshaka, men used to be in the habit of working in gardens, and not women only. They moreover devoted themselves to

46 other industrial pursuits; they were more inclined to labour. Our oldest men assure us of the truth of this remark. Johannes Kumalo testifies thereto. Moreover, testimony will be found in races that lie outside those territories which were so disturbed by Tshaka, as for instance Swaziland, where men still work in the fields, and doubtless other examples can be found. When, however, Tshaka turned his attention to war, he, terrible tyrant that he was, diverted the natural inclinations of men by establishing what was practically the whole people into a standing army. This spirit of aggressiveness caused men, when they were not actually engaged in battle, to lead a more or less indolent existence, casting the duty of labour chiefly upon the women. We are not really without the power to create or invent. The whole matter resolves itself simply into this: owing to the circumstances presented by the characteristics of the land we live in, through which we have been kept constantly in an unavoidable state of restlessness and disquietude, always obliged to protect ourselves instead of devoting ourselves to labour and invention, we have never had a proper opportunity of demonstrating to the world that we are men like them, endowed with the power of doing great things.

Yes, I replied, that is all very well, this plea of yours of having been in a state of perpetual commotion, but how is it that you did not perceive that the way you lived in was wrong? Why did you not, in spite of this state of unceasing disquietude, rise above your circumstances and reduce your country to order as other nations have done? You should have surmounted this state of unrest which you say is the cause of your having failed to produce, as is only too true. India, a country very similar to Africa and nearly as big - at any rate it is of very vast extent - must have suffered from unrest, and yet she has been able to show good work done. Disabuse your mind of the fact that the English people have communicated to India their spirit of creativeness and progression; it is no such thing; there is great innate genius in them; those great works of theirs are natural products invented by themselves.

[Before going on, I may record here a thought that occurs to me, arising out of Mxaba's remarks on a subject I have myself often before written about and thought of. Africa can easily be traversed in all directions; it has no great natural features, no mountain ranges like the Himalayas or the Alps; countries are not cut off from one another by great seas; there are no peninsulas. The Aryans entered India from the north-west and there alone, we might add. Africa is like one great country, wherein there are many tribes, each, it may be said, exposed to the rest. To this homogeneity of
47 land, or accessibility by any and all, of any place, may be attributed the delay in any single tribe rising to the full consciousness of the dignity and necessity of labour, and thereby, as possibly was the case in India, one tribe becoming an example to the rest.]

Mxaba urged that there were many reasons for believing that the Zulus had at some far off time come into contact with the Jews; i.e. many of their observances etc. were strikingly analogous. There is therefore ground for supposing, if that be true, that they have fallen. It is no difficult thing for a race to deteriorate, much less for a man. [I may quote here the case mentioned by Bird in his Annals, p. 47, vol. 1, of a Portuguese found in the 'Mapontes'

country between 1686-1689. See also article 'Going Fantee', *Spectator*, 1.12.1900, on this point. I saw it today, 2.1.1901.] Take the Boers: they arrived several hundred years ago; have they not deteriorated even in that short time? But for the connection with Europe having been renewed, they must have continued to fall away from their former high ideals.

'But,' asked Mxaba, 'how was it with the English people in the beginning? Describe them to us.' I then told about the Kelts, saying they wore skins, had no head-dress, used bows and arrows and clubs; they lived in holes and caves in forests and elsewhere; they worshipped several gods whose names gave us the names of the days of our week; this worship had remarkable and revolting features. I told also of Stonehenge and laid emphasis that the Kelts (Druids) had sufficient knowledge of mechanics to be able to lift and place in position many great stones 18-20 feet in height. This in itself, for those far off days, was a great achievement. To this day, I added, the secret whereby the Egyptians lifted the great blocks with which they built the pyramids has not been discovered by the most enlightened peoples. I said that though the Kelts were much like the Zulus of today, yet they were able to progress steadily. Other races came to England and their fusion caused Englishmen. There is a striking difference in capacity between English and Zulus. The former may be slow, but they perpetually advance; Zulus in many cases are, as boys, very quick and intelligent; they may even surpass European boys in the rapidity of their progress, but experience has shown that they have not the staying power an European has.

Both Mxaba and Mabaso demurred. Mxaba said native boys do not progress simply because they are not allowed to; no inducement is held out to them. 'Take the case of St. Alban's College, Pietermaritzburg',⁸⁰ continues Mxaba. 'The first boy to go to this school was this very man John Kumalo's son. Mr (Rev.) Frank Green started with this boy. After he had achieved success, especially in industrial training, the Europeans cried out that the teaching of trades to boys (native) robbed European artisans etc. and this led to the College being shut down.' I explained that that was not the point, but simply that the native mental capacity cannot cope with the European where every possible opportunity and inducement is held out. Such a remark is one, Mxaba says, with which Europeans *qund' umbombo* - smack on the nose. They object to the effort to progress and yet cry down native ability. Is not opportunity afforded at Lovedale, I said, and at the Cape University, and yet it is found natives do not greatly distinguish themselves?

Mxaba, however, did not think that these results are due to intrinsic and radical, fundamental incapacity, the absolute impossibility of progressing, but rather to other circumstances. He remarked that he once accompanied Sir Theophilus Shepstone to Lydenburg in the Transvaal, and it was there that he was shown a small vessel carved out of free-stone (made out of free-stone), very much in appearance like an European doctor's mortar. It was about the size of a breakfast cup, though not hollowed out to that extent, and on its edge could clearly be seen an *inkoto*, i.e. the small neck [?] by means of which the contents of the mortar would have been out-poured. This mortar had been unearthed by certain people mining there for gold at a depth of about four feet below the surface of the soil. Mxaba saw this vessel, which was handed to Sir T. Shepstone

to look at by the miners. What is the meaning of this discovery? At the same place the miners found large gold nuggets. (I here mentioned that I remember Sir T. Shepstone coming to Greytown, having just come from the Transvaal, this some 23-25 years ago. He then, as my mother afterwards told me, gave her a gold nugget which she has to this day; I stated size, etc.). To what ages does such discovery (of the mortar) carry us back, said Mxaba. Further, in Mashonaland there is a remarkable set of ruins of buildings (Zimbabwe [?] ruins); they are those of a great building built of stones without mortar; they have terraces [?]. What is the meaning of these ruins?

I said there were deep mines of great age found in the same neighbourhood. Possibly this is where the land known as Ophir was and where the Queen of Sheba drew much of her great wealth. Mxaba does not say he saw the ruins referred to himself, nor does he lay claim to them as the work of South African nations; the whole matter is one for inquiry. Again at Masane in Swaziland near Steynsdorp there are stones on the face of the hillside which showed visible gold, so much so that it gave one the impression that a great block of gold had been sliding over the stones. At the top of the same hill, in close proximity of the stones showing gold, were dark iron stones. Natives knew that iron could be procured and was procured from these stones; how came they to fail to see that gold could not be got from the other stones close by? They did not fail. They did know about gold and here is evidence.

49 Mxaba says that Ngwane (Bunu), the king of Swaziland, whom he knew as a little boy, used to wear a heavy bangle with studs on the exterior surface of it. This bangle was not made of brass or copper; it was made of gold and is known by the name *inzila*. I here told Mxaba that the persons (Europeans) who came to Natal a couple of hundred years ago spoke of seeing a heavy bangle worn by a native *chief* which was made of gold [vide Bird's Annals, p.35, vol. 1]. There are, Mxaba says, two things which natives most highly prize: (a) the said *inzila*, and (b) *umnese woku soka*, the knife used to circumcise with.

J.K. wanted to know where *izindondo* and *amasongo*, *izimbedu* and *ingwota*⁸¹ came from. I suggested Europeans, and added that the *ingwota* was made at the great place out of *amasongo* etc.

The subject became more general again on our reverting to the Indians. Mxaba said that to say the natives had inferior intellects, could not compete with Europeans in ability and resourcefulness, and to ask them why they had not created, surmounted their obstacles and done something, to blame native intelligence because they had not succeeded where Europeans had succeeded so eminently, was due to a species of boastfulness and bravado (*ingqwele*) seen in boys when they domineer over those not as strong as themselves.

I replied: It is not sufficient, in order to bring about conviction in European minds that you are what you claim to be simply because you, owing to being in a state of constant motion, have had no opportunity of doing anything worthy the name. You will have to produce positive evidence, and it behoves you, if you desire to be reckoned to be the equals of Europeans, or better, not unworthy of one day being their equals, to do something to convince them. The task is all the greater in that hitherto you have produced

nothing, but if you want to take that place which you feel is rightly yours, you must show a sign.

This remark was at once felt and commented on. I explained that Indians learnt to labour of their own selves; every man in their communities is always doing something; they have learnt the dignity and the necessity of labour. But there is more also than this. The English and the Indians (not Arabs) are blood relations; we see it in their language (Sanskrit); we have therefore a natural affinity for them. In India Indians are treated by Englishmen in the most unrestrained, free and open manner; they may rise to any position etc. etc., and those Indians who come out here are protected in every way. Once the British Government refused to send any more Indians because they had been ill-treated. We magistrates treat them with far greater consideration than we do natives.

50 Mxaba said there are Europeans who have recommended the killing off of natives by degrees (*ncipisa*) by allowing them to have liquor to their heart's content, encouraging fighting among themselves and so on; Mxaba came to hear of these sinister desires from the native newspaper.⁸²

Mabaso observed that he would much like to know how natives came to worship snakes. Snakes are terrible creatures; how came it about that they should be worshipped?

Mxaba, after I had shown that there is a certain affinity between Europeans and Indians which causes the English to treat them with so much consideration in their own country and earnest solicitude in this, wished to know why natives in their own country could not be accorded a similar sympathy instead of being treated as aliens, outcasts, animals. 'If,' he added, 'it is owing to natural though remote relationship between Europeans and Indians that the latter receive such favoured treatment, to whom can we, living as it were apart from the rest of the world in "splendid isolation", claim to be related?' 'It is all right,' I said. 'Some way will be found out of the difficulty.'

Further conversation with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba; Ndukwana present, 1.1.1901, 2.15 p.m. to 4.45 p.m. - 2½ hours. I began by saying the subject re Indians discussed this morning has not yet been completed. We have still to trace the effects produced on the natives by their coming into contact with the Indian people, including Arabs and other Asiatics. J.K. desired me, as they are all about to leave this afternoon, to touch briefly on the remaining subjects contained on the list attached to p.34. I enumerated a number of the subjects but said I thought no good could come of hasty discussion. Mxaba agreed, so I was asked to name the next subject. I proposed, 'Colenso: his work and teaching'.

Before going on to this, I said to Mabaso: You yesterday condemned the Boer government, saying you disliked the Boers and their government and could find nothing good in the latter. English people hold themselves aloof from the Zulus among other things because they dislike them and their government. This being so, can you blame the English for not associating with you, if you yourself entertain hostile feelings towards the Boers? Should we not do to one another what we would they should do unto us? I said I meant to beat him with this. This remark was not quite understood; a little fruitless discussion ensued. Mxaba said the chief reason for complaint natives

51 have against the Boers is that they came into the country by stealth and stole Natal. They did not come openly as the English and have a regular war. Natives are watching the coming settlement of South Africa in consequence. They expect to be given part of the land which the Boers stole from them; that is to say, natives in Natal etc. expect to be remembered in the Transvaal when the land is dealt with.

In taking up 'Colenso: his work and teaching', I called on J.K. to speak. He said: Colenso came to Natal with a large number of European girls, say twenty. These girls were teachers. He went straight to Bishopstowe to live. He said he had come to minister to the purely heathen population, not to be a clergyman of those who had already been converted. He accordingly set up a school for raw natives. At this school two things occurred which were disapproved by the Europeans in Natal: (a) the European women combed (*awala*) the native children's hair; (b) Mkungo, Magema⁸³ and other boys were allowed to occupy an upstairs room; there they had their meals, served in European fashion, the knives, forks and spoons beautifully clean and shiny, whilst the rest of the boys in the school were treated with less consideration, though they thought it only right that those of high standing should be treated differently. These things displeased the Europeans and the school afterwards ceased to exist. Nothing which espouses our cause ever seems to prosper; Colenso himself did not prosper. Colenso said he proposed to devote his attention to the *chiefs of the country* and not merely to ordinary people. His *induna* was William Duzana [?] alias Ngide.⁸⁴ In speaking to Sobantu, (who was) called in his *praises* '*indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni*',⁸⁵ his *induna* and others said '*Nkosi!*' He was of course an *inkosi*, being a bishop.

He used to call natives together for the purpose of interrogating them and being questioned by them in return. One day his *induna* William (Velemu) said: 'Sir, you say God destroys the wicked; would you, if your son Mnyaiza (Dr Colenso)⁸⁶ did wrong, destroy him?' 'No,' replied Colenso. 'Then how can you say that an all-merciful and loving father, whose own children we all are, will destroy us if we do wrong? Can your love for your own be greater than his for all of us?' Colenso found this a hard question. He submitted it for Dean Green's consideration. The Dean recommended a reference to the Metropolitan, Archbishop Gray. The Archbishop replied, 'You should turn your mind to prayer. You have gone astray.' Colenso, the '*indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni*', got furious.

52 Shortly after the Prince had been and gone, Colenso himself went to England.⁸⁷ When he returned, St. Peter's was shut to him. He knocked, saying he had come in the name of Queen Victoria. The door was opened. He entered. Service was held. When he said, 'Let us pray,' the Dean and the other clergy would remain standing; when they knelt, he stood. Everything was at sixes and sevens. All this happened on one day. It was after this that St. Saviour's was built.

Colenso was in favour of baptising and admitting into the fold of the church not only the man living in polygamy, but all his wives with him, saying that as the marriages had taken place before the coming of Christianity to that household, how could the man be expected to cast aside the women and their children if he wished to become a convert to Christianity? Other of the clergy were opposed to this teaching, arguing that if a man wished to be baptized he

must turn away his wives after selecting from them the one he liked best.

Colenso once paid a visit to Mpande. On this occasion Mpande gave him the land at Kwamagwaza on which to found a mission station. Nzimela (Mr Robertson) is the missionary who was first placed in charge there, whilst Rev. Samuelson was stationed at another place in Zululand; his name being Momoyi.⁸⁸ Colenso was deeply attached to the Zulu people; he devoted himself to their cause.

Mxaba says: If any one knows Colenso it must be John Kumalo who has just spoken. There are two things for which we have to thank Colenso: (i) establishing a native school which drew men like Mkungo and a son of Mlambo [?], a prince of Basutoland (this school was established for the improvement of the natives, though I cannot understand how it afterwards ceased to exist); (ii) he defended (*buzela ku Rulument*)⁸⁹ men like Langalibalele and Cetshwayo, whilst after his death his daughter continued his work by defending Dinuzulu.⁹⁰

J.K. says: The quarrel between Colenso and Somsewu arose out of the Langalibalele affair. He wanted to know of Somsewu why he carried on negotiations with Langalibalele through his *induna* Mahoyiza [?] instead of having an interview with the chief in person. Mxaba adds that Langalibalele had done wrong; it was a well-known thing at the time that guns could not be imported into Natal from anywhere, and yet Langalibalele allowed his young men to bring guns in without his reporting them.

J.K. says the persons who shut St. Peter's to Colenso were George Moodie (land surveyor), Williams, Dickenson and Clarence.

I then said: You say Colenso said he had come to teach the raw natives and not to minister to converts. He was deeply attached to and loved the natives. What message, then, has he left the world, in respect to the natives, which has tended to reconcile natives and Europeans? J.K. replied that Colenso left no message except the earnestness he threw into his work. He was only a missionary representing one body among many, and therefore it was not his place to assert his policy if he had one. I replied that he was Bishop of Natal, being head in that country of the State Church of England to which the Queen herself belongs; that Natal was and is still a British colony and then not even enjoying responsible government. How, therefore, can it be said that one who so fully identified himself with the natives would have been out of place in declaring his views as to the relations that should obtain between natives and Europeans?

Mxaba and J.K. answered that it must be remembered Colenso was not the first missionary who came to Natal. A number had preceded him, namely missions belonging to America, Germany and another; moreover, he arrived in Natal when already well-advanced in years, and grey. He had not the power to examine into the working of the various missionary bodies; no-one can do that. The original missionaries opposed Colenso, and used their influence against him. In these circumstances he gave no message but he left us an energetic example. If he failed to propound some kind of solution to the native problem, it cannot be said that because he was borne down by public opinion, his school came to grief and his efforts on behalf of Langalibalele and Cetshwayo were purely temporary. Therefore the name Ekukanyeni, by which Bishopstowe was known among the natives,

was a misnomer. His deeds on behalf of the natives, his questionings, discussions, the briefs he held, were themselves of the nature of light; they tended to produce light; they tended to glow. The circumstances in which he laboured may pass and vanish from view, but his example is a beacon of light. Thus, Mxaba remarks on behalf of me: If, should we at a later time tell our children of these discussions with you, these questionings of yours, answers and what-not, there will be no necessity to decry such as fruitless and without light because no tangible result arose, for out of the very effort of discussion and questioning some light is derived.

I said I did not, in saying what I had done, desire to be understood as blaming Colenso in any way. I know that although local public opinion was against Wilberforce, he yet appealed to the world in England, and succeeded in overriding such opinion and causing slavery to be abolished in all England's possessions. And Wilberforce was at a disadvantage; he did not live where slavery was going on, and depended on mere visits to the countries he referred to. Colenso, living in Natal, could have urged his arguments with greater force and directness, for facts were lying before him in every direction.

- 54 J.K. says Colenso was powerful. Two Bishops, Macrorie and Baynes, have had to give up the work of reconciliation. Colenso and Shepstone were very intimate friends and only quarrelled in connection with the Langalibalele affair. There was a great tide of opposition against Colenso. This was the reason why he was bound to fall, why nothing he said on behalf of the natives would be tolerated. A person like Colenso, who liked natives and desired to associate with them, would be called *isigawagawa* or *isimanyu*⁹¹ by those opposed to such conduct.

Mabaso now proposed to discuss 'Which of all the world's creeds, excepting those which have belief in God for their main doctrine, makes the nearest approach to belief in God?' He said Zulus believe in snakes; others worship trees, others images, of stone etc., the sun and other things. Mxaba said the Basutos believe in transmigration; when a man dies his soul enters another man. I said Romans had Jupiter, with gods of agriculture, water, wind etc.; Buddhism was annihilation; Egyptians believed in worshipping cattle [?]. Which of all these comes nearest to belief in God? This is a question which Mabaso had touched on this morning. To begin with, I said there is nothing terrible or revolting about the *dhlozi* snake.⁹² It was not like an ordinary poisonous snake; it was, on the other hand, perfectly harmless; it never bites or in any way injures anybody. Mabaso's question, although laid before our little meeting, was really meant for me, and I proceeded to answer thus, after Ndukwana had stated the main reasons for his belief in *amadhlozi*, during the giving of which reasons I noticed J.K. couldn't keep from laughing. I said the nearest approach to God and Christ I knew of among heathen nations were Socrates and Plato. I mentioned Mohammedanism, but I found the question too difficult to reply to, simply because I did not know the various beliefs of the nations on earth.

J.K. then said: What Mabaso means is this. Is there any nation that rises nearer to the idea of God than the Zulus?

I was surprised at this. I said at once that I had not thought

of the Zulus as nearest believing in God without actually doing so, for the reason that Zulus do not believe in *Umvelingqangi*,⁹³ nor are *amadhlozi*, as far as I can see, in any way directly or indirectly connected with him (except of course that he created them, as everything else).

Mxaba checked me, saying that such opinion ought not to be allowed to carry great weight, especially in view of the fact that there were great snakes (*amadhlozi*) which in times of national distress were prayed to, as for instance in time of war and when rain was required, and these alone were then prayed to. They were national deities. The mere fact that *amadhlozi* stand apart from
 55 *Mvelingqangi* should not be allowed to oust the suggestion made by the bare existence of national *dhlozi*s that there was here some sort of an approach to believing in a single god. I admitted the force of the argument. Mabaso and Mxaba told me they had very often discussed this question of belief in *amadhlozi*. They found a striking analogy between the *dhlozi* and the serpent held up before the people in the wilderness, which again was symbolical of Jesus Christ suffering on the cross, bearing the sins of mankind. The three men urged that it was an awful thing to believe in a snake, one of which tribe had brought death into the world when tempting Eve in the Garden of Eden. Tame or harmless, the *dhlozi* is yet symbolical of what brought evil into the world. I again remarked that the *dhlozi* had no guile or cunning or poison; it was positively harmless. Natives regard the *ntulo*⁹⁴ as having brought sorrow and death into the world; it is that which they destroy.

Mxaba now mentioned a number of Zulu customs and observances for the sake, as I thought, of identifying themselves with the Jews. He referred to slitting the ear, and the driving a nail through a servant's ear who wished to live and die his master's servant; to the *impepo* ceremony; to not destroying or throwing away of bones of a beast slaughtered, but burning same; to casting *msuxani* over the grave; to the manner of disposing of parts of a beast [giving to the priest - the *diviner* gets the largest share I believe]; sprinkling of blood.⁹⁵ One custom which is inexplicable is the head-ring. Then in the slits in ears are worn ornaments; at the time of the exodus jewels were borrowed of Egyptians and worn in ears, nose etc., like Indians. These and other facts tend to establish the fact that the Zulus once were in contact with the Jews. I remarked that two tribes were lost and are to this day missing. I said one reason why I could not think the Zulus were the missing tribes was because I did not think the belief in God could ever have been forgotten, seeing God had delivered the people out of a house of bondage. Can men forget their deliverer?

Mxaba, who is thoroughly well up in the whole subject, in native custom as well as biblical narrative etc., reminded me that one of the tribes, very soon after arriving in Palestine, took to worshipping the golden image of a calf. If they, in a few years, could forget their God, is it not easy to believe that, after the lapse of many centuries, the two lost tribes might have fallen away from their original belief? Although the men did not actually say so, I
 56 could see that they do believe themselves to be descendants of the Jews, if not the very tribes themselves which were lost. I said there are people who say that England is the two lost tribes, and

bring all manner of proof to bear. Mxaba wants to know what English customs correspond with Jewish ones. I said I never went into the subject and so could not tell. Mxaba told the others that it was because of England's almightiness and righteousness that in her the prophecies seemed to be fulfilled.

Another noteworthy point, Mxaba says, are the Athenians who had erected an altar to the Unknown God, who bear some sort of analogy with the Zulus who have forgotten their God. There is a prophecy, Mxaba says, that the nation or tribes will wander about the world and forget even their mother tongue and where they had come from. There is no doubt that Mxaba has made a very close study of the subject; indeed it lies near each of the three men's hearts. I reminded Mabaso that he had a day or two ago besought me to make Ndukwana a Christian and yet here are all these men identifying themselves with the Jews and defending their *amadhlozi*; they are in reality more Jews than Christians.

And so here is a kind of answer to Mxaba's question this morning on p. 50. What an answer! Fancy, the Zulu can claim to be related only to the Jews; they are in great distress; how can they expect the Jews, themselves in misery, to help and deliver them?

2.1.1901 - <evidence given 1.1.1901>

File 71, p. 56.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

Mabaso and Mxaba said yesterday afternoon that, surprising though it may be, it is a fact that whenever they or other *kolwas* appear at a kraal where *amadhlozi*, up to the time of their arrival, had been lying quietly coiled up, they will at once start up and make off into the grass and away as hard as they can go. This has happened both to Mabaso and Mxaba. Mxaba assures me that a similar thing occurred to his brother-in-law Jan (John) Zulu Mtimkulu of Edendale; the thing occurred under very remarkable conditions. John would tell me if I were to speak to him, which I could do as I live in Pietermaritzburg. He is a lay preacher or catechist at Edendale. Mabaso says he invariably treats the *dhlozi* as an ordinary snake and attempts to destroy it.

<2.1.1901 - evidence given 31.12.1900, 1.1.1901> File 71, pp. 60-2.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

60 Mabaso referred to discussions in general and the fruits that fall from able men in the course of them.

I said during the discussion on Indians coming to Natal that Europeans had approached Sir T. Shepstone, who had represented that forcing natives to labour would create a danger of rebellion etc. among the natives. Europeans, finding the argument telling, were obliged to adopt other tactics.

Mxaba knew Mbuyazi (Mr H. Fynn); he would have been a very old man had he lived. He was a magistrate in Pietermaritzburg.⁹⁶

In the conversation re striking resemblances of Zulus to the

Jews, we might have mentioned the fact that Zulus, like the Jews, don't eat pork.

As a partial answer to the question by Mxaba as to why Europeans refuse to associate with natives, I remarked to him yesterday that it was because natives do not wash, are not cleanly.

Mxaba told me about one Sikayi, a native (has other names), who was a smart fellow. He accumulated a good deal of wealth, associated with Europeans, was swindled, got into debt with Europeans and, because of his debts, left Natal for, I think M. said, Basutoland, where he died. I forget what opinion this fact was intended to support, but it occurred, I think, in connection with 'The Poor'.

Mxaba spoke of natives as *abentungwa* (*umtungwa*).⁹⁷ He, J.K. and Mabaso were all of different clans, yet they sprang from one source, the one named.

J.K. remarked that Indians are not naturally very clever, for, see, they come out here from their own country badly clad.

61 I attach a cutting from the Times, weekly edition, which must be read in connection with Mxaba's remarks made on, I think, 31.12.1900, to this effect: 'The Boers came secretly by twos and threes and stole the country they now own, as they did Natal; the English did not steal, they fought openly. The Boers fought to maintain what they had taken by stealth.' I was at first inclined to disagree, saying that might be right, he who holds has the right to keep; but I felt the force of the accusation, and today I see in the Times the paragraph attached which supports Mxaba.⁹⁸

I here conclude the conversations of 31.12.1900 and 1.1.1901 with J. Kumalo, Mabaso and Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana. Ndukwana tells me this morning that J.K. and Mabaso did not see much good in the discussion that took place on the morning of 1.1.1901, chiefly between Mxaba and myself (pp. 44, 45 - 50), and told Mxaba so. I am surprized at this, because it was that very discussion (contact) with Mxaba which gave to my mind the conviction that natives are indeed men. That discussion became in itself the best evidence of the truth for which the man contended, viz. that natives were capable of great works and inventions, like other nations. It was his effort to portray the innate potentialities in the native mind in general which afforded my mind evidence that that single mind with which I conversed was fully equal to my own, and therefore the owner (and all his race) must be worthy of belonging to that communion to which I belong. This remark is suggested by his sage remark to my own question as to what enlightenment 'Ekukanyeni' had shed on men - p. 53. This in reality is very high praise, seeing the present circumstances, but if a single member of a despised race, despised simply because of its attainments (mental), can argue so clearly and tellingly on abstract subjects and understand all that I, a member of the socially higher species, look upon as the best, then I say there is hope for the race. It has, in the past, simply lacked opportunity, or it would have distinguished itself. In Mxaba I found not merely my match, but my identity. He throbs with what I call possibilism. He is able to grasp every thought that I can grasp, and therefore to transform himself to any ideal I can realise. In short, if I were called on to name the ablest and most comprehensive native mind I had conversed with, and the keenest philosopher on the native question,

I would set Lazarus Mxaba nearly if not quite first. Yamela, Socwatsha, S. Mini, M. Radebe, C. Kunene, Isaac Mkize, John Kumalo, Ndukwana, Zibebu, Mankulumana, Tikuba, John Gama, Johannes Kumalo, Teteleku are all good but, I think, not quite so good. Though the man is brimful of European notions, still his mind is his own. He has indeed travelled much, but all travellers are not wise. He, I think, erred somewhat with regard to liquor, but all else was solid, true, set in pure, forcible, fine language. The existence of such men as these I have quoted undoubtedly renders the work I have in hand less difficult. Mxaba is a full man, with large sympathies and fruitful observations. It will be seen I followed the European argument against the native, and perhaps I am so taken with his (M.'s) abilities because he defended his race in precisely the same terms I have myself defended them (as my writings will show).

62 John Kumalo is full of pithy sayings; his observations of facts have been carefully made; he is quick at grasping those telling trivialities which often escape men's attention. He tires of an argument if long-sustained, even if not nearly exhausted, and wishes to pass on to other matters. He is, however, very careful to keep to the point, and frequently calls on us to return to the main issue. He is a good debater and an experimentalist. Mxaba is the philosopher, and I notice both J.K. and Mabaso always inclined to let him speak first. Mabaso thinks much, says little; whatever he says he says forcefully. He is an original and independent thinker, with a practical turn like J. Kumalo. Most of our conversations have been to a large extent beyond Ndukwana, but only because he is not sufficiently familiar with those facts which we find in print. There is no doubt Mxaba was greatly influenced by long contact with that able man and inquirer, Sir T. Shepstone - like Teteleku.

15.1.1901 - <evidence given 14.1.1901>

File 71, pp. 62-3.

Also present: Ndukwana

Conversation with John Kumalo in presence of Ndukwana, 14.1.1901. He said Lasi, i.e. Lazarus Mxaba, had said to him, the same day, that in our discussions he would like four to be present, viz. John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, himself, another, with myself and Ndukwana. They wish to have further discussions. J.K. proposes 'Resemblance of colonists of Natal to Boers in their treatment of the natives' as the next subject to go into when we meet, say a month hence when I return from my leave [I put in for it today]. J.K. tells me of the case of Bob Kumalo who was at the courthouse not long ago. Some kind of a noise arose near where he was standing of which he was in no way the cause. A policeman (white) came up and beat him in spite of the fact that Bob said he had not been making a noise. He was beaten before a number of other natives, and the Indian constable said that the *kolwa* was to clear off. J.K. thinks that this was a case of great indignity, and no official ought to be allowed to lay hands on a native unless the magistrate had ordered corporal punishment, and such punishment, K. adds, is always administered within the precincts of the gaol away from the public gaze. J.K. says that he was himself struck in the ribs by one of the police,

a sergeant (European), when he came in to see the clerk, Roberts, (Mvemve) for having done no wrong that he could see.

63 I spoke of the grievances of the Jews, and referred to the origin of the words 'Africa' and 'Ethiopia', the contact of Arabs with Africa, the Zimbabwe ruins, the Phoenicians, archaeology etc., also to Spinoza, showing how difficult was the problem of reconciling peoples who had once come to be in a state of antagonism. I emphasized the necessity of going to the origins of things, for thorough investigation of the native question in every way, and of delaying publishing anything until something had been attained. J.K. said he understood that I have no wish for office, and sees to some extent how it is. Mabaso is busy, or the three would like to have come in on Saturday next. J.K. is, I think, beginning to feel the greatness of the whole subject.

Notes

¹Formed c.1857; age-group born c.1837.

²Though its meaning is obscure, this sentence clearly refers to the administration of the hut tax under Law 13 of 1875, of which clause 2 reads, '...there shall be levied upon every hut occupied by a Native...a tax of Fourteen Shillings sterling: Provided that all houses of European construction inhabited by Natives having only one wife and otherwise conforming to civilized usages shall be exempt from Hut Tax'.

³The original reads, 'The subject was Ngoza's people and Mkungo's relations with the missionaries.' The identity of Ngoza's people is difficult to establish. The best-known personage of that name in the period of Shepstone's administration was Ngoza ka Ludaba of the Jozi people, who was Shepstone's chief *induna*. However, Kumalo goes on to talk of the Thembu people of Nodada, whose father was also named Ngoza, and it may be this group to which Kumalo is referring, rather than to the Jozi. The Mkungo referred to is probably the son of Mpande by his favourite wife Monase. To protect him from the jealousy of Cetshwayo, he was, as a boy, placed by Mpande under the care of Bishop Colenso. (See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 244-58, 330, 680.) From Kumalo's subsequent evidence, under date 28.10.1900, it seems that this is the person to whom he is referring. Mkungo was another of Stuart's informants.

⁴A literal translation would read, 'The white people give praises to their ancestral spirits; you too should give praises to your own.'

⁵We have been unable to identify the work or collection of works referred to. Literally *inhlanganisela* means 'miscellaneous collection'.

⁶i.e. Mfengu, or 'Fingo'.

⁷i.e. the Supreme Being.

⁸It was a common Zulu belief that the ancestral spirits manifested themselves in the form of snakes.

⁹Zulu name for Bishop Colenso; literally, 'Father of the people'.

¹⁰William Edward Shepstone, son of Theophilus. After serving as clerk to the Attorney-General, he was in 1865 appointed clerk of the peace for the counties of Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti and Upper Umkomanzi. In 1872 he became clerk of the peace for the counties of Durban, Victoria and Alexandra.

- ¹¹ Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone. For Mahoyiza's account of his mission to Langalibalele in October 1873, see The Kaffir Revolt in Natal in the Year 1873 (Keith and Co., publishers), pp. 9-14.
- ¹² Arthur Jesse Shepstone, son of Theophilus, served in the Natal Carbineers during the disturbances of 1873, and escorted the chief Langalibalele to his exile on Robben Island. (Natal Who's Who, 1906.)
- ¹³ Langalibalele was settled by the Natal Government near the upper Bushmans river in 1849. Nodada and Phakade were refugees from the Zulu kingdom who settled in Natal about the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 258-9, 263, 272.) Nyamayenja we have been unable to identify.
- ¹⁴ Presumably Stuart's informant Johannes Kumalo.
- ¹⁵ Johannes Kumalo was the leader of a group of Christian Africans from the Wesleyan settlement at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg who in 1865 settled on two farms which they had bought in the Klip River district. Maqaqa was the Zulu name for W.J.D. Moodie, resident magistrate at Ladysmith, 1876-81. In 1879 Moodie had Kumalo arrested and held in jail, apparently for disobeying an order to supply labourers for government service. No charges were brought against him. Kumalo subsequently claimed damages from Moodie, but his claim was turned down by the Natal Supreme Court. Papers pertaining to the case are to be found in vols. 1/5/93 and 1/8/82 of the Supreme Court records in the Natal Archives. See also Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 139.
- ¹⁶ Mqundane served as *induna* to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and was placed by him over the Thintandaba people (Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 757, 760). For Ngoza see note 3 above. Teteleku ka Nobanda was a chief who lived near Pietermaritzburg and was another of Stuart's informants. The Reverend Markham who presented the petition is mentioned by Burnett (Anglicans in Natal, p. 101) as having trained John Kumalo in Pietermaritzburg prior to the latter's going to the Estcourt district as a catechist.
- ¹⁷ For the origins of the Ethiopian movement see Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, pp. 39, 56.
- ¹⁸ Bishop Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in Philadelphia in 1816. Turner visited Natal in 1898. See Sundkler, Bantu Prophets, pp. 40-1, 65.
- ¹⁹ Presumably H.D. Winter, Minister of Agriculture, 1899-1903. He became Minister of Native Affairs in 1905.
- ²⁰ Possibly Buffel (Buffalo) and Victoria East respectively.
- ²¹ Zikhali, son of the Ngwane chief Mathiwane, settled in the upper Thukela region early in the reign of Mpande. Phuthili, chief of the Ngwe, was uncle of Langalibalele, and was settled with the latter in the foothills of the Drakensberg in 1849. For Langalibalele, Phakade, and Nodada, see notes 3 and 13 above.
- ²² The 'Governor' referred to was probably Sir Garnet Wolseley, who was Officer Administering the Government from April to September, 1875.
- ²³ Sibhamu ka Manyezulu, Ngwe chief. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 182; Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B10.
- ²⁴ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 308, gives *ikoboka* (pl. *amakoboka*) as meaning 'Dutch-Kaffir half-caste, Dutch slave'.
- ²⁵ John Bird, who held a variety of public offices in Natal from 1846 to 1879. He would probably have been remembered by the

African population chiefly as resident magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1859-76, and as judge of the Native High Court, 1878-9.

- ²⁶ John Kumalo was an Anglican. By the time of the disturbances of 1906, Johannes Kumalo and a number of his Wesleyan followers had converted to the Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. (See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 331-2.)
- ²⁷ In this passage Kumalo is probably referring to the regulations for African education framed by the Natal authorities in 1893. One of their effects was to curtail opportunities for secondary education. (See unpublished thesis by L.E. Switzer, 'The American Zulu Mission in South Africa, 1885-1910', pp. 253-6.) Peter Pater-son was resident magistrate at Estcourt from 1875 to 1893 or 1894.
- ²⁸ Of the men listed, the following were Government chiefs: Johannes Kumalo (*kholwa*), Timothy Gule (Swazi), Stephen Mini (*kholwa*), Christian Lutayi (*kholwa*), James Milward Majozi (*kholwa*), Isaac Mkize (Mbuzane). (See *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1902, p. B6 ff.) 'Lasi' was Lazarus Xaba, another of Stuart's informants. Mhlani-mpofu was also one of Stuart's informants. Nkunzi was an Anglican outstation started in the early 1890s by the Rev. H.T.A. Thompson with the assistance of John Kumalo and Francis Magwaza. (Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, pp. 101, 147.) The congress referred to is probably the Natal Native Congress, which was founded at a meeting of *kholwa* representatives held in Pietermaritzburg in June 1900. (*Natal Mercury*, 8.6.1900; Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 71.)
- ²⁹ Ncwadi ka Zikhali ka Mathiwane was chief of the Ngwane in the Upper Tugela division. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 146; *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1902, p. B21.
- ³⁰ H.T.A. Thompson, who succeeded Charles Johnson at Springvale mission in the middle Mkhomazi valley in southern Natal. (Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p. 99.)
- ³¹ Charles Barter, author of *The Dorp and the Veld*, served as resident magistrate in the city division of Pietermaritzburg, 1880-90.
- ³² *Imvimba* is the term for the beast given by a seducer to the parents of the girl he has injured. It goes with her to her husband when she marries. (Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 643.) *Vimba'd* (from the verb *ukuvimba*) as used in the text means that the beast had been handed over by the seducer. For associated meanings of *ukuvimba* see Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 680. Zulu marriage procedures in the case of an illegitimate pregnancy are described by Bryant in *Zulu People*, p. 572.
- ³³ Literally, 'a drop descended', an idiom used by women to describe an accidental impregnation.
- ³⁴ W.D. Wheelwright was posted as resident magistrate to the Ulundi division in 1875, to Umvoti county in 1878, and in 1887 to the Lower Tugela division, where he served until 1889.
- ³⁵ Literally, 'Shut up, you who have intercourse with your mother!'
- ³⁶ The precise connotations of these words as used in the early twentieth century are difficult to establish. *Ikholwa*, literally 'a believer', was generally used to refer to a Christian convert, but was also loosely applied to an African exempted from Native Law or who had adopted recognizable features of European culture. *Irumutsha* (*ihumusha*) seems to have been used to denote a town dweller who had to a greater or lesser extent broken his links with traditional authority. *Isigqokwa* (from the verb *ukugqoka*, 'to wear') was probably used to denote a person who wore European-type clothing.

- ³⁷The Natal colonial parliament had no members specially representing African interests.
- ³⁸Presumably the Reverend F.J. Green, son of Dean James Green. In the 1880s F.J. Green was appointed supervisor of Anglican church work among the Africans of Pietermaritzburg. With the assistance of African clergy and catechists, he developed a number of out-stations in the district. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 100.)
- ³⁹Joseph Barker, who was appointed Anglican catechist and school-master at Ladysmith in 1856, and ordained as a deacon in 1857. He served at Ladysmith until c.1860, and again c.1900. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, pp. 55, 88, 119.)
- ⁴⁰A term with the derogatory connotation of 'worthless foreigner', commonly applied to people living north of the Zulu country such as the Tsonga.
- ⁴¹Presumably S.O. Samuelson who, as Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, 1893-1909, was the senior permanent official in the Native Affairs Department. He became known to many Africans as Vumazonke (he who agrees to all), and Ndabambili (Mr Facing-both-ways). See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 25.
- ⁴²*Amukela* literally means to hold out both hands to receive. In traditional etiquette it is a gesture of supplication expected of children, women, and inferiors who are in the act of asking or receiving. Bryant (Dictionary, p. 6) writes, 'To receive in one hand only would imply superiority or familiar intercourse between equals.'
- ⁴³Literally, 'light', 'illumination'.
- ⁴⁴1856.
- ⁴⁵Formed c.1861; age-group born c.1841.
- ⁴⁶i.e. belief in ancestral spirits.
- ⁴⁷This may be a reference to the Mbikiza who was chief of the Mngomezulu people. His territory abutted on the Swazi kingdom along the line of the Ubombo. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 344.)
- ⁴⁸The reference is to a brief report, headed 'Ngazana v. Ncapai', of litigation between a son, who was a minor in law, and his father.
- ⁴⁹Prince Alfred's visit to Natal took place in 1860.
- ⁵⁰The main body of the Natal Hlubi lived in the northern districts of the colony. Kumalo may be referring to a small group who lived in the Ixopo district.
- ⁵¹Nyoniyentaba was the Zulu name for John Bird, resident magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1859-76. Stuart's father, Marthinus, was a clerk and interpreter in Bird's court, 1865-8.
- ⁵²The Rev. C.W. Posselt founded the Berlin Mission station at Emmaus among the Ngwane of the upper Thukela region in 1847. The Rev. C. Zunckel was in charge of the station from 1852 until his death in 1899. (Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 66-7.)
- ⁵³*Isihlangu* means a 'a large war shield', *ukubiyela* 'to defend'.
- ⁵⁴i.e. spirit.
- ⁵⁵The Rev. James Allison, Wesleyan missionary, worked among the Swazi in the period 1845-6. His station was at Mahamba in the south of present-day Swaziland. After being caught up in a dispute over the Swazi succession, Allison led a group of refugees into Natal, and in 1847 settled at Ndalení near what later became the village of Richmond. A quarrel with the mission organization led to his secession from it, and in 1851 he settled with a number of followers on a farm near Pietermaritzburg, where he laid the

foundations of the Edendale mission. (Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 1, p. 12; Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 54.)

- ⁵⁶The three names mentioned are those of chiefs whose territories abutted upon the Swazi kingdom along the line of the Ubombo mountains. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 339-40.) See also note 47 above.
- ⁵⁷*Abelungu* - white people.
- ⁵⁸One of the provisions of the 'Glen Grey' Act, passed by the Cape parliament in 1894, imposed a levy of ten shillings on any African who had not worked outside his district during the previous twelve months.
- ⁵⁹R.H. Addison was appointed clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Umlazi in 1876. In 1882 he served as clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Lion's River. From 1883 he was on the staff of the British Resident in Zululand, and later became a Native Affairs Commissioner in Natal. For further comments on his career, see Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 94, 147n, 344; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 127.
- ⁶⁰R.G. Roberts served as clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Ladysmith in the 1890s.
- ⁶¹Alice Shepstone. Ntombazi was also the name of the mother of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide.
- ⁶²*Idlozi liyabekelwa* is a proverb whose literal translation is, 'the ancestral spirit has something set aside for it'. Stuart's orthography makes possible an alternative rendering, i.e. *idlozi liyabhekelwa*, which means 'the ancestral spirit is watched for'. See Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, pp. 173, 195.
- ⁶³Literally, *ukugqabuk' igoda* means 'to snap the rope'. The word *dabuka*, i.e. to tear or rend, was also used as the verb to describe the process of secession by which new chiefdoms and *imizi* were often established.
- ⁶⁴i.e. righteousness.
- ⁶⁵Kuruman (Nkulumane) was a son of Mzilikazi by a daughter of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, and was a potential successor to the Ndebele kingship. While still a young boy, he disappeared, and later, in the succession dispute that followed the death of Mzilikazi in 1868, his fate became a key issue. One faction of the Ndebele maintained that he had been put to death on the orders of his father; another that he had escaped and made his way south. In an attempt to resolve the dispute, a party of Ndebele dignitaries was sent to search for Nkulumane in Natal and Zululand. A man in the service of Theophilus Shepstone asserted his claim to be Nkulumane, and a bid was made to win recognition for him among the Ndebele. See Pagden and Summers, The Warriors, pp. 81-83; Becker, Path of Blood, pp. 245-6; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 444.
- ⁶⁶It is not clear to which of his notebooks Stuart was referring in these and the previous parentheses.
- ⁶⁷*Kwa Sogekle* literally means 'the place of the maze', i.e. the maze of spittle drawn on the hut floor by men engaged in communally smoking hemp. For a description of this practice see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 222. The Thulwana was one of Mpande's regiments, formed c.1854, age-group born c.1834.
- ⁶⁸See note 63 above.
- ⁶⁹Literally, 'to find a wrinkled hide under which to grow up'.
- ⁷⁰A species of bulrush millet which, according to Bryant, was grown only occasionally and was used to make a strong beer (Dictionary,

- p. 466, and Zulu People, pp. 280, 281). See also Fynn, Diary, p. 306.
- ⁷¹Presumably Dr Andrew Cowan, leader of an ill-fated expedition which aimed to travel from the Cape to Delagoa Bay through the interior of southern Africa. The party left in mid October, 1808; its last known position was in the Waterberg region of what later became the Transvaal, which it had reached by late December of that year. See Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 2, pp. 146-7.
- ⁷²F.R. Moor served as Secretary for Native Affairs, 1893-7 and 1899-1903. He was Prime Minister of Natal, 1906-1910.
- ⁷³See note 24 above.
- ⁷⁴Funamalungelo (literally, 'seekers of rights') was the name by which certain exempted Natal Africans identified themselves. Some of them were among the delegates who founded the Natal Native Congress in 1900. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 69; Welsh, The Roots of Segregation, pp. 244-6.
- ⁷⁵To sisa domestic animals was to place them in the care of a dependent, who would have certain rights of usufruct.
- ⁷⁶i.e. large homesteads, corresponding to the military establishments of the king.
- ⁷⁷Literally, 'a striving to be like a white man'.
- ⁷⁸Zulumba means 'to lie in wait, keep watch', as for a quarry.
- ⁷⁹Umhado means 'people coming to a place with violence, taking things without leave'. (Colenso, Dictionary, p. 517.)
- ⁸⁰St. Alban's was founded in Pietermaritzburg in 1882 as a school for Africans, but was forced to close in 1895 after the Natal Government had withdrawn its grant. It was reopened in 1898 as a college for the training of catechists and deacons. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 149.)
- ⁸¹Izindondo were solid brass balls about an inch in diameter which were threaded and worn round the neck. Their use was originally confined to royalty. Amasongo were brass rings worn on the upper arm. Izimbedu were bands or flat rings of brass worn round the neck as a decoration of the highest class. Izingxotha (sing. ingxotha) were heavy brass armlets worn by notable warriors. (Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 116, 597, 27, 218; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 167.)
- ⁸²This may be a reference to Ipepa lo Hlanga, a non-missionary newspaper sponsored largely by the same group which formed the Natal Native Congress in June 1900. (See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 73.)
- ⁸³For Mkungu see note 3 above. Magema Fuze, one of Colenso's early pupils, became the bishop's interpreter and printer. He was with Dinuzulu for a time in the 1890s during the chief's exile on St. Helena, and taught him to read and write. He was one of A.T. Bryant's chief informants, and in 1922 published Abantu Abamnyama, a traditional history, and the first book written by a Zulu in the Zulu language. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 114-15; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 498.
- ⁸⁴William Ngidi, a convert of the American Zulu Mission, became a catechist and one of Colenso's assistants at the Ekukhanyeni press. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 71; Rees, ed., Colenso Letters, p. 93n.)
- ⁸⁵Literally, 'the viper of Ekukhanyeni'. 'Nd londlo' was a common Zulu praise-name for important and powerful figures. Ekukhanyeni,

i.e. the place of light, was the name of Bishop Colenso's mission station at Bishopstowe near Pietermaritzburg.

⁸⁶Francis E. (Frank) Colenso, the bishop's only son.

⁸⁷Presumably a reference to Prince Alfred's visit to Natal in 1860, and to Colenso's sojourn in England from 1862 to 1865.

⁸⁸The KwaMagwaza mission near Eshowe was founded by the Rev. Robert Robertson in 1860, the year after Colenso's visit to Mpande. After working with Robertson at KwaMagwaza, 1861-5, the Rev. S.M. Samuelson established St. Paul's mission station, also in the Eshowe area. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 139-40; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, chs. 3 and 4.

⁸⁹Literally, 'raised questions with the Government'.

⁹⁰Two of Bishop Colenso's daughters, Frances and Harriette, were active protagonists of Dinuzulu's Usuthu cause from the 1880s onwards.

⁹¹Both words denote unpopularity, disagreeableness.

⁹²i.e. the snake believed to embody an ancestral spirit.

⁹³Literally, 'he who appeared first', i.e. the Creator.

⁹⁴A species of lizard. Zulu fable relates how the chameleon, sent by *Nkulunkulu* (the Supreme Being) to instruct men to live, was overtaken by the lizard which had been instructed to tell men to die. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 660; Callaway, The Religious System of the Amazulu, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁵*Impepho* is a species of small veld plant with a sweet smell used for burning as an offering to the spirits. *Umswani* is the chyme from the stomach of a beast, and possesses considerable ceremonial significance.

⁹⁶H.F. Fynn travelled and traded in the area stretching from the Zulu kingdom in the north to the Mpondo territory in the south during the period 1824-34. He returned to Natal in 1852, and served as a magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1852-3.

⁹⁷For a discussion of the term 'Ntungwa' see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, p. 130 ff.

⁹⁸The paragraph referred to is from the Times weekly edition of 30.11.1900. It summarizes comments made by the dramatist Henrik Ibsen to a Norwegian newspaper on the rights and wrongs of the Anglo-Afrikaner war then being fought. His opinion was that the Afrikaners had unjustly taken occupation of the territories which they occupied, and that, 'The British are only taking from the Boers what they themselves have stolen.'

KUNENE, CLEOPAS

<Typescript copies of the evidence given below are to be found in Files 6, 12, 25 and 27 of the Stuart Collection - eds.

21.12.1898

File 74, p. 91.

- 91 Swaziland - conduct of women. In connection with what has already been related under this head, Cleopas (a member of the deputation to England in 1894),¹ adds that he does not agree with John Gama² in attributing the killing of Mamgangeni and many other women with her, to the growing independence of women, which Mbandeni tried to check.³ It seems a daughter of Langalibalele⁴ was procured as Ludonga's wife; he died before she had given birth to a child. She afterwards bore a son. This child was doctored, washed, and charmed with medicines of *chieftainship* by Mamgangeni at Inkanini,⁵ in every way to indicate that it was the rightful heir to the throne. Mbandeni heard of this conspiracy. He ordered a man (whose name Cleopas gave) to go to Nkanini and poison the infant. The man went, but could not get an opportunity of poisoning the infant. He returned to Mbandeni who said that he was not to come back until he had carried out the order. He proceeded again to Nkanini and was successful in administering the poison, which caused the death of the child in a couple of days. The death of the child was reported by Mamgangeni to Mbandeni who thereupon accused her of having put it to death. Mamgangeni remonstrated and said it was unnatural to suppose that a woman should destroy her own flesh and blood. Upon this Mbandeni ordered the killing of Mamgangeni and the women with her who, he considered, were implicated in the conspiracy.⁶ Thus the main cause of the killing of Mamgangeni etc. was the fact of conspiracy. There may have been other reasons, but this Cleopas regards as the *source* of the whole incident or proximate cause.

Cleopas thinks the fundamental cause of the present unsatisfactory conduct of women is the protection extended over the sex by British law, which law they have come to know and see the justice of, as well as putting a stop to killing off. Another factor is that England's great sovereign is a woman.

John Gama is distinctly against European influence being held as the true cause; his opinion must carry great weight as he has had first-class experience in the country.

KUNENE

Notes

¹After the signing of the second Swaziland convention in November 1893, in terms of which Britain agreed to the South African Republic's establishing a virtual protectorate over the Swazi kingdom, a deputation of Swazi leaders went to London to request British protection. Kunene was interpreter to the delegation. See Garson, 'The Swaziland question and a road to the sea', Archives Year Book, 1957, part 2, chs. 4 & 5; Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 73-6.

²Another of Stuart's informants.

³Mamgangeni (Lamgangeni) was the mother of Ludvonga, who succeeded Mswati as king of the Swazi on the latter's death, c.1868. Ludvonga died in 1872 while still a minor, leaving no issue. Lamgangeni continued as Queen Mother, and in the place of Ludvonga chose as her 'son' his half-brother, Mbandzeni, who became king of the Swazi. (Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 28-9.)

⁴Chief of the Hlubi in the colony of Natal.

⁵Lamgangeni's place of residence.

⁶For a different account of the quarrel between Mbandzeni and Lamgangeni, see Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 29-31.

KWILI KA SITSHIDI

<16.4.1916>

File 58, nbk. 24, p. 46.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 46 Kwili ka Sitshidi says he, an Embo man, calls himself of the Mkiye people.¹ Even at this day he would not sleep among Mafahleni's Nxamalala people,² for they fought with the Abambo, and this occurred nearly 100 years ago. The Abambo had set many traps³ for *duiker* along the Tugela (ka Myimbana - name of certain extensive flats by river side). When the Embos fought and chased them, many got caught in these traps and were stabbed *without resistance* when unable to get away. This is what caused so great a hatred to exist between the two peoples.

'Indaba ya makosi a i banjelwa umlandu.'⁴ Kwili once accompanied a girl to get married beyond Impendhle. They came to the Nxamalala district. The man of the kraal, (which) he and the party he was with (came to), spoke as above and gave them food, though with evident reluctance.

Socwatsha observes that members of the Mandhlakazi going to Osutu deceive those there by saying they come from some other tribe.⁵

Kwili says if he had occasion to traverse Mafahleni's district (i.e. the Nxamalalas'), he would not reveal the fact that he is a member of the Embo tribe, for they, even nowadays, bear the Embos malice for what they did nearly 100 years ago.

17.4.1916

File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 54-6.

- 54 Story illustrating origin of ill-feeling between tribes, by Kwili ka Sitshidi - chief: Mqolombeni.⁶

Zihlandhlo⁷ attacked the Nxamalala. He called out the Isimahla warriors and placed them on the left wing. He called out the Mngenela and put them on the right wing. The Isimahla came up first to the enemy, stabbed them, and drove them back. It was the Nxamalala who were stabbed. The next day he sent out the Mngenela, switching them over to the left wing. They came at one another. They stabbed the enemy impi and drove it back. They drove it into the ripe grain on the Myimbana (the flats along the Tugela). The enemy were caught in rope snares set for buck. The Nxamalala themselves had set the snares there. They were caught in the snares which they had set. Sambela's⁸ people stabbed them without resistance. That is how they defeated them. The Nxamalala were routed. That is the reason why there is still a grudge among the Nxamalala. They say we stabbed

them and drove them into the Tukela.

Because of this grudge, one of our people, the father of Bukwini, Tokozwayo, died of hunger among the Nxamalala, where he had gone to seek food. They let him die because of that grudge brought with them from the Zulu country.

Further instance. A large party of us once went from the Embo country near the Mkomazi to accompany a girl. She had chosen a husband among us. We went along with her under the Drakensberg, passing to the east of Mpendhle. We came to a kraal in the afternoon; we did not know whose it was. We saw a light-skinned man. He said, 'Where do you come from?' 'We come from Embo country.' He said, 'You are the people who treated us in that way. O! Give them food, my people! The grudges of chiefs are not perpetuated.'⁹ He said, 'These people killed many of us, for they drove us into snares.' We saw that these people had a grudge; they were talking of matters of days gone by. We went on, indeed, and left their territory. We did not sleep there. That is how it was.

We of the Embo have no grudge against them. We did not know that the snares existed. The armies simply attacked each other. In the old days people were poor and destitute; they hunted buck.

Dumisa got his chieftainship through hunting buck.¹⁰

Notes

¹Mkhize is the address-name (*isithakazelo*) of the Mbo people.

²Mafahleni was a chief living in the Mpendle division at the time of Stuart's interview with Khwili.

³In his evidence of the following day, Khwili makes clear that it was the Nxamalala, not the Abambo, who had set the traps.

⁴A proverb interpreted as meaning: 'Against the doings of chiefs no grudge is retained; i.e. it is useless to kick against the goad'. (Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 448.)

⁵The Mandlakazi and Suthu were Zulu factions whose enmity dated back to the rivalry between Zibhebhu and Cetshwayo. Osuthu was one of Dinuzulu's *imizis*. It continued as a principal royal residence after his death in 1913.

⁶Mbo chief in the Richmond district. He died in 1920. (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 406.)

⁷A chief of the Mbo in the time of Shaka. (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 406.)

⁸Sambela was a brother of Zihlandlo.

⁹The original reads '*Umlandu wa makosi a wu banjwa*'. See also note 4 above.

¹⁰Dumisa, of the Duma people, had learned the arts of hunting from a group of Bushmen. He co-operated with the early white traders and hunters at Port Natal, and acquired an independent following in the Mzinto area. (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 531.)

LEATHERN, WILLIAM

23.5.1910. Sandringham House.

File 59, nbk. 33, pp. 1-3.

- 1 [Sandringham House is 400 yards from where the tram stops at the bottom of Commercial Road.]

My father arrived at Port Elizabeth in 1820 (started for S.A. in 1819). I arrived in Natal in 1842, about July, before Pietermaritzburg was taken. It may have been 1843.¹ I was born 3rd October 1827; my father was born 3rd October 1804. He was married 3rd October 1826. My father's name was William.

I met Mbuyazi² first in Durban. I forget the year. I lived in West Street.

I went with Theo Shepstone across the Mzimkulu after some chief.³ I never went on any expedition with H.F. Fynn. I am 82; will be 83 on 3rd October next.

Fynn frequently came to see me. When my father was in Durban I did not know anything of Fynn. I left Durban and returned after getting married, and opened a butcher's shop. I knew and saw most of Fynn when waggon-driving all over the country, e.g. Durban - Pietermaritzburg; also to Bloemfontein, also Pretoria. He never travelled with me. He used to get his meat from me to give kaffirs who came to see him. He was a great friend of my father.

- 2 Fynn, when he came from Wentworth, his farm, used to come and see us. He often stayed in town a week at a time. He was an early riser like myself. He used to have a cup of coffee with me in the early morning. He never related to me his experiences.

I remember his meeting me when I was with my waggons at Field's Bush, near Pinetown. He got off and stayed. A kaffir came past. Fynn had a sjambok in his hand, one he always carried. The kaffir did not greet him, and Fynn asked why, when he saw a white man, he did not greet him. The native was cheeky, saying, 'What have you got to do with me?' Fynn asked him who he was. The native replied that it had nothing to do with him. Fynn said, 'Do you know who I am?' He said, 'No, I know nothing about you.' Fynn got up and walked to him and said, 'Do you know Mbulazi?' He said, 'No.' Fynn said, 'Have you heard of him?' Fynn now made a jump and caught hold of him and said, 'I'm Mbulazi, and I'll learn you, when you see a white man, to salute him.' He then gave him a downright good thrashing, whereupon the native called out that he would be careful to do this in future. The native went down on his knees to him then.

3 The other natives were looking on laughing, for they all knew Fynn. This did a great deal of good.

Fynn was a very honest, straightforward man. He told anyone just

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what he thought. I liked him very much. He very often gave me advice when I sought it. He used to ask how I was getting on, and wanted to know. He was a big man, broader than Gwalagwala,⁴ and strong. He spoke the native language splendidly. He knew how to handle a native. He and Sir Theophilus Shepstone were the two best I ever saw with natives. There may be men that have known natives better than he (Fynn) did, but I don't think so. He knew all about them.

Fynn always had an old, quiet nag; he was never a furious rider. Dick King⁵ could ride anything.

If Sir T. Shepstone had been left in the Transvaal, there would have been no war. Sir Owen Lanyon was a very austere man; he would no sooner give his hand to a Boer than he would to a piece of dirt.⁶

Fynn never told me his experiences in the early days in Zululand or Natal: at any rate I can't recollect anything. He did not say how he first came to Natal, overland or by sea, nor did he make mention of Nandi's death or the attack on him at Mbilanhlola.⁷

24.5.1910

File 59, nbk. 33, pp. 4-7.

- 4 Fynn and Joe Kirkman⁸ told me sickness came into Zululand; they could not tell the cause. The kaffir doctors were called together and told to find *medicine* to stop it. At last they got together, and the king (Tshaka or Dingana) was going to kill them because they were no good. They then told him it was impossible for them to do away with the disease or find any *cure* for it, so long as his people were wearing these here white rings. That was the cause of the sickness, and until they were made away with, the sickness would never be got rid of. They wished him to send word out all over the country to bring all the armlets, leg rings, neck rings of this white metal, and that they were to have holes dug and bury the rings and not allow anyone to come near the place and have it guarded and the sickness would cease, but not before. This was close on to the winter. (This disease was supposed to be smallpox.) After
5 this the sickness went away. That is how the doctors escaped being killed.

I tried to find this when in Vryheid, but could never get any trace. There must have been a great lot. The silver was, I believe, found in lead, which contains a lot of silver. I believe the locality where the silver was buried was Ntabankulu.⁹ Snakes are said by Brooks (surveyor) to be about there.

I only once went to Mr Fynn's place. He used to deal with me. He was humorous, would joke every now and then, and was very good company. I always liked to see him. I used to learn from him. He walked erect, and did not stoop - ordinary pace walking.

We came to Natal just after Dick King's ride to Grahamstown, and the same year.¹⁰

- 6 Joe Kirkman was father of the Kirkmans of Umzinto. He used to be with Grout¹¹ the missionary (who lived near the Umlazi drift where the road goes to Isipingo). He knew Zulu very well. He and Fynn told me the story about the silver. He also said he met a blind woman on the coast who knew the silver bangle story, but, being blind, it was necessary for her to taste various metals before she discovered the one similar to the metal of the bangles. As soon as she tasted

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a silver spoon she declared that to be the metal, but she would not or could not say where the silver had been buried.

G.C. Cato¹² and Alfred Matham (afterwards apprenticed to John McKenzie, tinsmith, who had a sugar plantation near the Mkomazi and used to have a store at the place where Shepherd's is now) are the two who rowed Dick King across when going on his famous ride. Matham himself told me he went across in the boat. He became a tinsmith. I knew Matham well. I know only one boat was rowed across. I never heard of a second one. There were two horses, but I am not sure. I think King got his boy (Ndongeni¹³) at Isipingo.

Alfred Matham went to live at Port Elizabeth, and I think he must still be living.

The native had been with King along the coast route, and King knew it well.

Matham was strong and heavily built. He was younger than he looked - younger than me.

Joe Cato¹⁴ was a carpenter. I was apprenticed to him. Orlando Cato arrived after I did, and was made foreman in his brother's shop. Orlando must know a good deal of Fynn. I was with Joe Cato only a year. My indenture was for five years, but it was mutually agreed I should leave and go and help my father. I had learnt all Cato could teach me.

We came up in 1848 to live in Pietermaritzburg.

I tied the yokes on the 'trek-tow' for the wagon to bring the troops up to take Pietermaritzburg from the Boers. This was just after we arrived in 1842.

Dick King came back from the Cape by land.

[See Russell's Old Durban where the Catos are referred to as having taken across two horses and two boats when Dick King started off on his ride.]

Notes

¹Colonel Josias Cloete, commander of a British occupation force, entered Pietermaritzburg, capital of the Voortrekker republic of Natalia, on 14th July 1842. British troops do not seem to have occupied the town in any numbers until August 1843 after the official British annexation.

²H.F. Fynn.

³Probably a reference to Shepstone's expedition against the Nhangwini chief Fodo in January 1847.

⁴H.F. Fynn junior.

⁵R.P. King, one of the first whites to settle in Natal.

⁶Lanyon succeeded Shepstone as Administrator of the Transvaal in 1879, and was still in office when the Afrikaners of the Transvaal took up arms against British rule in December 1880.

⁷Shaka's mother Nandi died in October 1827. At the mouth of the Mbilanhlola river, near present-day Margate on the Natal south coast, a force of Dingane's Zulu attacked Fynn and a party of his African adherents in 1831. For Fynn's accounts of these events see his Diary, pp. 132-5, 205-6.

⁸One of the first whites to settle in Natal.

⁹Probably the mountain of that name just north of the village of Glückstadt in the Vryheid area.

LEATHERN

- ¹⁰Dick King made his famous ride to Grahamstown in May-June 1842 to secure aid for the British occupation force that was besieged at Port Natal by burghers of the republic of Natalia.
- ¹¹Probably Alden Grout of the American Zulu Mission who arrived in Natal in 1835 with George Champion and Dr Newton Adams, founder of the Umlazi Mission. Lewis Grout, also of the American Zulu Mission, arrived in Natal in 1847 and established the Msunduze Mission.
- ¹²A prominent early white settler. He was elected first mayor of Durban in 1855.
- ¹³Ndongeni ka Xoki of the Zulu accompanied King for part of the way on his ride.
- ¹⁴Possibly George Joseph Cato, son of George Christopher Cato.

LUGUBU KA MANGALISO

4.3.1909

File 57, nbk. 14 enclosure, pp. 1-4.

- 1 *Lugubu of the Mbata people, induna.*¹ Chief: Ngqambuzana.²
 Ngqambuzana ka Mganu ka Nodada ka Ngoza (not Somsewu's *induna*³)
 ka Mkubukeli ka Gazi ka Ndosi ka Nyandeni (alias Mvelase) ka Tshezi
 ka [one or more other names (forgotten) come in here] ka Mtembu ka
 Majola.⁴ I forget Majola's father and grandfather. It was Mganu who
 appointed me as *induna*.

Lugubu ka Mmangaliso ka Gasa ka Mndaba ka Dumisa ka Mlotsha (his
 sons were Msesezo and Mbeje) ka Jodo ka Mtabela *of the Mbata people*.
 (Jodo may be a son of Mlotsha, or even Mlotsha's father. Mtabela too
 may be father or son of Jodo - 31.5.1916.)⁵

The Tembu people *originated* at Hlazakazi, near Mangeni; also at
 Ingxobongo and Isandhlwana. The Isipezi hill was, however, occupied
 by my tribe, the Amambata.⁶

The Tembus are amaNtungwa,⁷ (as are, the Mabaso, Sitole and
 Mangweni, i.e. *the people of Dumisa, the chief of the Amangwe.*⁸ *The*
*people of Matiwana ka Masumpa*⁹ are also amaNtungwa, and the amaBomvu
 are also amaNtungwa. *The Kumalo people* are also amaNtungwa.

There are very many Amambata - now scattered. The Tembus were the
 original *chiefs* of the Amambata. (Bomvu and Nsibankulu are very old
 names in the Mbata tribe, also Tshandu ka Ndaba. These three are
 very ancient, but it seems to me that the last is Mbata, for this
 name includes all. But Mtembu is the greatest name of all -
 31.5.1916.)¹⁰

The *izinduna* who set the army on to fight were selected from the
 Amambata.

I am the same age as *the Great Ngobamakosi.*¹¹

[See fuller and verbatim version of this in Zulu in notebook
 under date 31.5.1916.] The Tembus were a big tribe and actually
 fought against Tshaka. It occurred in this way. Tshaka, proud of his
 growing power, asked his people if there was anyone like him, anyone
 who was so great a hero and who led his men to battle. They said
 Ngoza ka Mkubukeli, the Tembu chief, was such an one, that he was in
 the habit of leading his men, and had on various occasions been
 wounded in battle and could show the scars. Tshaka thereupon sent
 2 four messengers to Ngoza to invite him to come on a visit to Tshaka
 and to sit with him, i.e. as his equal. As soon as Ngoza got this
 invitation he sent men to go and cut some reeds. When they had
 brought them, he ordered two men to take a small portion of these
 reeds, go along to Tshaka and, on coming before him, to stick a reed
 in the ground before him by way of defiance. This the men did, where-

upon Tshaka got into a rage and had it in mind to put the men to death, but they did not swerve, whereupon Tshaka (who talked with a kind of lisp, mouthing his words) commended them for sticking to their chief. He said he had no quarrel with them, for they were only messengers, but with their master. He thereupon ordered the men to be supplied with three oxen, one to be slaughtered on the spot and two to be for food on their way back. They were told to go back and to tell Ngoza that he would be attacked at the next new moon, for when that moon *began waxing* it would be Tshaka himself that was *appearing*.

The men left. Whilst on their way back, the Zulu army caught up to and passed them on their way to attack Ngoza. The men pushed on at once to give the alarm, travelling through the night. Ngoza at once warned his tribe and all crossed over into the Umsinga division.¹² The Zulus followed and an action took place at the Umbe hill near Pomeroy (where Gwalagwala¹³ used to live). The Tembus fought well and defeated the Zulus, driving them back into Zululand.

It so happened that Ngoza had sent to conspire with Macingwane of the Cunus¹⁴ with a view of resisting the Zulus. The Zulus, anticipating something of the kind, sent another section of their army up the Tugela to attack Macingwane.

3 It was under these circumstances that Ngoza judged it best to leave Zululand for the south.

Before proceeding with Ngoza's subsequent doings it may be mentioned that Tshaka accompanied his army on this occasion (prior to his attack on the Ndwandwe tribe), and took up a position on the Isipezi Mountain, Nqutu district.

Ngoza dispersed the tribe under Macibise¹⁵ living about Pietermaritzburg, and went southwards to Pondoland where he was put to death by the Pondo king Faku.

A number of the Tembu people now determined on going back and giving their allegiance to Tshaka. When they got to Tshaka he commended them for their loyalty to their chief which made them cling to him as far off as Pondoland. He was glad to have them as his adherents, for men who had proved they could be so devoted to their chief might be expected to become devoted to him. He put them under the immediate supervision of Sojiyisa, son of Jama.¹⁶

Many other Tembus remained in Pondoland.

Tshaka was angry because of Ngoza's having been killed by Faku. He accordingly decided to attack the Pondos, for if the Pondos could defeat Ngoza, who had fought so determinedly with the Zulus, they must be worthy of his steel. An army was accordingly sent to attack the Pondos, some Tembus accompanying it to act as guides.

4 The Tembus advised going along the coast the whole way, which was done. The attack was not pushed in any way, only to the extent of seizing numbers of the Pondo cattle. It is said that two men were sent on to shout in the forests etc. that 'he' (i.e. Tshaka) was not to be stabbed, for if they did so it would be the worse for them. For this reason the army met with no actual resistance, and after looting the cattle, returned with them to Tshaka. On that occasion Tshaka went and took up a position at Hlutankungu¹⁷ whilst the army was away.

[Lugubu recited about 40-50 lines of Ngoza's *izibongo*. No time to take down, but taken down fully on 29.5.1916.¹

After seizing the cattle Tshaka caused two men to shout on the

LUGUBU

hills to the Pondos that they were henceforth to look on themselves as *uZulu*, and that they were all to return to their homesteads, *idhl' imbuya*,¹⁸ and enjoy peace.

29.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 8-29.

- 8 Lugubu ka Mmangaliso ka Gasa ka Mndaba ka Dumisa ka Mlotshwa of the Mbata tribe. Stands about 6 ft. 2 in. Is about 61 years of age. Very intelligent, clear-headed man. Splendid at throwing light on meaning of *izibongo*. Has rather a thick headring, grey beard. Does not hold himself very erect.

I am of the same age as *the Great Ingobamakosi regiment*; others my age call themselves 'uKandempemvu'.¹⁹ I know the praises of Ngoza, Nodada, Mganu, Mabizela; also Mndaba, Dumisa, Gasa, and slightly of Mswazi ka Sobuza, Mtshwetshwe ka Mkatshana, Faku ka Ngqungqutshe.²⁰

Tshaka called Faku 'Mfakwana' by way of insult, just as he called Ngoza 'Ngozana'.²¹

Mmangaliso was of the Isipezi regiment.²² My father, until he became an *insizwa*, grew up among the Tembu under Ngoza ka Mkubukeli. When an *insizwa*, he went to *konza* to the Zulu king. The Tembu tribe at that time lived at Hlazakazi, and from there to Isipezi. My earliest ancestor, Mlotsha, lived with the Tembu, and so for all the others.

.... <Praises of Tshaka omitted - eds.>

- 10 Pungatshe, fearing Tshaka was about to attack, said, 'Take these white oxen and drive them to Tshaka. Tell him that our people do not want war.' The *impi* was actually in sight when he gave this order. 'What is that moving over there, my Zizi people?' The Zizi (his people) said, 'It is an army, Nkosi.' He asked, 'Where is it going?' They replied, 'It is coming to kill people and carry off cattle.'

This was the Butelezi tribe, living at the Dhlubeni, on the Tukela, near Ladysmith. They were Lalas.

When the oxen were given, the *impi* turned back and went to Tshaka who said, 'Hear, my Zulu people! He fears the lion of Zululand. He says that he will not fight the Zulu nation. He is a man, this Pungatshe. He will survive to a great age; the army will never go against him again.'

I don't know, says, Lugubu, if this Butelezi tribe is the same as that in Zululand, of which Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele was a member.²³

.... <Praises omitted - eds.>

- 29 Lugubu was most impressed by my *bongaing* Tshaka, Senzangakona, Dingana and Cetshwayo. He cannot understand how a white man can know so much of the native tribes and Zulus in general. He says it would be a very striking thing to the Tembu tribe were I to come and *bonga* their chiefs at a large gathering. He believes natives would willingly pay money to hear me *bonga*, that is, hear me in some room, those admitted entering one at a time. Such *bongaing* would be a great pleasure and surprise.

30.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 29-48.

- 29 When Zwide invaded Zululand, Tshaka retired. He, during retirement, went to the top of a hill and there halted. This was very early. When the sun was about one hour above the horizon, Zwide's impi appeared, and advanced towards the heart of the Zulu country. Tshaka's men seeing this, said, 'The enemy are in our homes! Let us loose at them!' Tshaka sent his force in to the attack. As he was marshalling it, his plume came loose from his headband. It fell to the ground, where it stuck in and stood swaying about. His attendants ran to pick it up. The army cried out, 'We are full of fear! The king's plume has fallen just as he is sending us out to fight.' Tshaka said, 'Leave it! There is another that will fall.' The attendants left it. He said, 'Look Zulu! When you come up to the enemy, if they go up onto the hill and get you down below so that they can attack you from above, leave them.' After sending off his force, he told his attendants to fetch the plume. They did so, and he put it back in his headband, from which it had come loose.²⁴

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

- 31 Macibise. Ngoza broke up her people when flying towards the amaMpondo. There were many chiefs killed or who had cattle seized during his flight.

The flight of Ngoza and his people from Tshaka's Zulu country. [The date of this is fixed fairly closely by Lunguza's evidence, under date 13.3.1909.]

- To go back to the very beginning, Tshaka, in the Zulu country, was discussing military affairs. He said, 'Zulu people, I have overcome all the chiefs. I am a warrior. I have only myself to fight against. There is no other chief who makes war as I do.' A man of the Zulu spoke up and said, 'Nkosi, there is Ngoza too. He too, Nkosi, makes war. He goes with his army. He bears assegai wounds.' Tshaka said, 'Wo! Do you think this little Ngoza fellow is my equal? Who could be like Dhlungwana,²⁵ the warrior of the house of Nandi?'

- At dawn the next day Tshaka said, 'Zulu! Let men go and summon this Ngoza fellow to come to me. We shall live together, we two warriors. When our army is making war, and we are looking on, we shall unite our forces: they shall fight as one.' The men whom he sent went off. They came to Ngoza in the Tembu country, three of them, coming to summon Ngoza. Ngoza at first agreed. Then he summoned his men's assembly. He told them of the matter, saying, 'Here are men from the Zulu country come to summon me. Tshaka says that we should unite and live together. What do you say, Tembu people?' The Tembu said, 'Mnguni²⁶ is deceiving you. He will kill you and take your people.'

Then Ngoza sent off the father of Maqobongo, named Sigwegwe, of the Radebe people; he sent off the father of Mapompo of the Mbata people, together with a third man whose name I do not know. He said, 'Go to Tshaka and tell him to fix a handle to his assegai.' (Ngoza wanted to fight Tshaka, i.e. challenged him deliberately.) 'Take a reed, a single reed, and thrust it into the ground in front of him.' They left, and went off on their way. They came to the Zulu izinduna. They came to [Nsobo] Mdhlaka.²⁷ He took them to the king; he went

- to report their coming. Tshaka came out of his hut to see the Tembu men. He went into the cattle enclosure and ordered them to be summoned. They came up. He said, 'Speak, men of the Tembu! What have you to say?' They said, 'Nkosi, Ngoza ordered us to bring a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' Tshaka exclaimed, 'What do you say?' They replied, 'Nkosi, he told us to bring a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' He stood up and said, 'By the great chief, I should kill you!' (Refers to his deceased father - that is how they used to swear.) He said, 'That Ngoza fellow dares to say this to me? I will kill you right now.' He commanded them, 'Speak! What have you to say?' They repeated, 'We are sent by Ngoza. He told us to come to you with a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' Tshaka glared fiercely at them. He cried, 'Wo, Zulu! These are men indeed. They are not afraid, even though I stand up, I who am Tshaka. Even though I fix my eyes on them they show no fear, and speak the word of their chief. He asked, 'Have you eaten?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we have had no food at all.' He said, 'Let three oxen be fetched.' The oxen were brought. He said to one of the Zulu izinduna, 'Go with them, and let them rest. Let them at once slaughter this beast with a white patch. Eat and be filled. When you leave, when you are on your journey, slaughter another ox. Then, further on, kill the other one. Tell Ngoza, "Watch for the new moon. You have called; the one whom you called has answered." When the new moon shows, he will not say it is the moon: he will say, "It is Tshaka who comes."'
- They went off. While they were on their way they saw armed men in the path, carrying war shields. They came up with them as they were going down to the great place. They said, 'Men, what is happening?' The men replied, 'We too do not know. The order to arm has been given.' They left the oxen which they were driving, saying, 'Wo! Tshaka was deceiving us in saying that he will come when the moon is new.' They travelled by night until they arrived among the Tembu. They came to Ngoza and said, 'We come with the enemy at our backs. They are upon us!'
- Ngoza sent to Macingwane at Ngonyameni, saying, 'Let us join forces, for Tshaka has troubled you for a long time. Guard the Tukela, and keep watch for a Zulu force coming along the river. I shall keep guard here at Hlazakazi.'
- Indeed the enemy force came. All Ngoza's cattle, together with the women, were hastily sent to where the Tukela joins with the Sampofu,²⁸ for they were hoping that the Cunu would intercept the Zulu force if it came along the river.
- The army came. The Tembu fought with the army of Tshaka that came against them. They defeated it and drove it across the Mzinyati, while Tshaka was sitting on top of the Sipezi, a hill nearby. But as for the force which went along the Tukela, the Cunu ran away from it. They crossed over to the other side of the Tukela, and went up the Kwa Wole hill. They halted there. No sooner had the Zulu come up than they caught sight of them. They said, 'The rabble²⁹ are sitting on Ntwekeni. We are not going up that hill.' The Zulu went off along the Tukela. They discovered where the cattle and women of the Tembu had been hidden; there were very many of them. They seized the cattle and killed all the women and children.³⁰
- After seeing this, Ngoza crossed the river. The Tembu sing a song that goes: 'Did we not say that the Cunu are dogs? They ran away,

child of the elephant.³¹ He crossed over and came into the country of Nomagaga of the Kuze people of Dhlomo.³² Nomagaga blocked his way, saying, 'Do not come here. If you cross here, I shall fight you.' Ngoza said, 'I shall pass; I am running away from Tshaka.' Nomagaga said, 'Do not pass. Stay there and stand against Tshaka.' Ngoza replied, 'I am coming.' He crossed over. Men of the Tembu said to him, 'Give us the opportunity to fight, otherwise what will we have to eat? You always let the regiments fight, while as for us, we do not take part. Then you give the captured cattle to the fighting men.' For when Ngoza overcame a chief and seized his cattle he would give them all to those who had been in the fighting; he kept only the oxen for himself.

Ngoza agreed to this. He crossed the river and let the men of the Tembu go into battle. He himself remained at the river with all the womenfolk who had escaped. Nomagaga's force was on the hill called Mduna. He sent his force into the attack, and they joined battle.

- 40 The Tembu force was defeated by the Kuze and driven back to where Ngoza was. Ngoza cried, 'What? Are you running away after asking to be allowed to fight?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we haven't done yet.' He cried, 'Into it!' They joined battle, and again our force was defeated and driven back to Ngoza. He said, 'What? Are you running away again?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we haven't done yet.' He said, 'Into it!' Again they joined battle, and again the Kuze drove them back to Ngoza. Ngoza asked, 'How is it now, Tembu?' They said, 'Nkosi, we are defeated.'

- Ngoza had with him two regiments, the Izinkwenkwezi and the Nonyenge. The praises of the Nonyenge regiment were 'The one which stands firm like a beast with legs splayed' (which does not run away). Only great warriors were in that regiment. Weh! Then we saw things! They joined battle, and the Tembu regiments drove the enemy up the hill to where Nomagaga was positioned on the summit. They drove the enemy force past him, and killed him. The hill was in the form of a long ridge with a line of cliffs round it. The Nonyenge climbed up through a pass at the near end while the Izinkwenkwezi went up by a pass at the far end. That was how they defeated the enemy impi. Then Ngoza went up the Mduna hill.

At that place died my father's younger brother, Nketo of the Mbata people. They stabbed him here in the small intestine [low down on the right side]. My father left the battle because his brother had died.

- I no longer remember much of what happened after that [i.e. the rest of Ngoza's flight]. After climbing the hill, Ngoza went off towards Mhlumba.³³ There he came upon another chief named Nomagaga - I don't know of what line.³⁴ He at once killed him, in the country where the Cunu are living today. He then came to the Pata.³⁵ He encountered Ndawonde of the Gozini people who was living at the Pata, and killed him. He went on, and crossed the Mpofana river. Ngoza's people did not yet know the country well, and were heading back the way they had come, towards the Zulu country. They found they were going back to the country of the Nguni. In the country near the Ngome, (i.e. where Bambata recently lived),³⁶ they encountered Mbemba of the Mdhlatheni people. Here they took fright, saying, 'We are close to the Zulu country. There is Pisweni' (a hill opposite Qudeni).³⁷ So they turned back. (There was a chief killed by him at the Mpofana river where the Pata joins it.)

43 Then he came to Mrolweni.³⁸ In his course he killed many chiefs indeed; I no longer remember their names. He went down into Macibise's country, and broke up her people. I do not know whether he killed her or not. Then he went up towards Howick, where he encountered a strong chief, Sondaba ka Patwa.³⁹ This man fought against those two regiments, the Izinkwenkwezi and the Nonyenge. In the Nonyenge there were many great warriors. From among us Mbata people there were my father's younger brother Sigele, Mhlebi (another of my father's younger brothers), Lukwabiti of the Xaba, Nongcama of the Dhladhla, and others. When they had defeated Sondaba's impi, they made towards the Nhlosana hill and then went down to the Nzinga.⁴⁰ They crossed the Mkomazi and passed beneath Marwaqa hill [on the site of Bulwer]. Then they went off into the Mpondo country, and there the chief died.

44 After this the Tembu went back. Now that Ngoza was dead they returned to the Zulu country. Their coming was reported to Tshaka. He was told, 'The Tembu have come. Their chief died in the country of the Amampondo.' Tshaka said, 'Let them appear here.' They came. They were afraid, saying, 'Tshaka is going to kill us because we once fought with him.' Tshaka ordered all the men to be separated and brought to him. They came before him. Their leaders were asked for, and were pointed out. Then Tshaka said, 'Where are the sons of Ngoza? Are there none left?' Nhlakwomuzi was pointed out; he was still a mere youth. Nodada was pointed out, and also another.⁴¹ Tshaka said, 'Heleleyi! These are now our people. I am happy that I have found the Tembu, who fought against me, and drove me in retreat until I vomited with exhaustion. They followed their chief and destroyed many nations. Never did they desert their chief; always they remained loyal to him. To me too they will remain loyal. Let them suffer no longer. Let them join my house; let them go to Mapita ka Sojiyisa.' They were all taken and placed among the Mandhlakazi.⁴² The order was that they were to be under the authority of a man of only the highest rank. Indeed they went off to settle there.

45

When the army went out against the Mpondo on the orders of Tshaka, he said, 'Now I shall see the chief who killed my friend Ngoza, who once fought with me.' He said, 'Speak, Tembu! Where is he?' They answered, 'Nkosi, you should go along the seashore.' He said, 'That is what I shall do.' He then called out the Zulu army. All the minor peoples which he had brought under his authority were called up to pay allegiance. He said, 'I hear that this chief is a powerful one.'

46 The army went off. The Tembu were ordered to lead the way. When Tshaka came to the Hlutankungu hill, he halted. The army went by on its way to the Amampondo country, but he remained behind. The Zulu army seized cattle in the Amampondo country and came back with them. Tshaka said, 'Zulu, you are deceiving me. The cattle of the chief who killed Ngoza are not here. That chief is a great one.' After this the force returned home. That, then, is the end of the trail of the Tembu people.

All Ngoza's isigodhlo girls had their hands cut off by the Amampondo so that their brass armlets (ingxota) could be removed, for the metal was worked there.

The Msinga is the place where there are men⁴³ - Mpatasa ka Mtshongwane of the Mvelase [i.e. a full-blooded Tembu]⁴⁴ is still

living; he is a good authority on Tembu affairs. He would be of the Indhlondhlo regiment. [Hardly able to travel.]

.... <Notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>

47 When Ngoza was fleeing from Tshaka, Macingwane followed behind
48 him. He was afraid to go forcing his way through other peoples as
Ngoza had done. He preferred to go where the way had been cleared
(for the chiefs of the place were now dead). Macingwane followed
Ngoza. He had no sooner left the Zulu country than he came to Kwa
Wole, a hill with a forest growing on it, opposite the Msinga on
this side of the Tukela where the Government offices of the Mpopfana
are.⁴⁵

31.5.1916. Union Day.

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 48-65.

The strange powers used by Mabaso among the Tembu. [Mabaso the wonder-performer. The birth of Mvelase.] It happened thus. The Mabaso people were Tembu,⁴⁶ while Mabaso was a minor chief in the country of the Tembu. A girl was chosen, Mabaso's sister. He took her to the Tembu, to his superior chief. The girl gave birth to a
49 daughter. Her second child was also a daughter. When she became pregnant for the third time, Mabaso said that he was to be told when the time for the birth was near. This was duly done. He devised a scheme. A large quantity of thatching grass was gathered; it was carried by many women to the Tembu, to their kinswoman who had given birth to the daughters. With them they brought a baby boy whom they had hidden inside a bundle of grass, as ordered by Mabaso. They came with him on the day when the inkosikazi was in labour. She gave birth to a third daughter. The birth was reported to the Tembu; it was reported that the inkosikazi had given birth to twins, one a girl, one a boy.

Then one night when the inkosikazi was recovering, Mabaso arrived. He came while the hut was still partitioned into two for the confine-
50 ment. Mabaso sat behind the partition. The Tembu came to see the child, all the chief men of the Tembu. It was the custom in former times when the inkosikazi had given birth for the people to be called to come and see the child. It was also reported to Dumisa and Mbeje⁴⁷ that the inkosikazi had given birth to two children, a boy and a girl. But the boy had been brought by the Mabaso women who had carried the grass; the inkosikazi had not given birth to him.

Mbeje and Dumisa of the Mbata people duly arrived. They came and sat in the yard. A container of beer was brought out of a hut and presented to them, and they were invited to drink. They did so. After they had rested a while they said, 'Could you now show us the children.' This was done. The girl was shown first. They said, 'Now could you show us the other.' The boy was brought out. They exclaimed, 'Ho! How big he is!' Mabaso was sitting there in the hut behind the partition. Now Mabaso was feared because he had strong medicines. He
51 would point at people walking along one behind the other, and they would stop and be unable to move. When the two men said, 'How big he is!', Mabaso stuck his head out of the doorway and called, 'Ho! You, Dumisa and Mbeje, you are voicing doubts, are you?' They jumped

up and ran away, saying, 'He is going to put a spell on us.' They even left unfinished the beer which they had been drinking.

We Mbata people are now called 'amaVungama', for those chiefs of ours had vungama'd. ⁴⁸ Lungusa⁴⁹ calls the boy Nyandeni; I call him Mvelase. His praises are 'Mvelase who came out of a bundle of grass from the Mabaso people'. Both were his names, Nyandeni and Mvelase. Formerly the Tembu isibongo was Tshezi. Then it was changed to

- 52 Mvelase. The child grew up and became a chief among the Tembu. It is now said that they are Mvelase's people. That is the end of the story. It became a legend. People were afraid to say, 'This man is not one of our people,' for they feared Mabaso. The boy became one of the Tembu.

Mabaso had always had a knowledge of medicines. No-one knew where he had got his powers of being able to stop people in their tracks.

<Stuart indicates that the following passage, which is not in sequence in his notebook, should be read in conjunction with the story above - eds.>

- 56 Mabaso said, 'If my sister gives birth to a daughter, it will be said that this boy was also born to her and that they are twins.' The Tembu called the boy 'Mvelase who came out of a bundle of grass from the Mabaso people'. When Mvelase was called 'Nyandeni' it was meant that he had been brought in a bundle of grass from the Mabaso. ⁵⁰

The Mbata people voiced doubts, saying, 'Hawu! How big this boy is! It is as if the two babies were not born at the same time.' As for the Tembu who had noticed this, they simply accepted it. Although they had seen it, they were afraid of the powers that Mabaso could work. The Mbata had voiced their doubts without realizing that Mabaso was in the hut. Mabaso would watch out for a person who seemed to have suspicions.

The inkosikazi who gave birth to the twins was not attended by any Tembu women. There were no Tembu present, only Mabaso's people, those who had brought the grass, arriving when it was dark. Very

58 early the next day it was announced, 'The inkosikazi has given birth.'

Strange powers worked among the Tembu. The chief Gazi⁵¹ would be sitting, and a basket of amabele would be placed on one side of him and dry maize on the other. The amabele too would be dry. He would say, 'Ha! Who is there who can compete with me?' He would scoop up some of the maize in one hand and some of the amabele in the other.

- 53 Raising his hands, he would scatter the amabele and mealie seeds in front of the people to whom he was talking. The seeds would already be sprouting; they sprouted as he held them up in his hands. People were afraid of this when they saw it, and would say, 'The powers of Gazi are great.' There is no-one who still knows the medicine that has the power to do this. Even among the Mabaso it is not to be found. It is no longer known because among our people an inyanga who works with medicines would never pass on his knowledge to his child. He would be afraid that his child would one day use it to kill him. He would never know when death might suddenly come to him. So this knowledge is lost, for how would it be passed on when the

man who possessed it was dead? Today people have still not realized that an inyanga should pass on his knowledge to his children so that it does not die with him. It should be that when he dies they remain in possession of it.⁵²

- Gazi's designated successor was Mkubukeli. He had been appointed while Gazi was still ruling. Gazi lived for a long time. Mkubukeli reached manhood, and married. After fathering Ngoza and then
- 54 Butshali, he died. Gazi was still alive. He lived to a great age, and his son died before him. Gazi continued to rule. Eventually he died, when Mkubukeli's son, Ngoza, was still young. A woman, Mnyango,⁵³ was appointed to rule, for it was said that if a man were chosen to rule, he would find it difficult to step aside when Ngoza came of age. So she ruled for a time until Ngoza reached maturity, when she relinquished the chieftainship.

- Ngoza was continually fighting with those chiefs who had konza'd to the Tembu. He fought with us Mbata people; our chief at that time was Mbaca. There was fighting all the time. The cause of the quarrelling was that some calves had strayed from the Tembu and gone into the fields of Gasa (my grandfather). The Mbata took them and
- 55 shut them up in their own cattle kraal. The Tembu armed themselves and went to root up the amabele plants where the calves had been eating. They said, 'What right have they to take our calves and go and shut them up at their place?' They sent a man to say to the Mbata, 'Since you do not bring back our calves, we are now going to pull up the amabele where they were eating.' Gasa ordered that they should be given the calves; their value was not equal to that of the amabele. There was fighting, and that was the start of the enmity. The quarrel went on for two years. Two sections of our people, the Duze and the Ntshaleni, went over to the Tembu. The Tembu finally defeated us.

- In the fights that took place in former days, the men would hurl assegais at one another. They did not approach closely. If one side was defeated and a man was left exhausted, he would say, 'Mo! I am defenceless!' He would be taken captive, but never killed. When the fighting was over his family would come and ransom him with a beast.
- 56 That was the custom in former times. Chiefs had not yet begun putting people to death, even if they had done wrong. Women were not killed in war, nor was a man who was running away, for he was like a woman. Only a man who was engaged in fighting was stabbed. The practice of stabbing a man who was running away, or one who was left wounded, was begun by Tshaka. Small boys, children, used not to be killed. The practice of killing even women was one begun by Tshaka. Chiefs are responsible for acts of madness.

- 58 Sections of the Tembu people. (All these are amaNtungwa.)
- abaTembu
 - abakwaSitole
 - abakwaMabaso
 - abakwaTinta, of the Ngwe people⁵⁴
 - amaMbata
 - abakwaQunta (Isibongo - emaBeleni)⁵⁵
 - amaBele

The abakwaPutile (the abakwaMazibuko people) are said by old people to be blood relations of ours. Any chief of ours dying is reported to them first, before being reported to other large nations. If this matter were not reported to them it would be an offence; similarly, if they did not report to us it would be an offence. If it was heard that an impi was coming to destroy us we would send and ask them to assist us.

59 When the time came for the *umkosi* ceremonies, they were held in the Tembu country, at the senior chief's place. When they were over, our subordinate chiefs would return and hold ceremonies at their own homes. There was not yet any of the sort of jealousy which led chiefs to say, 'I cannot say that I am chief if there is another man in my country who is regarded as a chief.'

This is like the practice among the amaMpondo; among our people too it was formerly so. For among the amaMpondo there are many chiefs. However, there is a senior chief who has all the others as dependents. Among the abeSutu too, in Mtshwetshwe's country, the chiefs are numerous, but there is a senior chief.

I do not know the oldest tribal name which all these people [on p. 58] would acknowledge. The Tembu tribes are amaNtungwa - [all those on p. 58]. The name that formerly united them was amaNtungwa. I do not know where amaNtungwa came from.

60 In enumerating the Zulu chiefs, my father, together with Sigele, Nyati and Qubindhlu (of another tribe), would count up to eight. They would end with Tshaka and would not count Dingana and Mpande, saying that they had been born of one father. In their enumeration they counted a chief who reigned and then fathered another chief.

They used to count up eight generations in each tribe of the tribes in Zululand.

The Tembu say that they originated at Ndingiza, a cliff at Hlazakazi. The amaMbata also trace their origins to Hlazakazi, to a great rock with a fissure in it, in a cliff near the Mangeni river. I cannot say where Tembus and Mambata originally came from, no idea whatever.

AmaLala, amaZizi, amaNtungwa, amaSwazi - all these are very numerous.

61 There used to be a folk tale which said that there were white people living, and that they would one day come. The old women of former times, those who bore our fathers and Tshaka, would say, 'There are white people who wear clothes. They will one day come to this country.' Our forefathers would ask, 'Where will they come from?' The answer was, 'They are on the other side of the sea.' Our people would query this, saying, 'How could they cross the sea?' But indeed there came white people who wore clothes.

They had simply been telling stories. It was only a tale, but when they talked about it they would say, 'It came true.' But I no longer remember these stories well.

Sections of our tribe

amaMbata ka Mbeje

amaMbata ka Dumisa

amaMbata ka Tshandu

amaMbata ka Nsibankulu

amaMbata ka Dhladhla

amaMbata ka Mngeni - now in Pondoland, went with Ngoza
ka Mkubukeli there.⁵⁶

- 62 These sections have all broken up. The Dhladhla are in Zululand. The Tshandu are in Zululand; they are very numerous. The Mbeje are in Zululand and in Natal and in the steep places at Sitebe, near York,⁵⁷ the high ridges at Sitebe. The Mbeje are also at Helpmekaar. The Dumisa are in the Tembu country. We Mbata have our chief among the Tembu. His name is Hanisi; his chief is Ngqambuzana. His father is Mbozamboza ka Mbaca. Mbozamboza died before the Zulu War. [This could not be the Mbozamboza said to have gone with Sotobe ka Mpangalala to Cape Colony.]⁵⁸ The Nsibankulu - I don't know where these live.

- 63 Dispersion of the Mambata. The amaMbata were skilled in war; there were many great warriors among them. They were 'bought'⁵⁹ by other nations. That is how it was formerly. A chief would give cattle to secure a warrior; they would be given to that warrior's chief. But I do not know which chief it was that bought them, and formerly assembled warriors in this way.

The great increase in the number of chieftainships was caused in this way: I, for instance, could leave Ngqambuzana's country and go and build in another place. It was common for communities to be broken up by war, for in Tshaka's time clans who were settled in their own lands were all broken up.

The old people say that Diyikana's people (of Nsibankulu's line) would succeed to our inheritance if we all died out. Diyikana was a man of great importance under Mpande. I have forgotten who his father was.

- 64 Manyosi ka Dhlekezele and Diyikana of the people of Tshandu ka Ndaba, of Nsibankulu's line - these two are heads of the portion of the Mbata tribe that konza'd to the Zulu. They konza'd to Senzangakona or Tshaka or some previous king, e.g. Jama. They did not run off with the other Mambata people that accompanied Ngoza when he fled from Tshaka, through Natal, to Pondoland.

The address-form 'Ndabezita' came from Tshandu ka Ndaba.⁶⁰ Tshaka said, 'You call yourselves "Ndabezita". Have you enemies to deal with then?'⁶¹ He said this because he himself was continually coping with enemies, as he was always at war. He ordered them to stop using the term 'Ndabezita'.

I do not know if Manyosi or Diyikana had a tribal district of their own. There are some of our tribe living near Nhlazatshe mountain⁶² but these do not enjoy self-government; they have konza'd other chiefs.

- 65 I hear it said that all the peoples now living in Natal were driven here by war. The place they originated from is the Matshona country, beyond Mzilikazi's country. Then they settled here. I have not heard the name of the chief whose impi drove them out, nor of what people he was.

LUGUBU

I hear it said that there is a people which used to hunt buck and eventually came to this country.

The people whom I still hear described today as having come down with a grain basket from the Drakensberg are the Ndimande; that is their isibongo. There are some of them with us among the Tembu. MaNcadini people also live among the Tembu.⁶³ No-one knows how they came down. The event has now become like a legend.

[Lugubu now leaves by train for Greytown en route to his kraal.]

Notes

¹Faye, Zulu References, opp. p. 77, reproduces a photograph of Lugubu taken in 1923, and describes him as 'Head Induna of the Tembu Tribe in Natal'.

²Chief of the Thembu people in the Weenen division.

³Theophilus Shepstone's *induna* was Ngoza ka Ludaba of the Majozi people.

⁴The genealogy is that of chiefs of a branch of the Thembu who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, lived on the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river south of present-day Nquthu. For Bryant's version of their genealogy see Olden Times, p. 244.

⁵The passage in parentheses occurs in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶The places referred to are all in the Nquthu area.

⁷For discussion of the term 'Ntungwa' see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, ch. 6.

⁸Dumisa was chief of the Ngwe (Mangweni, Amangwe) in the Dundee division.

⁹Mathiwane ka Masumpa was chief of the Ngwane people who fled across the Drakensberg onto the highveld during the reign of Shaka. After a career of marauding, he eventually returned to the Zulu kingdom and was put to death by Shaka's successor Dingane.

¹⁰The passage in parentheses occurs in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹Formed c.1873; age-group born c.1850-3.

¹²The Msinga division of Natal colony lay along the middle reaches of the Thukela west of its confluence with the Mzinyathi.

¹³H.F. Fynn junior, resident magistrate at Pomeroy, 1876-96.

¹⁴Macingwane ka Jama was chief of the Chunu who occupied the territory along the lower reaches of the Mzinyathi to the south of the Thembu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263, and map between pp. 698 and 699.

¹⁵Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 48, gives Machibise as chief daughter of Dibinyika, chief of a branch of the Zondi people. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 256, describes her as ruler of a section of the Nqondo people.

¹⁶Sojiyisa ranked as a member of the Zulu royal house, though there is doubt as to his exact parentage. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5.

¹⁷Hluthankungu hill lies at the sources of the Mthwalume in southern Natal.

¹⁸An expression meaning to remain settled in one homestead. See

- Colenso, Dictionary, p. 64; Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, p. 203.
- ¹⁹According to Bryant, the Khandempemvu was formed in c.1868, some five years before the Ngobamakhosi (Olden Times, p. 646).
- ²⁰The first four names are those of chiefs of the Thembu who lived in the present-day Nquthu area. The following three are those of Lugubhu's own male ancestors. The last three are those of the well-known kings respectively of the Swazi, southern Sotho, and Mpondo.
- ²¹The two derogatory names are diminutive forms.
- ²²Formed c.1821-7; age-group born c.1801-7.
- ²³The identities of the personalities in the story of Phungashe's submission to Shaka as given here are not clear. The best-known Phungashe of Shaka's time was chief of the Buthelezi people who lived near present-day Babanango in Zululand. Ngqengelele and Mnyamana, though not of the main chiefly line, were of this Buthelezi group. The Zizi in Shaka's time lived in the upper Thukela region of present-day Natal. Who the Buthelezi or Zizi at Ladysmith were is not known.
- ²⁴Bryant's Olden Times, p. 206, contains an account similar to that given by Lugubhu. He places this incident in the second of the major military engagements between Shaka and the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, c.1819. One of the sources used by Bryant is Stuart's vernacular reader uHlangakula.
- ²⁵A common praise-name for Shaka.
- ²⁶The word 'Nguni' is applied to the Zulu and related peoples of the south-east African littoral. In the present context it is being used as a personification for Shaka.
- ²⁷The name 'Mdhlaka' appears in the original as an insertion over the name 'Nzobo', round which Stuart has added parentheses. Nzobo ka Sobadli of the Ntombela people was prominent in the service of Shaka. Mdhlaka ka Ncidi of the Mgazini people was one of Shaka's leading commanders. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 133-4, 429, 632.)
- ²⁸At a point a few miles west of present-day Tugela Ferry.
- ²⁹The original has 'amaNkengane', which Bryant gives as 'any poor, destitute, common fellow...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe....' (Dictionary, p. 436.)
- ³⁰Bryant's account of the clash between Shaka and Ngoza (Olden Times, pp. 249-50) draws heavily on Stuart's version as published in his Zulu reader uHlangakula.
- ³¹The Zulu reads:
*'Sa si ngatsho ini,
 Ukut' amaCun' a izinja, ba balekile.
 Zinyane le ndhlovu.'*
- ³²Nomagaga ka Dlomo was chief of the Kuze (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 367; Zulu History, p. 47). Bryant's account of the defeat of the Kuze (Olden Times, pp. 346-7) again draws heavily on Stuart's uHlangakula.
- ³³A hill between the present-day villages of Weenen and Muden.
- ³⁴Probably Nomagaga ka Mphumela, chief of the Phahleni offshoot of the Dlamini of the middle Thukela area (Bryant, Zulu History, pp. 40, 47).
- ³⁵A feeder stream that runs into the Mpofana near present-day Muden.
- ³⁶South-east of the Mpanza river between present-day Greytown and Tugela Ferry; not to be confused with the Ngome near Nongoma in Zululand.
- ³⁷Pisweni and Qudeni are two prominent hills south and north respec-

- tively of the Thukela downstream from its confluence with the Mzinyathi (Buffalo).
- ³⁸Mrolweni (Mholweni) is shown on present-day maps as Mount West, which lies at the source of the Karkloof river south-east of the town of Mooi River. For an account of Ngoza's engagements in this area see Bryant, Zulu History, p. 45.
- ³⁹Chief of a section of the Wushe (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 356, 372).
- ⁴⁰Nhlosana hill lies north-east of present-day Mpendle village; the Nzinga, a tributary of the Mkhomazi, runs west of the village.
- ⁴¹For the place of Nhlakomuzi and Nodada in Bryant's version of the Thembu genealogy see Olden Times, p. 244.
- ⁴²'Mandlakazi' was the name used to identify the people under the local authority of Maphitha ka Sojiyisa, who was closely related to the Zulu royal line.
- ⁴³Presumably Lugubhu means men with a knowledge of Thembu history.
- ⁴⁴According to Bryant (Olden Times, pp. 242-5), there were two main branches of the Thembu living north of the Thukela, one on the Nseleni river near present-day Richards Bay, the other on the Mzinyathi river near present-day Nquthu. The latter were commonly known as the Mvelase.
- ⁴⁵The Msinga is a prominent hill on the north bank of the Thukela near its confluence with the Mzinyathi. 'Mpofana' is the Zulu name for the Mooi river. Which Government offices are referred to is not clear.
- ⁴⁶According to Bryant, the Mabaso were an offshoot of the Thembu, with whom they remained closely associated. His account of the birth of Mvelase is based on the version in Stuart's vernacular reader uHlangakula. (See Olden Times, pp. 243-5, 418-9.)
- ⁴⁷Dumisa and Mbheje were of the Mbatha people. Both feature in the informant Lughubhu's list of forebears given at the commencement of his evidence.
- ⁴⁸The verb *ukuvungama* means to murmur, grumble, utter complaints. It is this word which we have translated as 'voicing doubts' at the point where Mabaso suddenly confronts Dumisa and Mbheje.
- ⁴⁹Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵⁰The name Nyandeni derives from the locative form of *inyanda*, which means a tied-up bundle, as of grass, wood, sticks etc.
- ⁵¹A chief of the Mvelase branch of the Thembu. Bryant gives Mvelase as possibly being his predecessor (Olden Times, p. 244).
- ⁵²Giving evidence before the 'Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal' in 1852, H.F. Fynn stated: 'It is a principle understood throughout every tribe of Kafirland, that none of the children of an Isanusi can succeed their parents in that profession. It is believed that the requisite discernment and power are denied....' (Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 108.)
- ⁵³Bryant, Olden Times, p. 245, gives Mnyango as Ngoza's elder sister. Hence she would have been a daughter of Mkhubukeli.
- ⁵⁴For Thinta see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 181-2.
- ⁵⁵For Qunta see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 347-9.
- ⁵⁶Bryant gives Mbheje, Shandu and Dladla as brothers in the Mbatha chiefly line (Olden Times, p. 224). The name Dumisa features in Lugubhu's own genealogy given at the beginning of his evidence. Nsibankulu is mentioned by Lugubhu as 'a very old man in the

- amaMbata tribe'. We have been unable to find a reference to Mngeni.
- ⁵⁷Midway between present-day Pietermaritzburg and Greytown.
- ⁵⁸Sothobe and Mbozamboza were emissaries sent by Shaka in 1828 to make contact with the Government of King George IV. See Isaacs, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 212ff.
- ⁵⁹The verb used in the original is *ukuthenga*, which means to barter, trade, buy.
- ⁶⁰'Ndabezitha' was the *isithakazo* or polite address-form of several clans, including the Mbatha. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 410, writes that their 'great ancestor seems to have been an individual (possibly one and the same) called uNdaba'. He continues: 'Upon the conquering of the smaller clans by Shaka, the use of the *isithakazo* seems to have been assumed by the Zulu clan, to whom it is now almost solely applied.' See also *Olden Times*, pp. 221-2.
- ⁶¹Shaka is here making a pun on the words *indaba* and *izitha*, which mean 'matter, affair, business' and 'enemies' respectively.
- ⁶²A mountain overlooking the White Mfolozi west of present-day Mahlabathini.
- ⁶³Bryant (*Zulu History*, pp. 76-7) gives the Ndimande as a sub-group of the Maphumulo. The Ncadini he lists as an offshoot of the Thembu (*Olden Times*, p. 691).

LUNGUZA KA MPUKANE

11.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 18-33.

18 Lunguza arrived yesterday - 10.3.1909.

My father was Mpukane ka Zikode (alias Mgedeza) ka Ngaba ka Matshoba ka Malima ka Mwelase ka Madondo ka Mtshongotshongo. My chief son is Matshakaza. My chief is Ngqambuzana ka Mganu ka Nodada ka Ngoza ka Mkubukeli ka Gazi ka Ndosi ka Nyandeni ka Mabaso.¹

I am of the Tembu tribe; *I belong to it by birth*. My grandfather Zikode was of such importance in the tribe that he was allowed to hold the *umkosi* on the day preceding that on which Ngoza held it, i.e. he used to *tshayela* or sweep clean before the *chief* began.

We are amaNtungwa, *of the people of Sokumalo*,² 'the people who get the better of a person by deceiving him with words', for we were fathered by Mabaso, *we Tembu stock*. We are related to the Mabaso people of Faku (dead) ka Rwanqa and Ngadabana ka Rwanqa.³ Mzakaza (Faku's heir) is now ruling over (these) Mabaso people.⁴ Until lately

19 Ngadabana controlled the tribe on behalf of his deceased brother.

All the Tembus came from our ancestor Mabaso. He was our first progenitor. We used to live at Malakata;⁵ that is where he, Mabaso, was buried. My grandfather Zikode was buried on his own land at Qudeni where Matshana ka Mondise is now living.⁶

'Mvelase who came in a bundle of grass from Mabaso' - this is one of Nyandeni's praises.

The amaMbata are of the same origin as we. They are of the principal line. They *vungama'd*; the amaMbata are *abatabatanyawo* (praises).⁷ They said, 'Why was it said of the child who was a chief that he appeared in a bundle of grass?' The amaMbata expressed surprise at the size of one of the twins of Mabaso, one being a boy, the other a girl. The boy was said to belong to the Tembus and the girl to Mabaso. The position is this. Mabaso's *inkosikazi* bore twins, one a boy, the other a girl, but as the boy was a good deal larger than the girl, the amaMbata people, who are the principal section of the Tembus (*amazalankosi*),⁸ *vungama'd* or demurred at the boy being said to be the heir, because they doubted, from his size, that he could have been a twin. They said that he must be a 'nyandeni' child, i.e. he must have been brought by the supposed mother from her own people, and she was trying to pawn him off as if he were the true heir, whereas he must have been an adopted child. Hence the child being called Nyandeni,⁹ head of the Tembu tribe. The amaMbata in consequence of this are spoken of as amaVungama or Amatabatanyawo for rejecting their true heir. [Lugubu agrees - 31.5.1916.]

The amaMbata are the senior section.¹⁰

The woman who bore the twins had for her husband Ndaba (*isibongo*:

LUNGUZA

Ndabezita) of the Tembu tribe.¹¹ The 'Ndabezita' *address-form* does not belong to the amaMbata people but to the Tembus. My chief Ngqambuzana is saluted 'Ndabezita! Mvelase!'¹²

- 21 Ndaba married a girl of the Mabaso tribe; I don't know her name. AmaMbata - we address them as '*Mbata, you of the black buffalo of Nsele*',¹³ when we *give praises* to them, as when given food.

The child, son of Ndaba, would naturally have become the heir to Ndaba and chief of the Tembu tribe.

It is a well-known thing that the amaTembu *sprang from Mabaso*, i.e. they arose from this very child, afterwards called Nyandeni.

- 22 The woman in question is said to have been a member of the Mabaso tribe, just as Ndaba was a member of the same tribe. Of her twins, the girl (about whom there was no doubt that she was her child) was said to be a real Mabaso girl, i.e. the offspring of the chief himself, whereas the boy was suspected of having been brought from the woman's parents' kraals in an *inyanda* of grass (i.e. concealed), with the object of making out that he was her twin son. It was owing to his being a good deal bigger than the girl that the woman was suspected of lying in saying he was a twin. Hence the amaMbata refused to recognize him as Ndaba's heir and successor, and thus he became the progenitor of the Tembu tribe.

Malaza and Dhlungwana, sons of Ngoza (our chief), were not killed when Ngoza was killed by the Pondos. These are the heads of the Tembus of the Cape Colony.

Our mothers, when they went to Pondoland, had (some of them) their right hands cut off at the wrist to enable the Pondos to take off the *metal ornaments* they wore on the arm. Thus they were obliged to go on their knees to eat *food* as they could not raise it to their mouths.

I believe the Tembus of the Cape are all related to our Tembus.

Ngoza used, in going into battle, to place his men (regiment) first, then immediately behind them their wives, including his own, so as to ensure the men striving their utmost. He did this in Pondoland, and after the men were defeated the Pondos came on the women, and, instead of killing them, cut off their hands for the reasons given.

- 23 Afternoon: Lunguza continues. I do not know where the Tembu tribe came from before they came to Malakata. Gazi, Nyandeni, Mkubukeli are all buried at Malakata. Nodada died where our tribe is now.¹⁴ He died at Matshunku hill. My father Mpukane died at Mkolomba, i.e. at Weenen (Nobamba).

The reason why the Tembus left Malakata was because of Ngoza's fighting with Tshaka. Our tribe lived about Malakata and Qudeni but no further. I never saw Ngoza.

Ngoza was *attacked* by Tshaka's Bakenya regiment. Owing to his mode of fighting, whereby he put men first, then a group of women in their immediate rear (including his own wives), they succeeded in defeating the Bakenya.

Ngoza's regiment was the Nonyenge. His main kraal was Ukudada (Ekudadeni). This kraal was at Malakata. Tshaka *attacked* us from Dukuza, *kwa (ka) Nombalo*.¹⁵

- 24 Tshaka *attacked* Ngoza twice. The first time was at night at Malakata. Ngoza then fled across into what is now the Umsinga Division, to the vicinity of Pomeroy at a hill called eMmbe. A battle

took place here and the Zulu army was defeated, Ngoza following his usual mode of fighting, i.e. having women in the immediate rear of the troops. This battle took place in the day-time. There was great slaughter of the Zulus. Tshaka then said, 'As Ngoza has defeated the Bekenya, *let the Dhlangezwa go out.*' But when the Dhlangezwa regiment arrived, Ngoza was no longer at Mmbe, having come to Mpumulwana (south side of Tugela and lower down), and having attacked the Kuze, their chief being Nomagaga ka Dhlomo. The Mpumulwana hill is on the south side of the Tugela prior to its junction with the Buffalo, and is near the drift where the punt is. Nomagaga lived at Mpumulwana. Ngoza fought this tribe and *dispersed* it. Nomagaga was killed. Ngoza then *went up* to about Mhlumba mountain.¹⁶ He fought another Nomagaga ka Mpumela, of -- tribe (I forget name).¹⁷ He killed him and scattered the people.

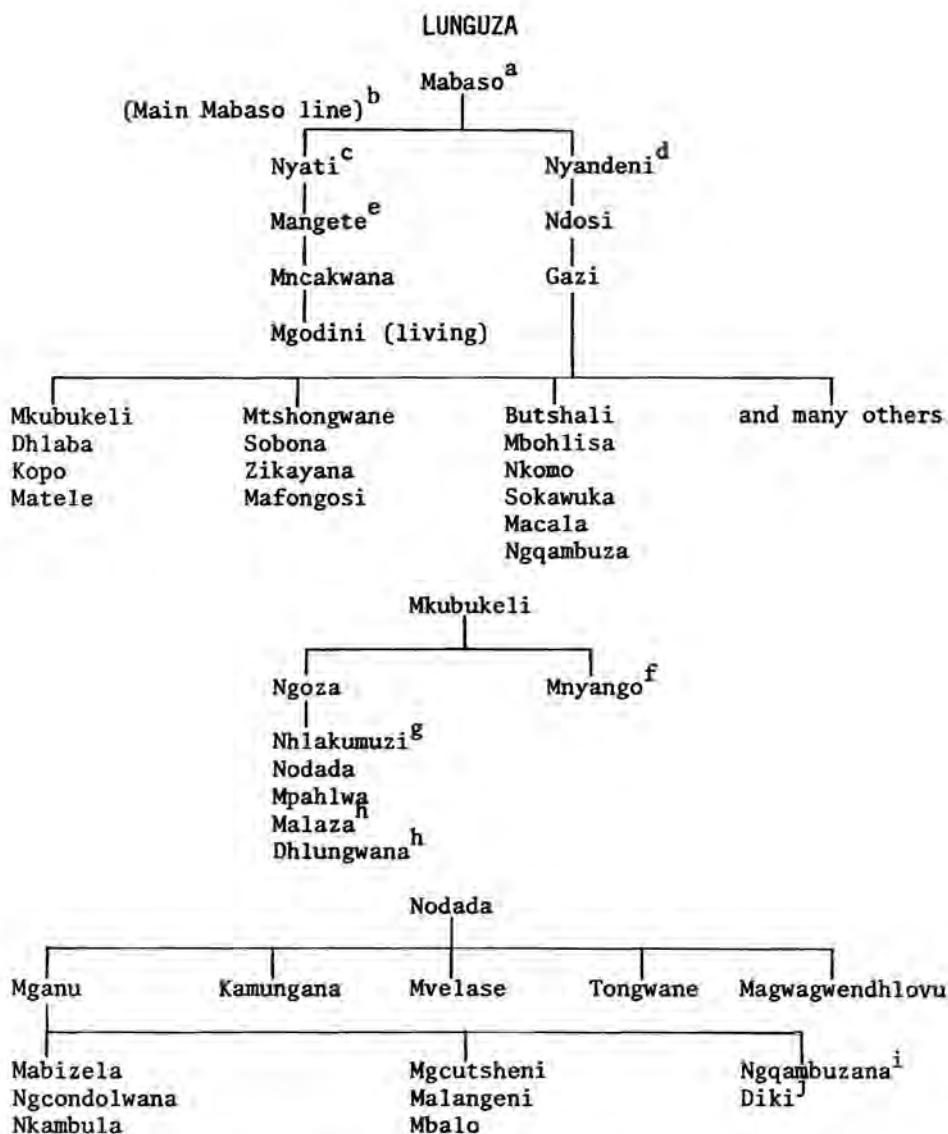
He then came on to the Mpofana (Mooi river). He there found Mahlapahlapa ka Siyoto - I do not know his *clan-name* - said to be a cannibal. This Mahlapahlapa is not the same man as that attacked by Dingana at the Ndaka (near Ladysmith) and driven off to Basutoland.¹⁸ Ngoza killed the former Mahlapahlapa. He *went down* to the forests on the north side of the Umgeni. He there found Dhlepu ka Ngcwanekazi - I do not know his *clan-name*.¹⁹ He fought with and killed this petty chief. Ngoza then passed by Mbubu²⁰ (near Pietermaritzburg), and went to the Mkomazi and found, on this side, Ciki of the Amawutshe.²¹ He fought with and killed him. Ciki lived where Chief Mbazwana of the amaKuze lives now.²² Ngoza then crossed the Umkomazi and went right off to Pondoland. I do not know what river or hill he came to. He was there killed at once by the Pondos. He was attacked the day after his arrival. The battle continued all day. The Pondos withdrew and renewed the attack the following day, when they succeeded in putting him to death.

Ngoza died in the Ukudada regiment. The Nonyenge regiment succeeded in repulsing the Pondos. An alarm was raised that the *chief* was left with the Ukudada and that the Nonyenge should assist. The Nonyenge turned back, went to relieve, but found that the Ukudada had been overpowered and Ngoza had been killed fighting - for he was a great warrior. The Pondos were very numerous.

Ngoza's regiments were:

- uNonyenge (*the ikanda of Mkubukeli*)
- Ukudada (*of the place of Mkubukeli's people*)
- Ilangeni (*of the place of Ngoza's people*)

Each regiment fought separately from the others. My father Mpu-kane was of the Nonyenge regiment. There was no recruiting according to age, but father and son would be in the same regiment.



^a See Lugubu's evidence in nbk., 29-31 May 1916.

^b 'Ndabezita' - *isibongo*.

^c Borne by woman of the Ludwala.

^d Progenitor of the Tembu people. My father told me this.

^e Mangete ka Nyati of the Ludwala: 'Ndabezita' - *isibongo*.

^f Girl, who *ruled* a little. She was older than Ngoza. She reigned when Ngoza was still a minor. She reigned with Sobona ka Gazi.

These two *brought up* Ngoza.

^g Died at Balule²³ after we had *konza'd* Zulus, in Dingana's reign.

^h These remained behind in Pondoland with the Tembu people that did not *konza* the Zulus.

ⁱ Follows Mabizela in age.

^j Own brother of Ngqambuzana.

28 I know of Jobe ka Mapita ka Mnyanda. Jobe was *one of Ngoza's men*. He used to build beautiful dwelling huts for Ngoza, the wattles being placed one against another. Jobe's *clan-name* was Sitole. Jobe remained at Qudeni after Ngoza was defeated and put to flight by Tshaka. A number of Ngoza's tribe remained with Jobe. Jobe then *konza'd* Tshaka.

Jobe had a son Mondise, whose chief son is Matshana, now at Qudeni.

Jobe had other sons: Nomaqongqoto, Siula, Tendeni, Ntshoboza, Mpako, Mlomowenyoni, Mbithla, Lukotsholo, Babayi, Ziyendane, Nda-wombi, Sondhlovu, Sapula, Vela.

I have never heard of Jobe meeting Tshaka when looking on when his force was attacking Ngoza [see Bird's Annals, vol. 1, p. 144], and of the opportunity Jobe had of killing Tshaka.²⁴

29 Mbato ka Ntshiba ka Mnyanda was the principal chief of the Sitole tribe. The son of Mbato was Mbulungeni, whose son was Mbila.

Circumcision. This was done to prevent people getting old too quickly. The practice was discontinued during Ngoza's reign.

The Sitole people are an offshoot of the Tembu tribe. They are also addressed as 'Mtembu'.

Jobe was ordered to live in Natal, in the Umsinga Division at the Ndaka²⁵ etc., whilst the country he had occupied and that Ngoza had occupied about Malakata was given up to be built on by the Fasimba regiment.²⁶ This was done by Dingana because Jobe had much property, i.e. cattle, goats and sheep, so he was told to live on territory which had been denuded of people and stock. This country, Umsinga Division, was full of hyenas, lions etc. at that time. Cannibals were living about the Ndaka river, and above the Ilenge mountain.²⁷ The Fasimba then lived on our old lands. Jobe's people were very numerous and occupied extensive lands in Natal. Jobe died at his great kraal, Kwa Dilizela, at the end of the amaNkamane.²⁸ He was buried *at his place at the Lenge mountain, at Nhlakanhlakeni* (name of kraal), at the base of the Lenge mountain. Mondise died *at his Elundini kraal under Mmbe hill*. He was buried *in the cattle kraal*.

30 Mamalumbazo ka Nkwelo (Malumbazo)²⁹ - this was Jobe's chief wife.

When Mondise was buried, the cattle of the tribe were made to walk over and over the grave mound till it became *hardened* and flat. The cattle were driven over and over for three days. After this it was fenced in.

My father Mpukane was made Jobe's *induna*. He was appointed so as to teach him how to fight, for my father was a recognized hero, and had wounds all over his chest in front. He had a wound just over his left nipple and just below it, another below the right nipple and another on the right side, front. Tshaka looked on my father as a dog that would not allow the *enemy* to get near its master Tshaka. Tshaka accordingly ordered him not to touch meat at all; it was to be put on an *eating mat* and he must go up to it on his knees and bite off pieces as a dog. He was henceforth to play the role of a real dog. This my father did. Beer, moreover, was to be given him to drink as he lay down on his back, in *beer baskets*. Then he would be allowed to eat meat again, *à la chien!* In this way he got to be very stout. He was tall and his arms became very fat and big. Tshaka used to get him to *dance* before the *umdhlwinkulu*; and he would be

31

praised as he did so.

My father died near Weenen shortly before the battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.³⁰

I knew Jobe and Mondise well. Jobe was of short, medium stature, with a very big and wide beard. It got very white as he grew old. He had a *headring*.

Ntshoboza³¹ reigned for a short time after Mondise died until Matshana grew up. Matshana put to death Vela ka Jobe³² for wishing to be chief of the tribe. He (Matshana) also killed Sigadiya³³ ka Tshezi, whereupon J.W. Shepstone went and attacked them. J.W. Shepstone attempted to shoot Matshana, but he escaped, the bullet hitting Deke in the leg. Matshana then went to Zululand. Sondhlovu was killed by J.W. Shepstone's men, and others of Jobe's sons were killed at the same time. Shepstone was stabbed. [He was stabbed by Mdemude ka Masimbana. See 2nd notebook, p. 20.]

- 32 Sondhlovu was a great *warrior* of Dingana. He once *put cannibals to death* near amaNkamane. It happened this way. The cattle (Jobe's) were out grazing *at about midday* near amaNkamane when a party of about 20 cannibals came upon the six herds and killed five, and began cutting them up. The sixth was Sondhlovu. He dropped into a donga and there waited, lying on his back. A cannibal came after him and, stooping over the donga, was about to stab him when Sondhlovu pushed his assegai quickly upwards and ripped open the man's whole stomach, so much so that the contents fell all over him. He then ran off and raised a hue and cry, a call to arms. Men at once responded. In the meantime the cannibals got off with the meat. They had killed no cattle. The armed men followed and caught the cannibals up the Toleni stream near the Ndaka, whereupon these threw away what they were carrying, and ran. The men chased them but could not catch them. They then turned back, for Dingana would have been put out had they made an attack on the tribe unless specially authorized thereto. On 33 hearing what had happened, Dingana ordered several regiments out to go and attack and kill off the cannibals who had killed Jobe's people. Dingana sent the Dhlambedhlu, Mvoko, Mkulutshane, Izigulutshana and Izinyoni regiments. These regiments hemmed in the cannibal settlement, going in a detour beyond Hlatikulu,³⁴ and then pressed their attack. They killed many. Many escaped to Basutoland, including their chief Mahlapahlapa.

These cannibals had splendid supplies of food, good crops. They had huge goats with large ears and udders as large as those of a cow. They had no cattle.

I was at Mgungundhlovu at the time, being a member of the Kokoti regiment.³⁵

The cannibals were said to be *the people of Lupalule* - that was their *isibongo*. The *cannibals* were also called amaBele.³⁶

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 33-9.

My regiment is uKokoti. There were only two recruitings of regiments *among the people of Jobe* (Sitole) where I was living, i.e. the Hlomendhlini in Tshaka's day,³⁷ and the Kokoti, by Dingana.

- 34 ('*The Kokoti which ate a horse.*')³⁸

It so happened that the Jobe people were in the habit of putting

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on their headrings at an early age, so, when recruited by Tshaka into the Hlomendhlini regiment, many of them already had put on *head-rings*. Tshaka asked who had given them permission to sew on head-rings, and then directed that all were to be cut off and removed, which was done. They again put them on when at Mgungundhlovu under Dingana.

Tshaka's regiments³⁹

The Siklebe carried grey shields, black and white hairs mixed.

The Izikwembu *carried shields of a uniform dun colour.*

The Gibabanye carried shields that were black with white marks at the side.

The Dhlangezwa *carried shields that were black, with many white patches.*

The Fasimba *carried* all-white shields.

The Ndabezibona (uNdabaekadengizibona), *a section of a regiment*, carried black shields, white on cattle backs.

The Iziyendane, *of the place of Makata's people*, carried *uniformly red shields with no markings.*

The Mgumanqa carried spotted shields, i.e. red ones with white spots.

The Isipezi - I forget the colour; I think white with markings.

(Tshaka gave the name Ndabaekadengizibona because ever since he was born he saw *izindaba*.⁴⁰ 'UNDabakadengizibona of the place of Mudhli, the destroyer of all'⁴¹ - a praise of Tshaka.)

35 The Iziyendane. *Calabashes of curds* were hidden away when they appeared, for they would have eaten them. They used to shout, 'Hayeje! Hayeje! Our cattle, Mangwane! Hayeje!' They would sing this on going to a kraal. They did not scruple about eating curds of the household in all parts of Zululand.⁴²

The Bekenya carried shields of black cattle with markings on the stomach.

The Ngqobolondo carried *izinsasa shields*, i.e. speckled on a black hide.⁴³

The Tshoyisa carried shields made from the hides of red cattle with large white markings on the upper parts of the legs. [See below, p. 36.]

(It was a great offence for a man not belonging to a particular regiment to carry a shield of the colour proper or reserved to that regiment. The reason was, 'How could such a man be distinguished as to what he was if he carried a shield of a colour used by a particular regiment?')

The Abesutu. 'At our place in the Zulu country we are never satisfied, for we have nothing but bones to crunch.' This is what they used to say. This was also one of Tshaka's regiments. It stayed at the Dhlangezwa kraal or barracks.

36 The Fojisa was also a regiment. It carried shields made from the hides of black cattle with white patches on the stomach.

The Tshoyisa was a section of the Fojisa regiment.

The Jibingqwange carried speckled grey shields.

The Mbelebele. uMpondozobekwapi - this latter was a section of the Mbelebele regiment. It carried shields made of red-

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coloured hides with brown patches.
The Poko. The Mpofu section carried *dun-coloured shields*; the Mnyama section carried *black shields, no markings*. The regiment was called uPoko, and the two just given were *sections* of that regiment.
The Nobamba - said also to be one.

Dingana's regiments

Izinyosi - stayed at Siklebeni
uDhlambedhlu - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Imikulutshane - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Imvoko - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Izigulutshane - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
uKokoti
iHlaba

I knew Mgungundhlovu very well indeed. I was called into the *isigodhlo*. A food that the *umndhlunkulu* had was this: *the clotted blood* of a beast - this was cooked, then *broken up* whilst still wet and then made into a rich soup with *fat*.

- 37 There were no fox terriers at Mgungundhlovu. I knew a dog of the king's (Dingana's) called Bozibozi - a red one, very large. They slept in the *isigodhlo*. I did not know Makwilana (or Makwedhlana).
I went to Mgungundhlovu as a *mat-bearer*.

Our name of uKokoti was changed to Ndabakawombe by Mpande. The horse said to have been eaten by us was eaten at Mtombeni *while we were going up at Kwa Makoba*. We had gone out to *collect wattles* from *umnqandane* bushes for *building the isigodhlo fence*.

We had to *break them with our hands*, there being no axes, and each man only brought one piece, but nevertheless there was an enormous heap. The Mtombeni is on the north side of the White Mfolozi and a good way from Mgungundhlovu. On that occasion we slept out at Kwa Makoba five nights and returned the sixth day. Only we Kokoti went to get these *wattles*.

Our great *induna* was Qetuka ka Mapita ka Sojiyisa.⁴⁴

- 38 On the top of Mtombeni we found a beast and a horse. Both were slaughtered. I belonged to the Umgungundhlovu section of the regiment; there were present also the Kangela and Siklebe sections of the same regiment. When the section I was with got up, I saw the beast had been killed, and it was part of that I was about to eat. The Siklebe section ate the horse, hence the saying, '*The old Kokoti that ate a horse*'.⁴⁵ We had slept out five nights without food; we were extremely hungry; hence the horse being eaten. I do not know where the horse came from. It was said, '*So you ate a young beast without horns?*' Mbululwane ka Ngqungu of the Cunu tribe said this. He threatened us. He said the Siklebe section were not to eat it, for it had no horns. I had already taken a *strip of meat* given me by Gabangaye, Silwana's (the chief's) father.⁴⁶ Mbululwane shouted to me, '*We! Lunguza! Lunguza!*', that I was to tell Mbutiso (i.e. Gabangaye) to throw away the meat he had for it was the meat of a *beast that had no horns because it was still young*. We thereupon threw the meat away, and did not actually eat any, for we were afraid of him, he being a big, strong, grown-up

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- 39 man. The members of the Kokoti were not all of the same age; some were a good deal older than others.

<The questions that appear below are listed in the original in the upper margins of pp. 35-9 (File 59, nbk. 30). Questions that have been scored out in the original we have placed in parentheses. Those with a cross against them in the original we have marked with an 'x' - eds.>

- 35 (Is there no tribe-mark or custom peculiar to Tembus?)
Describe *circumcision*.
Describe custom of putting chief into the senior regiment, though young.
(What spring did Dingana get his water from?)
His chair.
What was *isigodhlo* fenced with and who did *fencing*?
x (What *wondrous events* have you heard of - animals speaking etc.?)
x (What was the great cattle country?)
Great hunters.
(Where did *blue monkey skins* come from; *loury feathers*?)
(Describe *isibiba* - p. 53)
(Do you know of cocks being killed by D. for causing lightning?)
- 36 Name different kinds of dances.
Name different kinds of singing.
What is *lobola*?
x (How many times did you enter *isigodhlo*?)
(Describe each occasion. How long inside?)
How were nights spent?
x (Where did you relieve nature?)
x (Where was water got?)
x (What *isivivane* do you know?)⁴⁷
(*Whistling spirits*.)
x (Was there an outside fence round Mgungundhlovu?)
x (Did you ever go to Kangela, Hlomendhlini, Nobamba?)
x (Did you ever go to Nodwengu?)
(What about the *Mbete famine*?)
(*The famine of Magonondo*?)
(Who worked *iron, armbands, armrings, hoes*? Their prices? Beads?)
x (What foods were taken in times of famine?)
What were the great medicines?
Preventive charms.
What about *drinking from the udders of the cows*? Describe fully.
- 37 x Give an account of Makabela tribe.
x (Had Ngoza an *isigodhlo*?)
x (What fighting did he do before meeting Tshaka?)
Give short account of each member of the royal family of Tembus.
Give genealogical tree of Mambata tribe.
What do you know of the Cunu tribe?
ukuBula.
x (Is it Madondo or Madonda? - pp. 39, 58.)

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- x What women's hands were cut off? - p. 40.
 x (Where did Mzilikazi live in Zululand?)
 x (What *campaigns* did you go on?)
 x (Did you have only *knobkieries* at the Ncome?)
 (Give the praises of Jobe, Zikode, Mpukane, Mkubukeli, Ngoza, Mondise, Dingana, Tshaka, Sojiyisa, Nodada, Gabangaye.)
 38 Describe the custom of *ukuhlonipa*.⁴⁸
 Describe the custom of *xor' impi*.⁴⁹
 Describe Ndhlela.
 Describe Dambuza.
 x (Did you know Zulu ka Nogandaya, Ngqengelele, Mdhlaka, Hlambamanzi, Mvundhlana, Menziwa, Xoko?)
 Who were the great *praise-singers*?
 How about girls being married out from *isigodhlo*?
 Who wore *imfibinga* beads?
 x What were the things *forbidden* by Dingana?
 (How about Tshaka and the doctors *in the isigodhlo*?)
 What do you know concerning Tshaka's birth, and origin of his name?
 x (Did Dingana *tefula*?)
 x (Did the king wear *armbands*, or *neckrings* or *armrings*?)
 39 Did Dingana ever visit *amakanda*?
 When, exactly, was it that Fasimba came to build on your lands?
 x (Was Dingana's life never attempted?)
 x (Did you never see any white people come to Mgungundhlovu?)
 x (What about Matiwana's death?)
 Whose daughter was Mawa? Why did she cross over?
 Who was Gcugcwa?
 Who *cultivated and reaped* the king's gardens? Where were they?
 Who were the principal *izinceku*? Milkers?
 Who *carved milk vessels, and pots for urinating in*?
 (Who held shield over Dingana?)
 (Who shaved him and *dressed his hair*?)
 Who were his doctors?
 Were no animals ever caught and brought to him alive?

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 39-52.

- 39 Makanda ka Mbesa ka Masongelana (*alan-name*: Madondo) was taken out by five men to be killed at Nkata. Nkata was *in the cleared space at Mgungundhlovu*, i.e. just below and in front of the kraal. When they got him there he snatched up a boulder and bashed one of the five on the head, dashing his brains out, and then escaped because the others ran away. As he was being conducted to the place of execution he went apparently quite resignedly - '*cold*', i.e. contracted together as if resigned to his fate. He, on escaping, went back to Mgungundhlovu, whereupon Dingana said, 'Who was it who said my *warrior*, Dambuza Mtabate, was to be killed?' He repudiated having given any such order, whereupon he directed that the four others that remained were to be put to death, which was done. Makanda lived for many years after this, and died in Mpande's reign at Matshunku, on the south side of the Tugela, just above where the stream or furrow for irrigation works begins.

40 My father's hut was *opikweni* at the *Mgungundhlovu kraal*; by '*opikweni*' I mean in the bend of the kraal. His hut was on the right side of the kraal looking from the *isigodhlo*, and far down near the gates.

At Nkata there were numbers of *rocks, grindstones*, purposely put and kept there in order to *beat people to death with*. It was one of these that Makanda, who was a powerful man, got hold of. This incident happened prior to the murder of Piet Retief [6th February, 1838].

I was born when our chief Ngoza went off to the Amampondo country. I used to *bring the calves to the cows at milking time* as Nodada, Nhlakwomuzi and Mpahlwa, sons of Ngoza, *drank from the udders*, after their return from Pondoland, and after our mothers' hands had been cut off as previously stated.

41 Nandi died sometime after I was born, for I recollect the kind of food we ate after her death. [He means allowed to eat.] Those who ate *amabele* were killed; it was said only *milk* and *curds* could be taken. There were people who used to go about inspecting, and if they saw faeces at any kraal, as they would do after a grass fire by their continuing to smoke, (they would know) that they had had *amabele*. The people of such kraal would be put to death, for Tshaka said, '*So he is living in a state of contentment*' - i.e. he is *satisfied with life*; he is in a condition of prosperity and comfort, living in a state of enjoyment - 'whereas I am lamenting because of my mother's death!'

When Tshaka was put to death I know the words he used: '*Children of my father, are you killing me, I who am of your house and king of the Zulu? Your country, children of my father, will be ruled by white people who will come up from the sea.*' I often feel how true this prophecy was. I was a boy capable of *carrying babies pick-a-back* at that time [23rd (24th?) September 1828].

Mzilikazi ka Matshobana of the Kumalo. He was told to come and *cook meat* at Bulawayo. He *refused and made off in the night*, taking men with him. He *established himself* to begin with at Mpama. He was simply an ordinary man but had *grown great* in his own tribe.

42 My father went to the Mpama to attack Mzilikazi; this was in Dingana's day. There he killed three men and was *given the praise* '*He tried to finish off the people of Matshobana*'. I well recollect this expedition.⁵⁰

[Note: I reckon Lunguza must have been born about 1822 or 1823, for he remembers the death of Nandi in 1827, and was capable of nursing children when Tshaka died in 1828. If, then, he was born when Ngoza ran off to Pondoland, then such an event occurred about 1822 or 1823.]

Ngoza's flight occurred before that of Matiwane of the amaNgwane tribe. [Sir T. Shepstone's version contradicts this.]

Sikunyana - I know but little about him. The wound under my father's right nipple was said to have been received in the attack on the Ndwandwe tribe.⁵¹

The first time I went to the *Zulu country* as *mat-bearer* for my father was to *Mgungundhlovu*.

The amaCunu (under Macingwane) joined Ngoza during his flight,

43 but only got as far as Nsikeni hill, on the south side of the Mko-mazi, whereas Ngoza went on to Pondoland. Ngoza and Macingwane were in league with one another and both fleeing from Tshaka. Macingwane followed Ngoza; i.e. Ngoza began to fly first and Macingwane followed after, finding that Ngoza had already *destroyed the minor chiefdoms* on the way.

There were three main rows of huts at Mgungundhlovu, but odd huts were stuck in here and there in addition. They used at Mgungundhlovu to aim a bone at one as one passed by a hut, merely for passing there and doing nothing else. *It was a place of death.* One always lived in a state of dread and trembling at Mgungundhlovu, and was only relieved when one went off home.

44 It was necessary always to *konza*. If (a man) went off and stayed at home it would be well if he left someone to look after his hut, for if he merely shut it up and went away, others at the royal kraal would open it and use it as a closet and throw their ashes and refuse there, on the ground that the owner was away enjoying himself and drinking beer at home. And coming back to such hut he could not occupy it the first day because of refuse; it must first be cleaned out by a *mat-bearer* and then *smear*ed with *cowdung* and allowed to dry. My father always stayed until relieved by Manzezulu ka Jobe, a *warrior 'who led astray the full strength of the Ndwa-ndwe'*, and Manzezulu did not leave till relieved by my father Mpu-kane.

Manzezulu is said to have entered the Ndwandwe *impi* and stabbed about here and there among them.

My father was called '*Didiz' ulwandhle*,⁵² *he who aimed to finish off the people of Matshobana*'. My father's hut was never a place of refuse because of his taking care to be relieved by Manzezulu etc.

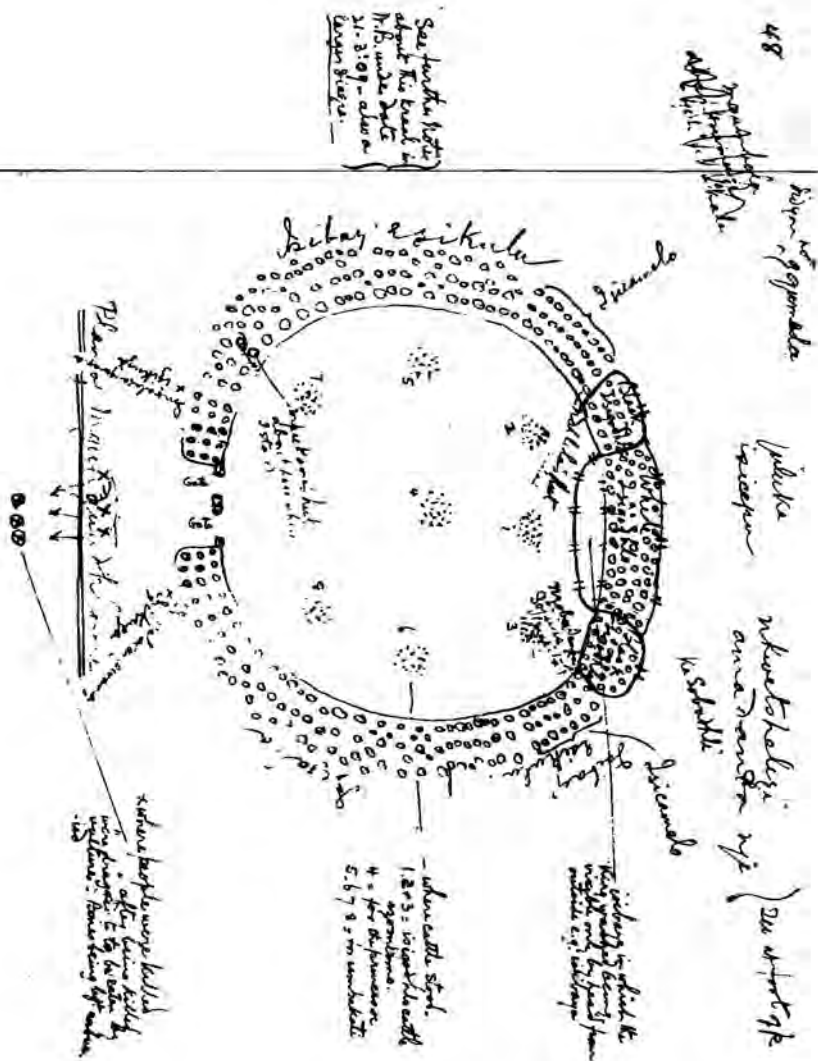
Afternoon. Dingana's kraals: Umgungundhlovu, Siklebe, Gibabanye, Mpiyake (near the Pate at Mtonjaneni), Kangela, Emvokweni, Dhlambedhlwini, Emkulutshaneni, Fasimba, Ezikwembeni.

Bongoza was tall and *light in colour*. I, however, never saw him, i.e. the one who *decoyed the Boers*.⁵³

45 The Kokoti regiment (name given by Dingana; otherwise known in Mpande's reign as uNdabakawombe). This regiment *kleza'd* at Siklebeni, at Zinyosini, at Dhlambedhlwini, at Mgungundhlovu and practically all other *amakanda*. Whilst still *klezaing* we were spoken of as *inkwebane*.⁵⁴ The name 'Kokoti' was given only when the *inkwebane* were *butwa'd* - no name prior to being collected. The lads were *buta'd* to *kleza* at the *amakanda*. The term *buta* was used in this connection, but its principal significance arose out of the *inkwebane* being collected from the various *amakanda* and formed into one regiment.

I *kleza'd* at Mgungundhlovu, for I was one of Jobe's people. Only the Hlomendhlini and Kokoti were *butwa'd* from Jobe's people. Jobe's people were attached to Mgungundhlovu. Affairs from Jobe's tribe were reported to Ndhlela ka Sompisi.⁵⁵

When the cadets were collected together into one regiment, the



<The original of this sketch appears on p. 48 of nbk. 30, File 59.>

regiment was divided into *sections*. The Kangela section of the Kokoti had a cry like the *red-winged starling*, i.e. 'Tsho! Tsho! Tsho!', whereupon we would say, '*Here come the starlings of Kangela!*'

- 46 I belonged to the Isiziba section of the Kokoti regiment, '*the deep pool which drags people down and engulfs them*'.⁵⁶ We carried *knobbed sticks* at the back of the head, attached with *thongs*, slightly to the right side of the head and at the back.



These were our only weapon. We carried no assegai. This was on account of a remonstrance made by us about the Zulu army having allowed the Boers to escape, whereas they could, in our opinion, have been caught with the hands and killed with *knobkieries*. Hence, we said, the Zulus don't know how to fight. Dingana thereupon directed us to *make knobkieries* and fight with those. We of course wore also ox tails etc.

The Kokoti *praise* was '*the snake whose bite cannot be cured*'.

The Isiziba *induna* was Mankaiyana ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi; there were many minor *izinduna*, known as *amapini*.⁵⁷

- I belonged to the *isibay' esikulu*,⁵⁸ and therefore had to be in the rear whenever the Isiziba went off anywhere. The *companies* in the Isiziba were very many. I cannot give any idea, for this section
47 of the Kokoti comprised very many members. The Isiziba did not live at Mgungundhlovu but only came when specially summoned. We were called together for the special purpose of *cutting wattles of the umqandane bush*. After finishing this work we were given cattle to eat and then told to disperse to our homes. That is an illustration of what occurred.

The term *isibay' esikulu* is one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived. When the *isibay' esikulu* came last, the king would travel along with it. I have already said that Ngoza was with the Ekutateni regiment; well, that was the *isibay' esikulu*, for Ekutateni was Mkubukeli's⁵⁹ principal kraal, where he held the *umkosi ceremonies*. The *isibay' esikulu* is the bodyguard, household troops.

[See plan of Mgungundhlovu, showing where *isibay' esikulu* was.]

- 48 The *umdhlonkulu* were stark naked, only a strip of beads round the waist. The *isigodhlo* never *binea'd*.⁶⁰ When they went out to the river to wash they were escorted and guarded by men armed with shields and assegais, and if you came in sight you must fall right down into the grass face downwards in order not in any way whatever to look. The *umdhlonkulu* were very fat, were *nkwetshelazi* and *amadanda*.⁶¹ They were like pigs. They perspired although they did nothing. The mats they sat on got wet and the *izinceku* would have
49 to put them out to dry.

When called to the *white isigodhlo* I never dared to look up at any of the *umdhlonkulu*. I never had a feeling of affection for them, for it was death to do so.

The Zulu country was like a pit, or a snuffbox, for you did not know where to run to; that is, if a man had to be killed it was inevitable that he would be killed, for there was nowhere to run to.

Tshaka caused his own mother to be put to death on account of her having harboured his child. It was one of the *umdhlonkulu* that went and told tales about Nandi having the child. 'Go,' the girl said, 'to your mother. You will find her with something beautiful.' Tshaka went there stealthily, got the evidence he wanted, then came back and sent an *inceku* to go and stab his mother and afterwards to cut the *leather skirt* and *tie up the wound* so that it could not be seen. The *skirt* was cut in the shape of a band. It was then said, '*The inkosikazi is sick.*' No-one of course could go and see her. The child in question was also killed by the *inceku*.

50 Nandi had an *inceku*, Mqumbela, who cried for two days on account of Nandi's death. Tshaka, getting to hear of this, said, on the third day, '*Give him rest; he is tired. His mother is dead; he has been crying for a long time. Happy is the man who has a mother.*' They thereupon gave him his quietus.

The child had been borne by one of the *umdhlonkulu*. I do not know what the girl's name was. The child was a boy; even if it had been a girl the same thing would have happened. I heard, after Tshaka's death, and at Mgungundhlovu, that Tshaka had directed the *inceku* to go and kill Nandi, that he did not himself stab her. I know the *wound* was a small one, and may have been caused with an *awl* or small assegai.

There were two big gates at the bottom end of Mgungundhlovu. If anyone fell at the gate it would be all up with him unless he quickly struggled away. He would be trampled to death by the companies of men dashing in and proceeding up on one side or the other of the great enclosure. There were *imivalasangwana* or gatekeepers. They got the *first stomach* of the beasts slaughtered. There were two for each gate.

The herds were called *izikuza*;⁶² there were many of these. They slept at the gate, both sides.

51 Ndhlela's hut was close up to the *isigodhlo*, on the right side of the kraal facing the gates. It was in the *isicamelo* part of the kraal.⁶³ Both *isicamelo* belonged to the *isibay' esikulu*.

The cattle were kept apart in the great enclosure - in different parts of it. Each lot had its own place, marked by an accumulation of dung, and got accustomed to it. No-one made his way through the cattle or disturbed them.

I do not know of the missionary who is said to have lived at Mgungundhlovu, nor do I know of Captain Gardiner.⁶⁴

The *mat-bearers* used to go and collect *firewood* for the huts to which they belonged. It was very difficult to know what hut one belonged to. I accordingly stuck a stick on our hut so that I could see which it was, for if one went to the wrong hut they would smack you on the face or throw a bone at you, and want to know why you made the mistake and why you did not take care.

In Tshaka's day no *hlobongaing* was allowed. The result of this was that girls used to go to their *lovers* at night time so as not to

52 be seen. (A girl would) go to *her lover's hut*, knock at the door (they would not be barked at by dogs for they did not *takata*). She would then be let in, sleep with her lover and then go back the same night to her home, the lover accompanying her part of the way home and then returning. The lover could not go to the girl's home for fear of being found out and killed. There were many only too ready to tell tales.

When Dingana came he allowed girls and men to *hlobonga*, hence girls went about freely in the open day-time. They *washed in the light of day*. He was thereupon called *uMalamulela*,⁶⁵ for intervening on behalf of girls and their lovers.

When Tshaka was killed Mhlangana jumped over him, as he looked on himself as successor; Dingana did not jump over him. Tshaka jumped over Pakatwayo, and Cetshwayo would have jumped over him (i.e. Mbuyazi) had his body been found.⁶⁶

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 52-60.

The Isipezi regiment wore the *umnaka* - brass rings round the neck and of this shape:



I do not know where the *brass* was got, possibly from Portuguese territory. The *umnaka* used to burn those who wore it, especially on a hot day, and they accordingly carried *fat* to put about the part
53 of neck affected.

There is an *ilcanu* (Hottentot), Lomana, who was present at the Piet Retief massacre. He is living at Stoffel's near Nobamba, above Nobamba.⁶⁷ He had been put with the guns just outside Mgungundhlovu. He escaped on horseback. He is about my age.

I was present at the Ncome fight, though was not one of the attacking party. The Dhlambedhlu and Izinyosi (Zembekwela) attacked first, followed by the Imikulutshane, Izigulutshane and other regiments. The uKokoti was still too young, and, although a regiment, was one known as *isibiba*, i.e. *that part of the force which remained behind*, because they were *youths*. They were held back until the result of the attack was known, when, if favourable, they would be sent in. The successive rushes of the Zulus on to the Boer fort failed and were repulsed. The fort was made of waggons closely drawn together, with branches of trees put in between, these branches having been pulled in from surrounding parts by means of oxen. After our troops had been repulsed there was a general flight in various directions. The Boers charged; four came in our direction riding red horses, five in another direction, six in another. They fired on the Zulus with their *guns*.⁶⁸ Our men hid in antbear holes, under *ant-heaps*, stuffing their heads in even though otherwise exposed, whilst others hid themselves under the heaps of corpses to be found in every direction. Men were shot who were already dead. I found men shot dead in front as well as behind me as we fled. I wondered what had become of our chief Nodada. I questioned one or two but they

told me they did not know where he was. As a matter of fact he escaped. He was a member of the Umfolozi regiment;⁶⁹ this was one of Dingana's regiments, about the same age as the Dhlambedhlu or Izinyosi. I found that as many as 30 *elders* from our tribe alone had been killed in this battle.

There was no chance of the Zulus doing anything. As for us Kokoti, i.e. Ndabakawombe,⁷⁰ who had scoffed at the Zulus' mode of fighting and were armed with *knobbed sticks*, we could do nothing at all, for no use could be made of these weapons at distances within which gunfire was effective!

55 During the battle we Kokoti were on the far side of the Ncome stream.

We did not cross into Natal with Mpande (*goda*),⁷¹ for we lived in Natal. I did not take part in the battle of Maqongqo⁷² between Mpande and Dingana, being in Natal at the time.

Mpande sent into Natal and seized very many cattle from our tribe and from Jobe's people, saying they belonged to him. This was after he became king.

I know there was a place called eBeje, for Dingana was sometimes said to be still at eBeje, but I do not know what eBeje was. I do not know what took place there.⁷³

I do not know where the *inkata* was kept. I never saw the *inkata* of the Zulu nation.⁷⁴

56 I remember Jojo of the Masikane section of the Makabeleni, who lived at Pisweni⁷⁵ at the place of Makaya, and who escaped although apparently condemned to be killed. An *inceku* shouted, 'Let the man you caught be brought forward!' He was brought to Dingana who said, 'Fellow, what thing that you prize do you leave here on earth?' He replied, 'I leave my king who, like a child beginning to talk, can only grow in greatness.' 'What else do you leave?' He said, 'Nkosi, I leave my child.' The king said, 'What is it?' He answered, 'It is a boy.' Then the king said, 'O Zulu! Let him be, for he says that he leaves two things of value, his child and his king.'⁷⁶ He was thereupon spared, and eventually died a natural death. This happened at Mgungundhlovu. He had been caught on the right side of the kraal (looking towards the gate), but had not been removed to Nkata. I do not know what offence he was said to have committed.

The *izinduna* used to kill off commoners and then report to the king that they had 'taken away' this or that (person) for practising witchcraft, but the *izinduna* were afraid of doing this to great warriors, although they used to tell tales about them to the king and get them killed in that way. .

57 All my father's near relatives were killed off by Dingana on the ground that they *pupa'd*;⁷⁷ they *pupa'd* because they used to hold the *umkosi* ceremonies at Ngoza's. It was said that Didiza (my father)⁷⁸ was not to be killed, nor his wife, nor his elder brother (Mapeka) and his wife, nor his mother (*daughter of Majola*), nor Mhlana (*a cattle-herd of Jobe*) and his wife. Only these were excused. Jobe called for me. 'Where is Lunguza?' I went and stood by him. All my relatives were killed at Ndindindi (name of a ridge) near Qudeni. Men came from Dingana to Jobe to say he was to send out a force and surround our kraal, as we *pupa'd*. Jobe did so, and came personally

to our kraal. He began by calling me out. The *impi* came before sunrise - only a small party. Our kraal had 20 huts; the name of it was Kwa Pangisa. The whole kraal was killed off except those mentioned, who were saved owing to Jobe calling them out.

Sikwantshu is said to have remarked on the great amount of killing off that went on in Tshaka's day, adding that also in that of Dingana the same thing took place. 'Would that some other king might reign!' Sikwantshu was a person without means who was given protection by my father Mpukane. This getting to Dingane's ears was the reason for our destruction. Sikwantshu was of course killed off. We do not know where he was alleged to have made this statement. Afterwards, i.e. the kraal having been destroyed, Jobe sent those spared to his kraal at Nhlakanhlakeni, below Qudeni mountain. The huts of our kraal were burnt.

Our (my) *isibongo* is Madondo, i.e. an offshoot of the Tembu tribe. Matshoba was the progenitor of the Madondo tribe. Matshoba sprang from Nyandeni. Madondo is said to have been a man. We were called after this man, for we were *dondobeke*,⁷⁹ refusing to work. [cf. Ndo-ndakusuka]⁸⁰

Dingana gave strict instructions to Jobe that Didiza (my father) was not to be killed. He was to be taken by the hand by Jobe and led out. If killed, Jobe's own kraal would be killed.

I was Jobe's *inceku*, and stayed at Nhlakanhlakeni. Jobe sent his *induna* Nogobonyeka to Dingana to ask if it was intended that he should kill his wife's mother, for Didiza's kraal was at that of Jobe's wife's father. (Jobe) was married to a sister of Mpukane, alias Didiza (my father). Dingana then gave directions as to who were to be saved [see above] and ordered Jobe to superintend the killing off himself.

This killing off took place the very day after my father's arrival from Mgungundhlovu where he had been rewarded with six head of cattle by Dingana. These cattle, together with those of the whole kraal, were then seized and taken to Nhlakanhlakeni kraal. They became Jobe's property by direction of Dingana.

Ny mother (sister of Makedama ka Mkulu, chief of the Makabela tribe⁸¹) was never *lobola'd* by my father, for he had no cattle. Having regard to the killing off referred to, he, on being given any cattle, would kill them off at once and eat them. He refused to keep them. This is the reason why my mother was not *lobola'd*. Mpukane was afraid that there would be jealousy created by his having cattle, whereupon people would tell tales and get him killed so as to obtain his cattle. My father, moreover, refused to *lobola* my mother on the ground that he had taken her under his protection at Pisweni (hill) - between the Bomvu and Kabela tribes, where the Amasikana tribe (offshoot of the Makabela tribe) is.

My father later on *lobola'd* my mother with 10 of my cattle. I partly *lobola'd* my own wife, but did not finish.

It was the *izinduna* who were responsible for the indiscriminate killing off that went on. Sometimes a man rewarded with cattle by the king would be killed just as he reached his home, and his cattle seized. These cattle, say if there were 10, would be taken off to

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the *izindunas*' kraals, and they would report that nothing in the shape of cattle was at the kraal.

The *izinduna* got into the habit of killing off people and then reporting, i.e. after the event, that they had 'removed' them for this or that reason.

I think our people were said to be *pupaing* because my grandfather Zikode (Mtshongotshongo) used to hold the preliminary *umkosi* dance in Ngoza's day. Ngoza used to follow with the main ceremony next day. My grandfather was told to *qalel' inkosi*,⁸² and his dance was known as the *black umkosi*, and that of Ngoza as the *white umkosi*, after which the people dispersed and went to their homes.

Ngoza's *umkosi* was held towards the winter, at the time of harvesting, not during the month Masingana.⁸³

Ngoza was a great fighter; so was Zikode (my grandfather), but Mkubukeli was not a fighter. He never accompanied the army to war.

Lugubu's⁸⁴ statement [of 4.3.1909] as to how Tshaka came to fight Ngoza may be correct. I do not dispute him.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 1-14.

Also present: Sitashi

- 1 Lunguza continues. Sitashi ['Starch', for starching shirts], son of Lugubu (Ngqambuzana's *induna*), present.

There is no special tribal mark or custom that distinguishes Tembus from other tribes. The headring was always worn, as far as I know. My father and all his age wore the headring. Jobe had a headring. My grandfather also had on a headring, though I never saw him.

The Amacunas of today wear long *loin covers* and occasionally a bunch of lousy feathers on the head.

The abaTembu wear short, medium *loin covers*, and generally a bunch of lousy feathers on the head.

Cunu girls etc. have their hair done straight up.



Tembu girls have their hair done thus



I cannot say how the headring originated. The Zulus proper used to wear the ring as much as any tribe.

- 2 I remember when the Icenyané was *jutshwa'd*.⁸⁵ It was said, 'The other regiments will get the remnants,'⁸⁶ i.e. after the Fasimba regiment, whom they were directed to marry, had been served. This was done at the time of the *umkosi*, just as all were about to disperse, the great ceremony being over. It was shouted out, 'Let the Cenyane take husbands among the men of the Fasimba.'⁸⁷ They, however, had already been married before. Any girls remaining over might marry

into any other *regiments* according to their wishes. The iCenyane girls used to *smear fat* on the chest above the breasts and between them.

A man of the regiment allowed to marry would go up to the marriageable girls and say, '*Now, girl, you are going to choose me as a husband!*',⁸⁸ whereupon she would consent, afraid of being killed if she refused, and her father would support the man who wanted to marry her. The man would direct her to come to his kraal on the following day.

A man who belonged to a regiment allowed to marry would take his *shield* and *assegais* and, with a boy to carry his mats, proceed to a kraal he had in mind where there were some of the girls he had been allowed to marry. On getting there *he would salute the umzumzana, saying, 'Son of —, I request a comfortable place to sleep.'*⁸⁹ A girl would then be ordered by the kraal head to go and sweep out a particular hut for the use of the new arrival. The girls (eligible) would then be collected and told to go into this hut. When there, the man would look at them and then fix on a particular one and invite her to come and sit by him, side by side. She would then do so, thereby causing the others to laugh at her. He would then proceed to court her, and during the night his mats would be spread out and each of the other girls would occupy the same hut during the night. The selected girl would sleep with the stranger on his mat. The mat-bearer would sleep alongside the other girls. The man might *hlobonga* with her. There was no sense of shame in this, even though the others heard what was going on. None of the girls were afraid for this was the general custom, hence girls saw nothing extraordinary or alarming about it.

The man would get up, go to the river and wash, whilst the girls, including the selected one, would prepare food for him and the kraal head. The man would then partake of the food, and then, bidding the kraal head good day, would go off, being accompanied some way by the same girls. The one he had selected would go somewhat further with him than the rest, and then return to her home.

This coming did not mean that the girl referred to would necessarily marry the man; he had come only to *ask for a comfortable place to sleep*. Somebody else might marry the girl. As he goes off, the girls carry his shield for him and his assegais, for they are very pleased at having been visited by one of the king's warriors. The selected girl may of course marry the man after all.

Only *jutshwa'd* girls could come into the hut and associate with the man. A girl not *jutshwa'd* would never dare to go to the visitor, for she would be killed and the man too.

The iCenyane were ordered to put fat on their chests between the breasts so that they might be distinguished. Hence it was *umbala* - a mark, distinguishing mark. Plenty of fat was applied and it melted and trickled down them to the waist.

Compulsion was not used with girls, for they were used to the custom, and consented merely if a man said, '*Girl, I am going to lie with you.*'

The iCenyane was *jutshwa'd* at Mgungundhlovu. The Ntshuku⁹⁰ was left to be *jutshwa'd* later.

As soon as *jutshwaing* took place, i.e. the order had been issued, the girls would disperse in all directions all over the country to

their respective lovers in the 'permitted' regiment. Two or even three of these girls could marry any one man if he could afford to marry them and they cared for him. The *lobola* was only one beast to begin with, and afterwards a second beast, no more, for all the cattle belonged to the king. It was very hard indeed to get cattle, and if you should accumulate many you would be accused of making a *chief* of yourself, whereupon someone would report this to headquarters, and some pretext for killing you would be found. This was one reason then why the *lobola* was so low. Then again the *izinduna* were jealous of anyone having cattle; they would have him killed and seize his cattle for their own aggrandizement, as was done at my father's kraal. [See some pages back for what happened.] It was therefore very hard to get cattle. Only *notable warriors* were presented with them by the king.

When the Cenyané was *jutshwa'd*, I was at Qudeni at the place of Jobe. I saw a number of girls come and get married to our *abarumzana* of distinction, i.e. the foremost among the warriors. Girls *jutshwa'd* to a particular regiment might go to men older than the licensed regiment, i.e. to those previously licensed. They would do this even in the case of men as old as I am now, for they liked to marry men of importance, men, that is, who were well off - had plenty of food. Food was the great attraction. Girls liked being the wives of wealthy men.

The beast for *lobola* would be given either before or after the marriage ceremony.

The custom of '*funelani neno*'⁹¹ was not known in Zululand; it was a Natal one. What happened in Zululand was that the man a girl had run to would send a messenger to her father to report she had come to him. The father would then say he was very pleased to hear it and that that was all right.

The marriage ceremony was very brief. (The company would *chant* only one song, and *dance* a little. It would be, given beer and food, and the head of the kraal would then disperse them. The bridegroom would ask his *umumzana* for a young beast to slaughter for his intended bride. This would be given. It would be killed; the two hind legs would be cut off and carried by the women to the girl's (bride's) mother, and these legs (not called *ingqutu*) would take the place of the Natal *ingqutu*.⁹² We knew nothing of *ingqutu* in the Zulu country. There, then, would be an end of the whole matter.

7 People from all parts of the country attended the *umkosi*. There were representatives of every regiment of men and of every class of girl; hence when the order to marry was proclaimed it was quickly made known in all parts of the country.

The Icenyané and Ntshuku are the only girl regiments that I know.

I do not know where Dingana's drinking water was got from.

The *isigodhlo* was built with *umqandane* wattles, i.e. the sides of the *isigodhlo*. Branches of the *umklele* - very pliable, does not break - were used for the gateways of the *isigodhlo*. The gate posts were cut off with assegai knives and made smooth. There were door screens of reeds. The posts for the *isigodhlo* fence were got at Nkandhla. The fence was about five feet high. Dingana used to stand and look over this fence into the cattle kraal.

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Dingana had very small teeth; *they were hardly visible*. He did not laugh, merely gave a grunt. He had very large fat thighs and a large neck. He was *solidly built*, not *flabby* like Mkungu,⁹³ i.e. firm and tough, with the slightest show of whiskers, and a small beard. He was *dark brown in colour*.

- 8 A shield was held over him from the time he left the *isigodhlo* till he got outside, and all the time he was *in the cattle kraal*, then again till he walked back to the *isigodhlo*. The shield was *carried* by a son of Dambuza (Nzobo).⁹⁴

Dingana was *shaved* by Manokotsha ka Pangisa of the Njoko, old adherents of the Tembu tribe, though not perhaps an offshoot of the tribe. He *shaved* with a *whetted razor*. We had *amaLala in the Zulu country* who could *forge*; they made many razors. It was the *amaLala* who *forged*.

It was Manokotsha who *shaved* Tshaka. He died in Natal at the Mtshezi, at the Mtunzini, near Nobamba (Weenen).

- No-one else, as far as I know, used to *shave* Dingana but Manokotsha. He died many years ago and I do not know if he ever shaved Mpande. [Lunguza shows - Sitashi acting the part of Dingana - how the shaving took place.] Manokotsha carried a small *basket* for the hair; this *basket* was put under to receive hair as it fell, i.e. he *collected* it. He would shave only when Dingana was not engaged talking, and adapt himself to the moods and movements of the king. The shaving took place in the *isigodhlo*. The hair would be taken in-
9 to the *isigodhlo* by Manokotsha. I don't know what he did with it.

There was no objection to the shaver passing in front of the king, but he must be rapid and adroit in his actions, and keep in a stooping posture. He also shaved within the headring, and the hair there would be scraped out with the hand into the *basket*. In shaving he would shave three or four times quickly, then leave off, then on and on in the same disjointed manner, never of course cutting the royal head. Water seems to have been rubbed on by the shaver before shaving so as to soften the hair.

I remember messengers being sent by Dingana to Jobe to ask him for *fat* for the *isigodhlo* girls. Jobe sent him 30 huge sheep (*wethers*) with large, heavy tails - animals that could only travel eight or ten miles a day, the journey to the capital taking the best part of a month.

Evening, 14.3.1909. I do not know where Matiwana ka Masumpa died.⁹⁵

I remember the Boers coming to Mgungundhlovu after their cattle; they said these cattle were *their fruits*.⁹⁶ They said the Zulus had taken what were their cattle. 'Did not the Zulus who seized them see dry corpses lying not eaten by vultures?' - for there were no vultures at the place of Mzilikazi, at eBulinga - thus indicating that the Boers had defeated Mzilikazi, and therefore the cattle which were in Mzilikazi's possession became theirs. The Zulus replied, 'You say these are your cattle? No cattle ever left Zululand after once getting here,' thus refusing to give them up.

- 10 What really happened was this. When the Zulus went after Mzilikazi, the latter's *imbongi* and the Zulu one came into touch with one another. Mzilikazi's asked if the Zulus did not know that there were no crows or vultures in that part of the country; that the Inside,

Izimpangele and Inzanayo (Mzilikazi's) regiments were coming. The Zulu *imbongi* replied, '*Sikihli! Sikihli! Sikihli! Nya!*', meaning that no matter who came they would be completely wiped out. Mzilikazi's *imbongi* said, '*Here comes the expelled one*'⁹⁷ of the people of Zimpangele; here comes Mzilikazi ka Matshobana, the wounded one whom they stabbed with wounds, who refused to go and cook meat at Bulawayo, whom they tripped up with their short feet and little big toes.'

The Zulu *imbongi* said, '*Is he coming, then? Now the Bringer-forth has come, he who "eats up" the cattle that show themselves before going out to graze.*' The *izimbongi* approached close to one another. The Zulu *imbongi* Sikihli then stabbed Mzilikazi's *imbongi*. '*The imbongi who "ate up" the imbongi of Mzilikazi*' - Sikihli's praises. [This undoubtedly refers to Magolwana's dramatic fight with Mzilikazi's *imbongi* - 10.1.1922.]⁹⁸

- 11 The Izimpangele then appeared and the Zulu regiments also came in sight. They fought. The Izimpangele had no assegais; they were *strong young warriors* who caught the enemy and threw them behind them to those who had assegais. The Mzilikazi troops caught Nombona ka Marama. They (the Izimpangele) threw him behind to the Insinde regiment, who carried assegais, knocking one of that regiment down, i.e. by Nombona's falling against him. Nombona thereupon snatched the assegais that belonged to that man and stabbed in front those who had caught him, shouting, '*I have eaten, I, the finch of the ridge, the water-fowl of Marama, I, whose forearms do not break!*', as one of Mzilikazi's men fell dead, slain with one of their own assegais. After this the Zulu *impi* defeated that of Mzilikazi. They killed off practically all the Izimpangele, who carried no assegais, only shields. That section of Mzilikazi's *impi* that had assegais did nothing.

- 12 Mzilikazi's *impi* was put to flight and the Zulus seized their cattle, the 'Belu',⁹⁹ with very large horns; they had *amatshinara*, i.e. white markings and *umicibi* (stripes). The Zulus returned with these cattle to Zululand. These cattle died off very much but did not all die out. If a man *milked* he would have to do so standing up as they were so large. Mzilikazi had captured these from Basutu. When the Boers came they contended that these cattle were theirs, and this is the cause of the quarrel between Boers and Zulus. These are the 'Marole',¹⁰⁰ cattle, the uBelu. I am sure the tradition is that Mzilikazi seized these from the Basutu.

The Mzilikazi people informed the Boers on their going to them that they no longer had any cattle, and that all had been taken by the Zulus. The Boers complained to Dingana that the Zulus had eaten *their fruits, that the cattle were theirs*. The Zulus replied that they regarded the cattle captured by them as belonging to Mzilikazi when taken. The Zulus sang, '*We "ate up" the Belu cattle; we brought trouble upon ourselves*', when a dance was on, e.g. *when girls were dancing*. All girls danced with this song when they got married.

- 13 I was present at Mgungundhlovu when these Boers were killed, but was not engaged in killing them, for the great bulk of the regiments merely looked on. I was among the mass. The Boers slashed with their knives, cutting open the stomachs of those they attacked. The Boers were not stabbed, only caught with the hands, and had their necks twisted. There was *dancing* on, so they had no assegais. *An inkondhlo*¹⁰¹ was being danced. It was said they were being entertained

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with a display of dancing. (Lunguza, sings part of the *inkondhlo*: 'They were wallowing in plenty; they said we would not burn Mhlahla-ndhlela',¹⁰² etc. etc.

These are the only Europeans I saw come to Dingana. I was present in the great cattle kraal and saw the massacre. We had no idea at that time that there was any other king that could rule the earth apart from the Zulus'.

I never heard of any attempt being made on Dingana's life.

Dingana *tefula'd* in his speech to some extent. He, for instance, said 'yoku' for 'loku'.

I never noticed if Dingana wore brass armlets, neckrings, or arm-rings. He may have done so.

- 14 I do not know Zulu ka Nogandaya or Ngqengelele. I knew Nombango ka Ngedhli, 'the white-marked shield that asks no questions'; he was a warrior of Tshaka's. I heard of Mdhlaka ka Ncindi. I do not know what became of him. I never heard of Hlambamanzi [Jacob]. I did not know Mvundhlana, Menziwa or Xoko.¹⁰³

The uKokoti did not carry assegais at the Ncome battle, only knobbed sticks.

My clan-name is Madondo, not Madonda.

There was no outer fence at Mgungundhlovu, only small fences about the outer huts to keep cattle off. Those who cared put up the fences. And if one stayed long at home one would come back and find that they had *ota'd* the fence, i.e. made firewood of it. Again, if one gathered firewood, one would take care to put the wood inside at the back of the hut. If one left it at the door someone was sure to steal it.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 14-24.

- 15 I entered the *isigodhlo* about six times in all. My father was appointed *induna* in Jobe's tribe by Tshaka, and so was often called into the *isigodhlo*. It was only when my father was there that I was called. 'Let the son of Didiza ka Jobe come up! Does he hear, the son of Didiza ka Jobe?' I would shout, 'Mgane! Your command is heard, my father.'¹⁰⁴ I would then start running quickly up, the distance being considerable from the part of the kraal I lived in. On getting into the *isigodhlo* I would find my father lying down on his stomach *à la chien*, eating meat on *eating mats* before him, biting it off without in any way using his hands. This meat would often be about to go bad and even have maggots, for that was the kind preferred there. Meat was kept a day or so before being cooked. There would also be baskets of beer alongside him, from which he would be helped to drink - baskets about 14 inches high and 14 in diameter, i.e. baskets made of lala palm leaves. I would lie down a yard or two behind my father. He was fed by the *izinceku*; the *undhlunkulu* would feed me. I was given some of the *uwili* dish as it was called, i.e. of clotted blood cooked and ground up and then mixed with fat; it

16 becomes the rich, drinkable dish known as *ububende*. This was the *umdhunkulu*'s great dish, what they partook of daily. I received it of course in a large earthenware saucer, beautifully smooth and polished (*rubbed with a smooth stone*). The *wili* was given me warm. I drank it as if afraid of it or afraid to show that I was drinking. '*Drink with care, child, then you can have this whey to drink*' (*whey which had been drained off into calabashes*). I would then be given whey to drink, in a dish like a small beer vessel, i.e. the small basin which the *ummunzana* drinks from.

I was only in about half an hour, i.e. until I had quite finished, when the *umdhunkulu* would say, '*Go now.*' The *izinceku* seated about the door would take the vessels from which I was feeding in order to wash them.

The *izinceku* I knew were Katangana and Ndhleleni. These sat on either side of the *isigodhlo* main outside door. I was taken towards the right first, then bore left to a hut with a screen in front, and on getting in there would find the *umdhunkulu*, say 30 of them, and also Dingana towards the back of the hut, sitting on a raised platform, with his legs below him, i.e. as when one sits on a chair. 17 Dingana gave directions as to my father's being fed. He would say when beer was to be given and when they were to stop to enable him to resume eating meat. The hut I went into was always the same, a large one beautifully made and high (for it was upheld by roof poles from the *Nkandhla* forest). The wattles were close together. I have also seen Dingana sitting on a heap of sleeping mats carefully arranged, with his feet resting on the floor below.

An ordinary conversation went on, and laughing with *self-satisfaction*. Dingana did not laugh out; he merely said, '*Phoo!*' when amused. It may be that he was afraid of exposing his teeth, which were very short.

On going out one would walk so that one side was turned towards the king until getting to the door, when one would go out in the ordinary way. My father and I left together. He would wait till I had finished. On going out he would crawl on all fours whilst I rose up, for of course I was looked on as a child. My father was feared; people did not come up to him face to face but turned aside, because of his having just come out of the *isigodhlo*. 'Would you meet him 18 face to face?', would be asked. I never dared to laugh in the *isigodhlo*. Had I laughed it would have been asked why I did so and what I had seen, for the *umdhunkulu* was not wearing loin covers.

I do not know if Ngoza had an *isigodhlo* or not. I do not know of any fighting done by Ngoza before clashing with Tshaka.

I never went to Kangela, Hlomendhlini, Nobamba. I only knew Mgungundhlovu. I never went to Nodwengu in Mpande's reign, nor to Undi,¹⁰⁵ for we left for Natal on Dingana's death, and Mpande came and seized our cattle. Jobe was accused of *making off with cattle of the king Dingana*. There were some cattle of Dingana's with Jobe, viz. the *amabedezi* and the *imitshezi* ones, the former red with white backs (had they been black they would have been called '*nkone*'), the latter red all over.

I do not know where Mzilikazi lived in Zululand.

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The uKokoti first went to war in the Ncome campaign, though did not take part in the action. I was present. That was the only expedition I went on. At the Umtshezi, in the 'emagebeni' engagement at 19 Estcourt, the older regiments fought there. The fight there was against Boers.¹⁰⁶

The Kokoti (Ndabakawombe) went on campaign during Mpande's reign. They were followed in age by the Isihlalo regiment.¹⁰⁷

The best cattle country in Zululand was reckoned to be our territory at the Malakata and Qudeni.

When Jobe crossed over into Natal by order of Dingana he was told to pick out all Dingana's cattle and leave them behind to be taken charge of by the Fasimba. I do not know the word 'Fansimba', only 'Fasimba'. When my father took down the 30 sheep (wethers) he was asked by Dingana how the cattle were doing in that part of the country to which Jobe had moved. My father replied that they were doing all right and increasing, only there were leopards and hyenas there. Dingana then had the amabedezi cattle picked out and sent over to Jobe to look after, and the following year the imitshezi cattle were sent. This accounts for his having Dingana's cattle after leaving Zululand, and these are what Mpande had fetched.

20 Afternoon. I never heard of any unnatural occurrences, animals speaking, getting on huts, or people coming back to consciousness.

Mdemude ka Masimbana of the Sitole was the man who stabbed Mr John Shepstone in the attack on Matshana ka Mondise.

I know that cocks used to be killed because they used to shout, 'Come over here! This is where we are!' That is, when (an impi, wishing to surround any kraal, had passed on in the dark), the cock would crow to give information as to the kraal's whereabouts. I never heard of cocks being killed by Dingana or anyone because suspected of drawing lightning onto a kraal [vide Shooter's book].¹⁰⁸

21 *Isibiba* [see p. 53 preceding book]. This was a reserve force. If the troops were being repulsed the *isibiba* would be sent forward to support and put a stop to the repulse. *Isibiba* is also a snake antidote. The *isibiba* was a reserve of youngsters. Their duties are to receive the cattle that are seized by the regiments. They were not mat-bearers. They were present to watch when misfortune occurred. They are kept back from joining in the attack. The *isibiba* might be sent forward to pursue fleeing foe, or be *tintibezwa'd*, i.e. restrained and given cattle to look after.

There was always a regiment left behind to guard the king. The whole of the troops never went forward.

Blue monkeys were killed in the Nkandhla and at Qudeni, and others got from Tongaland. *Louries* are got in all parts - one got them at Pasiwe and at Qudeni. They frequent forests and especially the high trees therein.

Prohibitions. Itambo beads, also umgazi beads were worn by the

umdhlonkulu. Yellow-coloured *imfibinga* beads¹⁰⁹ - the king himself wore *imfibinga* on his ankles, also above either wrist or elbow.

Blood-red blankets were worn by the *umdhlonkulu*. Ordinary people slept under cattle skins that had been worked and softened.

Ordinary people could not put on decorations of leopard claws or lion whiskers. Dingana used to sit on leopard and lion skins. Any
22 leopard or lion killed was carried by a body of men and taken to the king. The king would then jump over the animal. But if any man had lost his life in connection with the animal it would not be carried to the king but skinned on the spot. The king would give the great *izinduna* the skin to clean and make loin covers of it. It was not brought to the king.

In our district, if anyone was killed in a lion or leopard hunt, Jobe would be given permission to make loin covers out of the skin.

I remember seeing Dingana jumping over a leopard or lion. This was done, not in the *isigodhlo*, but in the cattle kraal. Dancing would accompany this. The king jumped only once. A beast would be killed and eaten along with the flesh of the leopard or lion. The cow meat must not be eaten alone. The leopard etc. would be skinned at Ndhlela's quarters. I do not know what became of the bladders. They were not worn, but kept by the *izinyanga*.

Dingana's doctors - there were many of them. There was Ngungwana of the Sikakana; he was the big doctor. He it was who sprinkled the
23 men of the army with medicines. He was very tall and black, and elderly - of the Fasimba regiment. Ngungwana used to strengthen us, i.e. the *impi*. I do not know other doctors. Ngungwana died in the Tembu country.

Dingana's *izimbongi*. Sikihli was the great *imbongi*. Magolwana was also a great one, and there were many other *izimbongi*.

'Let the men of the regiments muster! Is the order heard?'¹¹⁰
They replied, 'It is heard!' Then they would come hurrying out of the huts and start singing, both sides of the kraal. This is the way the whole kraal was called into the (cattle) kraal. The king at the time would be looking over the fence of the *isigodhlo* at the troops. In going into the cattle kraal thus, the men would not bring their
arms.

Some days the men would be called to sing in praise of the cows as they were returning from grazing for the morning milking. They would break into dancing. Then the order would be given for the men to disperse, i.e. when the cattle had got in. The cattle would not be milked unless the men had sung their praises and danced beforehand. This was a daily occurrence.

Sometimes the warriors were called up and had cattle doled out to
24 them on the ground that they were hungry. Dingana was fairly liberal with cattle. He gave five, three, two or one, sometimes ten or more as presents. He killed many cattle, and freely, for the men if hungry.

Whenever a beast bellowed and kept it up, small groups of men would rush out into the kraal, listen to the beast, and dance about. They would become very excited and shout, 'Bellow, beast of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place. For where would you go to?'¹¹¹ These groups would come into the kraal from all parts of the

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umuzi, for, in hearing this beast low they would be reminded of the occasion on which they captured it, when they perchance lost relatives of theirs, and brought the beast from far-off regions. Such lowing would *evoke deep emotions in the men*. It would cause them pleasurable pain. The greatest excitement prevailed on such occasions, and the king, hearing it, would come to the fence of the *isigodhlo*, lean with his elbows on it, and look admiringly into the great *cattle kraal*.

16.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 25-32.

Also present: Sitashi

- 25 Life at Mgungundhlovu. My father was *induna* of Jobe. His great duty with Jobe was to convey fat to Dingana at Mgungundhlovu, for being used by the *umdhunkulu* women to oil their bodies. The sheep would be *wethers* with large tails. On arrival with the sheep, which would be driven by about five people, Mpukane would leave them in the open space just outside the kraal and go in and report his arrival with what was required by the king to Ndhlela. Ndhlela would then report to Dingana. He would say, '*Didiza ka Jobe has come with the fat which Jobe sends for the maidens.*' The king would direct that the sheep would be brought into the enclosure in order that he might see them. The sheep would be brought in and looked at the same day. Ndhlela would be told to take and look after them. Next day when my father was called up to the *isigodhlo* it would be said, 'It is said, "*Return home and give thanks to my father, the son of Mapita*"' (Jobe). My father would then go back and report to Jobe and we would go back to our home.
- 26 On another day a man of importance would come to Jobe and say he had come from Dingana. 'It is said that I should come and ask for shields.' Jobe would then pick out white oxen for my father to take. These would then be driven off. There might be 40 of these oxen. On arrival, the oxen would be herded outside whilst he went to report his coming to Ndhlela, who would notify it to Dingana. Dingana would then order the oxen to be brought into the cattle kraal. The king would then come out and look at them thoroughly, and then go back to the *isigodhlo*. On that day my father would be called to the *isigodhlo*. He would then go in and be given food as has already been detailed. It was to Tshaka as well as to Dingana that my father acted as or mimicked a dog. My father was first made *induna* in Jobe's tribe by Tshaka, and in Dingana's day my father continued to occupy the same position. My father on such missions as these would only stay one day at Mgungundhlovu and then be told to go back and give praises to Jobe.
- 27 On these occasions I had to carry my father's skin blanket (i.e. his sleeping cover), mat and headrest. There was also a calabash. My father would carry a couple of assegais and a shield (white, or with markings). My father wore his black sheepskin loin cover, with the front part made of genet skin. He might stick in his ring a little bunch of feathers, possibly of dove feathers. He was otherwise naked. He might put a gall bladder round his right hand if he had been given a beast to kill. He was a hairy man - chest covered

with hair - and very tall.

The way we took *crossed the Nsuze*. We went from our place at Malakata, *crossed the Nsuze*, and so straight on to Mgungundhlovu. The sheep took us four or five days to drive to the capital, for they were *fat-tailed*. We used to *put up at people's kraals*. I do not know the tribes we passed through on the way to Mgungundhlovu.

At Mgungundhlovu we got our water both from the Mkumbane and Nzololo, the former being on that side of the kraal on which I lived with my father. We returned the same way we had gone.

Sometimes Dingana would send to Jobe for Ncwadi ka Mnhlonhlo of the Ximba *to come and scrape down skins for blankets*. Jobe was to *call up people to cut aloes for softening skins*. That would be the order. My father would then escort Ncwadi to Dingana. I of course
 28 would go too. I never ceased carrying my burden. My father would convey Ncwadi to Mgungundhlovu and, after conducting him thither, would return and fetch those who had been *cutting aloes* and again take them to headquarters. The *aloes* were carried by about 60 men (no women), even headringed men. Headringed men were told that they would be able to *put right their headrings after delivering the aloes of the king*. My father would be returned quickly again to Jobe and say that *war shields were needed for the Dhlambedhlu*. Black oxen, with *markings* on the sides (*amawaba*)¹¹² would then be *picked out*, say 60 of them. The cattle requested of Jobe would be taken from his (Jobe's) own stock, not Dingana's which had been *sis'a'd*¹¹³ to him. Nothing would be taken from those *sis'a'd* to Jobe by Dingana, for Dingana's cattle in Jobe's country were *herded* by the Imikulutshane. The members of this regiment were all over the place in very many kraals, and the cattle were distributed over every kraal. The cattle were milked and the regiment *ate the curds of their milk*. The regiment also milked the cattle. The *amabedezi* cattle (previously referred to) were not *milked*, for they were only oxen, nor were the
 29 *imitshezi* oxen *milked*. These oxen (*amabedezi and imitshezi*) were a great burden to all the kraals.¹¹⁴

Evening. I once was present at Mgungundhlovu when the *umkosi* was held. This occurred after the Boers had come to Natal and Zululand. My father was then living in Natal, at eLenge. The whole country got notice of the *umkosi*; all were told to foregather. '*Let the people of the whole land gather to celebrate the umkosi*' was the proclamation.¹¹⁵ This was proclaimed in the month of Masingana¹¹⁶ when the *pumpkin plants* are bearing. There were about 80 from Jobe's tribe who went to attend this feast. They were escorted thither by my father. No women went. Some girls went, carrying mats for their fathers. The 80 each took one of their children, except such as had no children.

The *ukunyatela* month is *Zibandhlala*, before the flowering of mealies.¹¹⁷ *Masingana* comes just after this. We arrived after the *ukunyatela*. This *nyatela* ceremony was attended only by, say, three regiments. This was the *little umkosi*. It was simply a small
 30 national ceremony. At this ceremony the tips of *pumpkin or gourd* plants were put into a dish by doctors, whereupon the king would *ncinda*¹¹⁸ therefrom. He would eat these *shoots*. No-one would be allowed to eat the *shoots* although the king had done so: he must wait until after the *umkosi*.

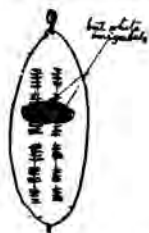
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The meaning of the *nyatela* is this (Sitashi points out and Lunguza agrees): It is to take the precaution of the king partaking of *pumpkins and gourds* in good time and thereby not, by delaying, affording thieves an opportunity for going into their gardens and beginning to consume these vegetables prior to the king doing so. The consequence of their eating before the king would be that they would cause him to get ill. They are therefore said to *bewitch* the king by consuming prior to his doing so. (In some parts of the country *pumpkins* etc. grow more rapidly and mature more quickly than in other parts.) These are called thieves not because they steal what is their own property - for it is their own gardens that they go into - but because they eat the vegetables before their consumption has been authorized according to national custom.

31 All the 80 went *decorated with ox tails*, each carrying his *war shield*. On arrival we found the *Zulu people gathered in large numbers*. The huts of the capital were occupied only by the owners thereof; all the rest of the multitude slept out in the open. They had no *temporary shelters*, for of course the ceremony was of very short duration. I put up in my father's hut with my father. Mondise (Matshana's father) also put up in my father's hut, for Jobe had no hut at Mgungundhlovu. We arrived at sunset. Matshana himself was still too young. Siwula, Nomaqongqoto, Sondhlovu, Sapula, Tendeni - sons of Jobe - all came with us. There was only one hut; all these slept in that hut. Jobe never went to attend an *umkosi*. He contented himself by sending my father.

The *umkosi* lasted two days. Nothing was done on the day of our arrival. The next day the great *throng* from outside came into the *cattle kraal* and there *danced*. As they danced, Dingana was in his hut in the *isigodhlo*.

32 At dinner-time Ndhlela announced, 'The king is about to appear. The Beje girls are coming forth.' He said this in the *cattle kraal*, calling out to the whole assembly, 'Prepare yourselves! Take up your positions, all of you!' The Beje then emerged - by 'iBeje' I mean the *umdhunkulu*. Dingana then came, wearing his dancing girdles of buck and monkey skin. He wore them on the wrists, on the arms (above elbow), also on the limbs, so that his body was covered. He carried his *war shield* that was white with a single black patch the size of a hand or rather larger. [See illustration.] I am sure there was only one black patch on Dingana's shield.



The Beje wore pure white beads (beads of bone). In front they wore coverings of white beads.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 32-9.

Also present: Sitashi?

He, Dingana, at the *umkosi*, had a bunch of red lousy feathers stuck within his *headring*. His (Dingana's) *headring* was quite thin, about as thick as one's middle finger. There were also *girdles* of monkey skin which, as the king walked, waved and swayed (i.e. the ends turn up). He was literally covered with these strips of monkey skin, for they hung about him on all sides from his neck and shoulders. Some of these strips were plaited and bound about the neck. His *loin cover* could not be seen. His very feet could not be seen, for he also wore *fringes* of monkey skin on his legs.

- 33 At the *nyatela* ceremony, however, the king did not wear all these things. At the *nyatela*, *umhlahle* grass was gathered and prepared for plaiting. It was plaited into strips which were put on round the neck, so that they fell about him on all sides. The arms were then hidden from view; also the body. The king would then be brought forth into the open. He did not wear any feathers and had nothing in his hands. The head had nothing on and was visible; the feet were visible. The grass tassels extended to slightly below the knees, leaving the legs visible. The king was brought forth by his army, i.e. the men he *nyatela'd* with. The king got different regiments to *nyatela* with him: one one year, a different one the succeeding year. A whole regiment would *nyatela* with him. This regiment put on ox tails and carried war shields, also assegais.

The king carried no shield at the *nyatela* ceremony, only at the *umkosi*, when he also carried a stick until the gourd was handed him by his doctors, Ngungwana and co.

- 34 I saw the *ukunyatela* only once, prior to seeing the *umkosi*. I could not see the *umkosi* of the same year as that in which I saw the *ukunyatela* ceremony because I became ill. When I saw the *nyatela* I saw the king *ncinda* in the *isigodhlo*. I was inside the *isigodhlo* on that occasion. The doctor, Ngungwana, entered. The *ncindaing* was done with both hands and was continued after the king left the *isigodhlo* and went into the *cattle kraal*. The *potsherd* with the medicine would be carried by Ngungwana, the doctor, by means of pincers or holders. The king would walk straight ahead into the kraal as if towards the gate at the bottom end and proceed say 50 or 60 yards, then turn back, *ncindaing* constantly with both hands, and *spitting out*. Ngungwana would walk a pace ahead on the right of the king, turning towards him with the *sherd* as he walked. The *sherd* was like a little pot of clay, as big as a soup plate. This Ngungwana held with the pincers in his left hand, the other hand not being used. Ngungwana carried nothing in his right hand.

- 35 When the king enters the *cattle kraal* accompanied by the doctor, there is no-one else in the *enclosure*; the king and his doctor are alone. People are all at their huts, either at the doors thereof, or sitting about outside looking on, but none are inside the kraal. It is only when the doctor separates from and leaves the king, having finished treating him, that the regiment told off to attend the king enters the *enclosure*. The regiment enters by the two gates at the bottom end of the *kraal* and advances towards the king, who is standing in the *enclosure* at its top end. They then gradually form a

ring round the king, so much so that those on the outer parts of the encircling men cannot see the king, being prevented from so doing by others being in front. The regiment then *escorts* the king and takes him outside the *enclosure*, leaving it by the right-hand lower gate, and going somewhat beyond the *cleared space outside*. Here they halt, and an opening is formed in front of the king, facing the east. The sun is on the point of rising above the horizon, for the object is to get to that spot prior to the sun rising. Immediately before the sun rises, the king *rabulas water*, i.e. takes a mouthful, flings the *uselwa gourd* with his right arm, holding his arm at full length towards the sun the instant it appears above the horizon, and then squirts the water from his mouth - *phoo!* - at the sun, accompanied as he does so by the shouts of the warriors, who exclaim, 'Wa jiki-jela!' ¹¹⁹ The doctor would give him another sip of water and he would *spit out* in the same way as before; again the shout, 'He throws!' Having done this twice, the king turns and, still closely surrounded by the regiment, passes through the gate, up the *enclosure* to the *isigodhlo*, where he enters, leaving the troops outside. Only the doctor goes in with the king. The doctor, as the king turns, goes to and picks up the *gourd* and takes it with him. I remember seeing Ngungwana ka Sikakana do this. He was *elderly*, tall, dark.

When this ceremony takes place the cattle are all out grazing. *Dancing* does not take place till the cattle *return at about midday* to be milked, when, as before remarked, *dancing* always took place, even on ordinary days. They would then *dance* in the *cattle kraal*. This *dancing* began and continued prior to milking beginning, and the signal for its discontinuance would be the appearance of the milkers from the *isigodhlo*. These milkers are *izinceku*, and each *inceku* carries a *bucket* at arm's length above his head. The first *inceku* shouts as he emerges from the kraal, 'Zi jubekile!', i.e. they have been *jutshwa'd*, the king has ordered that they must be milked. The men would then leave off dancing and go out of the *enclosure* to their respective huts and have their meal.

Such is the *ukunyatela* ceremony as far as I know it. I never saw either Mpande or Cetshwayo *nyatela*, nor did I ever see their *umkosi*, the chief reason being that we had had our cattle seized by Mpande as previously stated; we were then simply *amankengane* ¹²⁰ or outsiders.

The cattle, when ready for being milked at Mgungundhlovu, would stand about in groups or herds in various parts of the great *enclosure*.

The *izinceku* milked only the cattle that were set apart for the use of the *umdhunkulu*, which was very numerous - *all the huts were occupied*. There would be many other milkers from all other parts of the kraal.

Some of the bigger and more important men had their wives and daughters with them at Mgungundhlovu, but those of ordinary men were away at their homes. There were numbers of the bigger men who had cattle at the capital which they milked and had the *curds* of. The cattle, however, were all the king's. Ndhlela had directions to *apportion* such cattle whose milk was not required for *umdhunkulu* purposes to the *men of the regiments*, and this Ndhlela did.

The cattle were herded by *herdsmen* who might even be grey-headed, and these herds always ate the *first stomach* of *slaughtered beasts*. When cattle had been killed they would be *skinned* and cut up by

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izinceku, when the *first stomachs* would all be put in a heap. They would then direct, 'Let the gatekeepers (*i.e.* herdsman) come up.' They would be told, 'Take these stomachs,' which they would proceed to do.

Ndhlela used to give my father meat, not however any particular part.

59 Cattle (king's) were herded only by men, not however by *old men*, and these men would take with them into the field their *shields* and assegais. There were no mere boys among them.

There was *klesaing* at Mgungundhlovu, but only when a *regiment* had been specially *directed* to that end. The Kokoti was ordered to *klesa*; this was done *in the spring* when the cows were calving and people were starting to plant. We *klesa'd* for only one month, and when the second moon appeared we were told to *disperse* and go to the *outlying areas*. This was done because we *contended* with one another, for when cattle were killed many would not get *portions* of meat for three days at a time. Hence many being told to go. Others were left and continued to *klesa*, and went on for months. *Klesaing* lasted only for about a year, for other youths were coming on.

18.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 39-50.

Also present: Sitashi?

Ndhlela was *dark-complexioned*, about six feet high, rather stout, not *bewhiskered* - slight beard, smaller than mine. He carried an *ilunga* shield, *i.e.* white with *two markings* [as per illustration].



He wore a *loin cover* of monkey skins, and had a *headring*. His head did not slope backwards thus:



He *tefula'd* slightly in the ordinary Zulu way.

He was a *kindly man*. He could speak well, was a good orator, *clear-headed*, *i.e.* no fool. And when he had occasion to admonish anyone he did so in a temperate way. He sometimes *upbraided* people, but generally speaking had no *temper*. His *praises* were: 'Fighting stick that points out to us the *Ngwane*; he who crosses to the other side; hornbill that is slow to move.'¹²¹ He sometimes said to me, 'Here boy, are my goats still doing well with your father *Dhlohdla*?', meaning my 'grandfather', to whom he had *sis*a'd them. I would answer, 'Yes.' *Dhlohdla* was my father's uncle.

Ndhlela was the supreme *induna*, older than Dingana. Next to him were Nzobo (Dambuza) and Mapita ka Sojiyisa. Nzobo was slightly shorter than Ndhlela - same size as Ndhlela - but portly. He had a *headring*. He was *dark in colour*. These *izinduna* inspired awe; they

were chiefs. And if one spoke to an *induna*, others would wonder whatever there was which you could require to talk to the *induna* about. He had a temper, and would rebuke people angrily. He lived in the *isicamelo*,¹²² on the left side of the kraal.

- 41 The doors of the huts at Mgungundhlovu did not all face one way; some faced the *cattle enclosure*, others looked towards the gates at the lower end, and so on. The huts were generally smaller than those of Natal natives.

I know none of Nzobo's *praises*.

Ndhlela seemed to me the great or principal *induna*. All affairs seemed to centre in him. Mapita came and consulted him. I cannot discriminate as to what class of affairs the one *induna* attended to, and what the other, for they dealt with them in their own quarters.

Ndhlela and Nzobo used to try cases, and when they found anyone had *done wrong* they would have him killed without reference to the king, though the king would be told afterwards what they had done.

- Our chief Jobe put many people to death. He did this frequently, even more than Ndhlela. Jobe killed them for *takataing*, as he said. He made reports of those he killed to Dingana. Where any death had occurred under suspicious circumstances, doctors would be called together to *bula and smell out*, then Jobe would kill off those smelt out. If anyone was ill and there was any doubt about his illness, Jobe used to warn people that if he died others would have to die along with him. If he then got well, well and good, but if he did die, numbers might be killed off. Jobe exercised this power by virtue
42 of his being regarded as Dingana's 'father', just as he had been Tshaka's 'father', and there was a tradition to the effect that he was always to be treated with the utmost consideration - 'be helped to (drink, milk)', meaning that (it was wanted that he should) grow to an advanced age.

Then again, if the king's cattle, or any of them, were afflicted with some slight illness, say *quarter-evil*, Jobe would warn those in charge that if anything happened to them their keepers would die too, for he objected to always reporting their (cattle) deaths to the king.

Jobe used to grow white *amabele* (not a single red grain), red mealies and white mealies for the *isigodhlo*'s consumption, and these cereals had to be carried to Mgungundhlovu. The white *amabele* would be pure white. The *amabele* were grown in the ordinary gardens. I do not know where he got the seed from. Others did not cultivate this kind of grain.

Mapita also killed off people. He killed off more people than Jobe. These, Jobe and Mapita, were spoken of as '*fathers*' of the king.

- Jobe used to kill a man and woman committing adultery. But
43 generally *bulaing* preceded the killing of anyone. When Jobe ordered *bulaing* he did not confine himself to the wizards of his own tribe, but fetched those *inside the Zulu country* if he saw fit.

Tshaka and the *izangoma*. Tshaka killed a beast. He said, 'How is it that even my warriors suffer injury?' (i.e. are killed off). He then took *clotted blood of the beast* and sprinkled with it *in the isigodhlo*. He did this as it was getting dark. All then went to sleep. The next day many sprinklings of blood were seen about the

isigodhlo, for the blood had been sprinkled. He then caused *izangoma* to be assembled from the whole country, and *bula'd*. They then smelt out people in various directions. A doctor (wizard), Mleku of the Dhladhla, then came forward, also Mbube of the Dhladhla, also Mehlo of the Dhladhla. These said, '*Nkosi, we cannot explain the matter. It does not look like the work of a man.*' They then looked upwards at the sky and said, '*It seems to be like drops of rain that have fallen from the heavens.*' Then he said, '*Are you smelling out me, I who am the heavens?*'¹²³ They said, '*It does not seem to us like the work of a man. It is the work of the heavens.*' Tshaka said, '*As you*
 44 *smell out me and say I did this, go, return to your homes. But when you get home, kill your goats and eat them, for you have smelt out me and say I have done this.*' As for all the other *izangoma*, they were killed off to a man, i.e. those who had smelt out falsely.

The three who had been sent home were then sent for. The king asked their family relationships. '*Of what people are you?*' '*We are of the Dhladhla, Nkosi.*' The king said to Mehlo, '*Son of Mfiswa, you have smelt me out, saying that this was the work of the heavens. Go now, return to wherever you may be called to do so, at Jobe's or elsewhere.*' They then *bula'd*. Mehlo died eventually at Dumbeni in Natal, in the Cunu country. Mleku also died there. Mbube died in Zululand.

The doctors were all killed at Bulawayo.

Jobe killed very few people in Tshaka's day, but he did occasionally kill and then report what he had done. But in Dingana's day he killed people freely; no year passed without his killing someone.

We are better off now that the whites have come. People are now permitted to die natural deaths, a far more preferable system of government.

The misbehaviour of nowadays is due to its being impossible to
 45 kill off people as formerly. For people are confident that nothing, or very little, can happen, for there is a great chief who will stand up for them even though they have done wrong.

.... <Praises of Jobe omitted - eds.>

46 Afternoon, Account about the mother of Matshana. The mother of Matshana ka Mondise had been a girl of the *umdhunkulu*. She was married off to Mondise ka Jobe. The other girls of the *umdhunkulu* were 'spoiled' by what they heard from her in the *isigodhlo*. They were responsible for Poyeni's being discovered by Mzinyati in the act of lying with them. The girls said to Poyeni (an *inceku* who milked for the *isigodhlo*), '*Hau! Let us have a bit of that!*' Poyeni said, '*Po, girls of the king, let you have a bit of what?*' One of the girls went and closed the door. Then another said to Poyeni, '*Come over here.*' Poyeni said, '*What should I come over there for?*' Another said, '*Come, come here to me. If you refuse, we shall say that you have been laying hold of us, and you will be killed. Come over here to us, lie with us, let us have what is said to be so nice.*' So he did as he was told. When he had finished with one girl, a second said, '*Come, let me have some too! The one you have just left also says it is nice.*'

47 That is how it was when there appeared at the door another inceku, Mzinyati. He looked and looked and looked. He then told another, 'I found Poyeni lying with the girls of the umdhlunkulu.' That was in the evening. Early the next morning this man Mzinyati went to report that he had found Poyeni lying with the girls of the umdhlunkulu. The girls were then taken before the king. They said, 'No, Nkosi, never did we lie with Poyeni. This man is accusing us falsely. It was he. Poyeni is a simpleton. It was this fellow Mzinyati who made advances to us; he could be clearly seen when he came into the hut.'

The king said, 'So you make false accusations against the umdhlunkulu girls? Here they are, saying that when you came into the hut you were clearly visible. And now you are making accusations against Poyeni. So it was you? It is you who shall be killed, for the umdhlunkulu denies what you say.' He was thereupon taken away to be
48 killed. 'You girls will not be killed for this fellow was accusing you falsely. But now, by whom were you told that what a man has is nice?' They replied, 'We heard from a former umdhlunkulu girl, Ziwelile, mother of Matshana, that it was nice.' Ziwelile was then killed at the place of Jobe. She had married Mondise. She died with Matshana as her only child; he was still very young, at the crawling stage.

Jobe said, 'So the king married off to my child one who is an evil-doer, one who has taught the girls of the umdhlunkulu to want men? Let Ziwelile be killed!' So she was killed. Jobe ordered her to be put to death, and this was done. The king had said, 'First hear what Jobe has to say.' She was killed. Four people of the Zulu went off (to do it).

The next day Jobe collected 30 oxen. The order was given, 'Mpu-
kane, take them and give praises to the king, saying, "The king has put to death an evil-doer".' My father drove off the oxen. He came
49 and reported to Ndhlela that Jobe had ordered him to come and give praises to the king. Ndhlela went in to the king. My father was summoned by an inceku, who called, 'Let Didiza ka Jobe come up.' My father went up. On hearing this report, Dingana said to my father he was to go back and express his gratitude to Jobe and to say that as Tshaka had said that Jobe would be allowed to live to a ripe old age, 'so will the same thing take place as far as I am concerned'. The next day, then, my father left.

My father, on this occasion, went with Gumula ka Gosa to Mgungundhlovu, this man driving the said oxen. I did not accompany my father then.

This happened a good deal before the arrival of Piet Retief at Mgungundhlovu.

Life in the Zulu country was bad; things have been made better for us by you [i.e. the white people].

Thus was Ziwelile killed. Forty head of cattle had been required as lobola for her, for she was married off from the umdhlunkulu. The
50 cattle were provided by Jobe, and Mondise gave them to the king. I remember Ziwelile's wedding to Mondise. The wedding took place at Ndini,¹²⁴ the place of Mamalumbazo, the mother of Mondise. Those who came to dance at her wedding had three oxen slaughtered for them. Forty cattle went for the lobola.

I know Matshana very well indeed. I frequently went with him to Jobe, to Nhlakanhlakeni, the place of Jobe's people.

19.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 50-8.

Also present: Sitashi?

The most frequent cause of people being killed was through the holding of a *smelling-out*. This took place by people standing all round the doctors, of whom there might be 10 or even 20 within the circle. The wizards would *run and prance about* within the circle. They are carrying *shields* and *assegais*. Those forming the circle carry shields (small) and possibly also *assegais*. These things they place on the ground, and when appealed to by the wizards, strike the ground with rough, knobbed sticks - straight sticks (*fighting-sticks*) are not used - shouting, '*Izwa! Izwa!*' Only those appealed to shout '*Izwa!*'; those from whom the wizard has just come or turned do not then beat and shout. The doctor says to those he immediately addresses, '*There is an umtakati here among you,*' and calls on them to *beat with their sticks*. The heartiness of the response of those addressed would depend on their opinions as to whether there was or was not an *umtakati* among them. If the nature of the response was feeble, the doctor would hesitate and not declare that there was an *umtakati* among them. He then turns to others who possibly become very excited and beat in the loudest manner. The wizard would then go on *smelling, smelling, smelling*, and then leave them. No-one would be killed.

A report would then be sent to the king. This report would be that the doctors smelt out *so-and-so and so-and-so*, for those in the circle are not a mixed gathering but *are grouped according to their imizi, and are not intermingled*. The doctors declare in the circle, '*So-and-so, you takata!*', giving the name of the person or persons smelt out. Those smelt out are in the circle. There is no chance given them of running away, nor would they attempt to run for there was nowhere to run to. They would not be put under arrest. The king would then give the order as to who of those smelt out are to be killed, and they would then be killed, say two or three days after the smelling out. They are not killed the first day. Those smelt out would return with their own people to their kraals. After the chief had given the order that anyone was to be killed he would be tied up (his hands being tied, not in front, but behind his back with *thongs*). He would be kept till those sent to kill him, i.e. sent by the chief, had arrived. The executioners would take him out of the kraal, 100 yards or so, and then kill him and leave him there. These people had their heads twisted to the back so that the neck breaks. In the case of others, stones might be got and he be *battered to death* with them. Others might have *thongs* tied round their necks and then be dragged off to the place of execution, and this string would be struck with a stick till it got tighter than it was round the neck, and so the victim would be throttled. A man tied round the neck in this way and dragged died quickest of all, even after being dragged no more than 30 yards.

The more important persons smelt out would be *surrounded during the night* (just before dawn). In other cases the *surrounding* took place *as it was getting dark*. One would see a kraal burning shortly after sunset whereupon, not knowing at the time what had happened, you would say, '*So-and-so's kraal is burning,*' and this would turn

out to be the kraal at which an *umumzana* had been killed. This man would be *stabbed*; his children too would be killed, including women and of course males, for the whole place would be killed off. The only person or persons not killed would be those about whom orders had been specially issued. This person would then be called out to the attacking force as they surrounded the kraal. Another order might be not to kill boys or girls; only *men* and the women.

The big *smelling-out* referred to was *requested* by the chief Jobe of Dingana. I only saw one big *smelling-out* at Jobe's, but there were others that took place.

54 The big *smelling-out* I saw was at Ndindindi, to the side of Qudeni mountain. It took place in the spring. I was a spectator, about 30 yards off the circle, along with many other spectators. I wanted to see how a *smelling-out* took place. When a *smelling-out* is held, all the kraals in that neighbourhood must attend; none is left out, i.e. all under the control of the chief whose district is visited - for instance the *smelling-out* I saw included people from the whole of Jobe's kraals. Jobe's own sister Gemase was smelt out and killed on this occasion. Jobe himself was present at the *smelling-out*. Gemase too was present. The bigger or more important women attended the *smelling-out*. Gemase of course was a *chief's daughter*. She was an old unmarried woman. She was what is known as *igugetekaya* (i.e. old maid). Her elder brother Dubela ka Mapita was also killed on the same occasion.

55 It was alleged that Gemase had caused the death of men of the Imikulutshane regiment, which had been stationed in Jobe's country, at all his kraals. She was accused of practising witchcraft because an induna of the Mkulutshana, Mngqangaza (an *insizwa*) had become ill. The order was that the Imikulutshane were to stay at all Jobe's *imizi*. This man's illness was reported to Dingana, whereupon the latter ordered a *smelling-out* to be held of the whole of Jobe's tribe. The wizards smelt out Gemase, Dubela and some 20 or 30 others, for two might be smelt out at one kraal, three at another, four at another, and so it mounted up. I do not recollect the names of the other victims. Dubela was killed along with his sister. Strange to say, Mngqangaza did not die of the illness. He was a very fine-looking *insizwa*, strongly built, and yellowish in colour but not light yellow. He was fairly tall. He used to live at Nhlakanhlakeni and I knew him well. He was killed in war; I do not know when and where, for the Imikulutshane left our tribe by order of Dingana, and the Fasimba was sent to take their place and to milk the king's cattle.

The Imikulutshane were not immediately moved, but when the harvesting came on. And it was then that Jobe was told to cross over into Natal, to Lenge, and that the Fasimba would take the places of the other regiment. Owing to the time that elapsed, one would not be justified in saying that these orders were given in consequence of the *smelling-out* referred to.

Evening. Jobe crossed over to Lenge in the winter. My father crossed over with him. Every man of Jobe's tribe crossed over; not one remained. I fancy the Imikulutshane went to their own *ikanda* after leaving our tribe. Their *ikanda* was this side of the Mhlatuze.

Among the wizards at this big *smelling-out* referred to were Mleku

of the Dhladhla, Mehlo of the Dhladhla, Mbube of the Dhladhla, these three being the ones who *had smelt out* Tshaka and were let off by him. 56 There was among them another doctor, Nongqebengwana of the Dhladhla. All these wizards were *men* - no women. The king's *smelling-out* was always held by male wizards. In the days of Dingana I knew of no female wizards (witches), although a few might have been found in various parts of the country, but I never saw them. My first acquaintance with them was after we came into Natal.

The wizards at the *smelling-out* referred to wore skins of buck and wildcat and leopard, with the tails of the wildcat, serval and leopard left uncut and trailing on the ground as the men walked. On the heads they carried bunches of feathers. Their faces were not painted. I heard they also sometimes wore skins of the *inhlatu* (*inhlwati*).¹²⁵ (I say '*inhlatu*' because I am an Ntungwa; the Zulus who are abeNguni say '*inhlwati*'.)¹²⁶

The *smelling-out* began when the sun was getting warm, and concluded in the afternoon. This time is taken up by the fact of there being many people, many different groups to attend to, and then the wizards *dance about* a great deal of the time.

57 I may say here that food in the old days was taken first thing in the morning even before daybreak. A man would begin by washing his hands, and his wife would get up very early and cook the meal for him whilst it was still dark. This became the practice owing to warriors having to be in a state of constant readiness to proceed to headquarters for military service when called, for these summonses came usually at night. Jobe might be told to call up all the *men of the regiments* that very night, and that they must march off and be all at Mgungundhlovu at dawn on the following day. The men would set off and travel all night. They would go off in groups, one group in front of the other, the object being that one group should get away before others. If there was delay of any kind there would arise a question as to whether the *messenger* had not clearly understood the order. It was an impossibility for, say, two out of four of the *men* in any given kraal to remain when the others were called out, for though undiscovered at the outset, those who had gone forward would, when they got back, ask how they had come to remain, what ailed them and so forth; and this coming to Jobe's ears, he would have the men killed on 58 the ground that they were teaching others to disobey orders.

20.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 58-61.

Also present: Sitashi?

There was no king's *ikanda* in Jobe's district or neighbourhood. Near Noyenda there was no *ikanda*. Noyenda was Ndhlela ka Sompisi's kraal and it was situated say 10 or 12 miles from Mpukunyoni hill where the battle (Leuchars) was.¹²⁷ Jobe had a kraal at Mpukunyoni called eNkupula, the place of Mondise's people, where he was born.

Ndhlela's chief kraal was Ezibungwini, on the north side of the Mhlatuze, high up the river.

I once fought with Tshiyabantu, son of Nowalaza. I struck him on

the head with a stick, whilst he struck me on the left side at the back. He got a slight fracture of the skull. Nowalaza said, 'Mpu-kane's boy won't repeat his performance of striking another boy; *this is where it ends.*' Hearing of this, my father went off and reported to Jobe. Jobe called Nogobonyeka (the *induna*). He came and was told what had been said by Nowalaza about me. Jobe had another *induna*, Gabela, called. Jobe asked, 'Who am I in future to take with me as a servant, as it is said, "*This is where it ends*", as that means that he is to be put to death?' Jobe then directed that Tole, the big *induna* of Nhlakanhlakeni (be summoned). Tole advised that Nowalaza, who had spoken about me, Lunguza, in this way, should be *removed*, seeing I was the chief's servant. He was then killed off straight away. After this a tall, dark man, Jabuzela, said, 'Although Nowalaza has been put to death, the son of Mpukane invariably strikes boys on the head with whom he may be fighting.' This was reported to Jobe. Jobe said, 'Then Jabuzela *is lamenting for Nowalaza.*' Tole then advised that Jabuzela was to be *removed*, 'for Lunguza will be killed, *as there is one who grieves for Nowalaza.*' Jabuzela was thereupon killed, but Jobe said Nomatshiq (Jabuzela's daughter) was to be brought to him. This duly took place. The girl was given over to the mother of Mondise, Mamalumbazo.

Afternoon. This girl Nomatshiq afterwards married Pakade ka Macingwane,¹²⁸ but was not chief wife. The chief wife was Masingina, the mother of Gabangaye.

Jobe was fond of me. When we crossed into Natal we crossed by that drift of the Mzinyati which is nearest Mpukunyoni. At this drift was a large stone. Jobe directed Xoloba, his *inceku*, to help me across above this stone, that being where they had already helped him across. There was a good deal of water. It was winter-time, *reaping time*.

Piet Retief had not, at the time we crossed, been killed. Siwula ka Jobe was directed to go and build at Mhlumayo, near the irrigation works, but on the north side of the Tugela at that part.¹²⁹ Tendeni and Nomaqongqoto were shortly after directed by Jobe to join Siwula.

There were no natives occupying the country we went to, only *cannibals* at the Ndaka river. Nogiwu was also directed to live at Mhlumayo, the reason for this being that if the cannibals, who were not far off, i.e. at the Ndaka, started eating people, then a large body of men could go quickly in pursuit of the aggressors. Jobe had his Dilizela-Intaba kraal (Mamatshaqane being the chief wife of it) *under the Mankamane ridge, right up under it*, so that the force would be a large one, i.e. be able at once to set up a defence. The Izituli-zikaMandala was another of Jobe's kraals, the chief wife of it being Cele, i.e. her maiden name. Her father was Mgedeza. She was my father's sister. Jobe married three in all of my father's sisters. This latter kraal was posted *beyond the Lenge to guard against the cannibals*. Then the Izintaba kraal was to be built at the Lenge close to Izituli-zikaMandala, and quite close to where Matshana was '*broken up*' by Mr J.W. Shepstone. Mr Shepstone *put up* at Nomakabela, another of Jobe's kraals. The object in posting these kraals was to prevent *cannibals* from *coming through* at any part, i.e. to come among our tribe. The order was that the biggest kraals were to *keep guard*.

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Tshaka once *filled up a donga with pregnant women because Nandi had become ill and died*. These women were collected from all parts of the country for having become pregnant and generally enjoyed life, seeing that the land was in mourning on account of Nandi. I do not know where this took place, but the donga was *filled up*. My mother was *pregnant* at the time, but she was concealed by Rwanqa, father of Faku, the boy I used to nurse (*carry on my back*) among the Mabaso. The child she afterwards bore. Mpanda (dead now), a boy, died *in old age*. This was my own mother; she *bore me as her first child*. Faku is dead; he died *at an advanced age*.

I had four wives; one (sister of the *induna* Lugubu) is dead. I have almost 20 children. My chief son is Mmelili. My mother had five sons, no girls - i.e. myself, Mpanda, Maboyi, Lujele, Mhayé. Myself and Mhayé are the only ones living. Mhayé is *frail and bent* now.

When Tshaka had the women killed as above stated, my mother was pregnant with the brother who *followed me in age*. I was quite a strong boy, able to run about and *carry* Faku when Mpanda was born. Mpanda was born in Zululand; Maboyi, Lujele and Mhayé were all born at the Lenge. I *grew up at the Lenge, and there I grew to manhood and had a war shield cut for me*.

In time of danger Jobe *went up to the top of the Lenge mountain*. He did so when Mpande sent an *impi*, as previously related, to fetch Dingana's cattle, which meant seizing those of his people and his own.

20.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 1-6.

Also present: Sitashi?

- 1 Afternoon. Lunguza continues: I must have been 6 years old, or even 7, when Tshaka died, for I, at that time, was able to *carry Faku about* as previously stated. This would make me as born about 1822 or the latter end of 1821, for boys were put on to *taking care of babies* prior to *herding calves*, i.e. at 8 and 9 years of age.

Taking 1822 as the year of my birth, I would be about 87 or 88 years of age now. As then, I was born, so my mother told me, the year our chief (king) Ngoza ran off to Pondoland, this fixes Ngoza's flight as having taken place in 1822 or 1821.

Ngoza, after being attacked by Tshaka at Mmbe, fled to Nomagaga of the Kuze, where he found *the grain ripe*, i.e. about March.

.... <Praises of Ngoza omitted - eds.>

- 3 Lugubu is able to *praise* Ngoza, Mkubukeli, Nodada, Mganu, Mabi-zela, Ngqambuzana.¹³⁰ He has a better memory of *praises* than I have.

.... <Praises of Mpukane ka Zikode omitted - eds.>

- 4 All the Madondo people (tribe) *swear by* my grandfather Zikode. Zikode's chief son was Mapeka, who was *followed in age* by my father. Both were sons of one woman of the Majola tribe. Mapeka died after Zikode's death. His chief son, Mkonto, predeceased him. He left a girl, Nomageja, married to Jojo of the Radebe. Mapeka's wife was

- 5 *ngenwa'd*¹³¹ by my father, but all her subsequent issue died off. Nomageja's *lobola* cattle, five in number, were given as *lobola* for a daughter of Gwele called Piwase. Piwase married me and is still living; her *alan-name* is Radebe. Piwase was my first wife. Our first child and son was Matshakaza, now a tall, dark *ikehla*. This son is regarded as Mapeka's issue, and so is the *chief* of all our family. He, being a child of the *indhlonkulu*, is now above me in rank although I am his father.

My father now directed, as I had worked for and earned cattle, that I should take a wife who should raise up seed for him. I was to marry a daughter of Tongo of the Mbata. My father wished me to *vusa*¹³² his *umuzi*, as I had *vusa'd* his elder brother's.

- My father directed that if I, for *lobola* purposes or otherwise, borrowed at any time a beast from the hut of Piwase, I was to be careful to restore it to that house, and that I was not to use any cattle belonging to his elder brother for *lobolain*g the wife I was to raise up seed by for my father.
- 6 Later on I took another wife. I borrowed five head of cattle from Matshakaza and, with five of my own cattle, paid the *lobola*. These cattle I have only recently restored, being got from the *lobola* of the daughter by this wife, my said daughter having recently married.

21.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 6-18.

Also present: Sitashi?

My father never visited Mpande, not even once. This was because we had all *run away* on account of Mpande seizing cattle from our tribe as stated. The seizure was made in the year Mpande came to the throne [1840]. Jobe *konza'd* Bidinasi [intended to be the sound of a Boer name]. This Boer lived at the Tugela, before its meeting with the Mzinyati and just where the Mtshezi enters the Tugela. Hut tax is collected at that homestead even at this day. Jobe supplied this man with servants who *dug out tree stumps from the fields* for planting *wheat and mealies*.

My father died shortly before the *battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi*, say about 1850-1854. He died at the Mkolombe, a high mountain near Nobamba (Weenen).

- 7 Pakade ka Macingwane - I knew him in the Zulu country. Gabangaye, his chief son, was in the Kokoti regiment and therefore my age. Pakade was tall and dark; he got fat latterly. He was my father's age. He said to me now and again, '*Boy, you are one of our company*'.¹³³

.... <Praises of Dingane and of Shaka omitted - eds.>

- 8 There was a son of Gcwabe of the Mbo people called Matshukumbele. I do not know where this man, Gcwabe, or Zihlandhlo lived.¹³⁴

I only remember Matshukumbele because of the *praising of Dingana's oxen at Mgungundhlovu*: '*Go on, Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe; go on, Matshukumbele ka Gcwabe, go on, logs of the river!*' (said because of their great horns waving this way and that). This would be shouted by the herdsman, *praising the cattle when they went out and when*

returning.

I never saw a *smelling-out* held at Mgungundhlovu.

9 The huts of the *isigodhlo* had the grass held together not with plaited string but thin sticks done right round, row after row, at intervals.

There was no such thing as Sunday or a day of rest in Zululand. We worked any and every day. We knew nothing of *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tuesday*, *Saturday* etc. We heard of all this in Natal. It was incumbent on every man to work every day. Should he not work he would be asked who told him not to work.

I am unable to give accurately the names of the various months, e.g. *Masingana*; *Mbaso* (cold - fires made); *Zibandhlela*; *Nhlaba* (because of the flowering of the aloe); *Newaba* (when the burnt grass sprouts and becomes green). I cannot give the name of the present month; the last was *uNdasa* (when the food is plentiful, when the crops are ripening and the women are cooking); *Nhlangula* (when the leaves have fallen off).

The native women seem to me to know more about the months than men, although one finds men who pay attention to this matter.

Instead of saying '*izimpande*' of trees, we, in Mpande's day, had to *hlonipa* and say '*izingxabiyo*'. The month *uMpandu* was called *uNgxabiyo*.¹³⁵

10 In Dingana's day the word '*dinga*'¹³⁶ was *hlonipa'd*; one said '*ntula*' instead. If a man said '*dinga*', the question would be asked, '*uDingana waye ding' epi?*',¹³⁷ but, no-one would use the word at all. The word '*zula*' might also be, and was, substituted for '*dinga*'.

If a person *spat* when disputing with another, it meant that he *insulted* him *deeply*, and a fight might ensue.

Even at this day the *Izigqosa*¹³⁸ I live with do not say '*izimpande*' for the roots of a tree but '*ingxabiyo*'. They *swear* by Mpande.

[Afternoon. Today I constructed with *chips of wood* for huts, and pieces of bricks and pebbles for cattle, the Mgungundhlovu kraal under Lunguza's guidance. I see this differs considerably from Holden's illustration - see History of Natal. The illustration on the following page comprises results arrived at. What Lunguza is most shaky about is the inside of the *white* and the *black isigodhlo*. He says the *umdhlunkulu* occupied both and does not know why one was given one name and the other another. He says the 'white' consisted of rows of huts in the ordinary way, and he believes the 'black' each had fences dividing certain huts from others. He had occasion to enter the 'white' six times in all, and each time he found Dingana in the hut marked 'Z' in the drawing.]

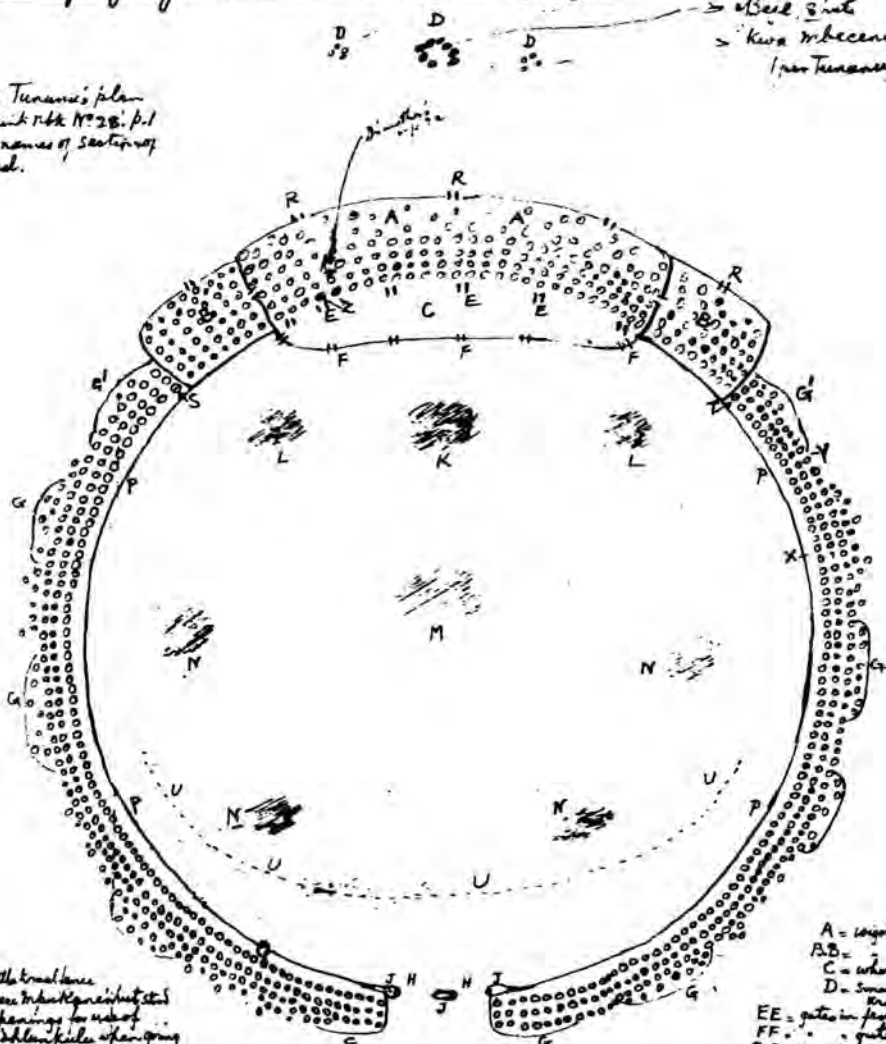
.... <At this point in the original a set of abbreviated notes has been scored out. These notes form the basis for much of the evi-

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Plan of Mungundhlovu according to Lunguza

See Tswana's plan
in book nbk. No. 28, p. 1
for names of sections of
'kraal'.

→ mwa-azana
→ iBele, S'inte
→ Kwa mbeccani
(see Tswana's)



PP = cattle kraal fence
Q = where mbeccani hut stands
RR = openings for use of
mbeccani huts opening
to outside nature
S = Nkhlele's hut
T = Mzobo's hut
U = line of men dancing prior to
milking
V = place of execution, Kwa Nkhata
W = fodder deposited here, dragged
from V
G = ice-melt
S-J and T-X = ~~pit~~ cattle
S-J = ~~ice~~ cattle
Z = hut in which Lunguza found the dead tree, W

A = isigobela (small cattle)
B.B. = ~~isigobela~~
C = where King's huts
D = small royal
kraal
EE = gates in fence
FF = ~~gates~~ fence
GG = small fence
HH = large gateways
I = clump of poles -
upfandisa
K = measure above the
royal cattle stand
L = isigobela cattle
M = primed cattle
NN = upfandisa cattle



<The original of this sketch appears on p. 11 of nbk. 32, File 59.>

dence that follows. As they serve as an indication of one of Stuart's methods of recording oral evidence we have reproduced them without translation or editorial emendation in Appendix 3 - eds.>

The cattle kept at Mgungundhlovu were principally oxen. There were of course many cows. The calves were kept tied up in various huts, i.e. where the milk went to. There were no goats at the kraal, and any sheep arriving, as for instance from Jobe, were kept in the great *enclosure* till slaughtered, which quickly happened.

The great *enclosure* was covered with grass, except on those parts where the various herds constantly stood. Each herd had a bull of its own. In the herd kept at the patch marked 'K' on the illustration there were many white cattle. There may have been 300-400 cattle in that herd.

- 14 One of the herd bulls, i.e. of the herds at 'K' or 'L' - there being only one bull for each herd - was killed at the annual *umkosi*. It was killed by a doctor with an axe - struck at the back of the head. It was not necessary for this bull to be of a particular colour. It was first caught by hand by a regiment. Its flesh was consumed only by the young troops who had not been out on any war expedition, and they ate it in the enclosure in which the king washed. The meat was *roasted*, not cooked in pots, and all the bones and horns were burnt at the same place.

The Kokoti once ate this meat and slept in the *isigodhlo* enclosure, but, says Lunguza, I did not happen to be with them then.

- The cattle at Mgungundhlovu were accustomed to be called in by someone shouting in a loud voice, '*I-i-i!* He ate up the cows that showed themselves before going out to graze', adding other praises of Dingana. Such shouting would be done by a *herdsman*, and the cattle would start off to return of their own accord. This shouting would take place both at midday and in the afternoon. The herds did not return all together; one preceded another. They did not go into the kraal in any regular order; as soon as any herd entered, it would proceed to its spot and there be guarded by its *herdsmen* till the three principal herds, 'K', 'L', 'L', had passed on to their respective places.
- 15 All *herdsmen* slept close to the two gates, on either side. If the cattle were very late in returning to be milked, i.e. suppose they returned about 1 p.m., they would be said to have *grazed to the point of discord*.

In the dancing that took place, beginning at the bottom end of the kraal, Zulus used short sticks to dance with.

No cattle were confined in the *isigodhlo* enclosure.

Evening. There are *izivivane*¹³⁹ in our district. A man takes a stone or wisp of straw, spits on it and throws it on the heap, exclaiming, '*Sivivane of our ancestors!*', so that when he arrives at a kraal on ahead and he finds them eating, they will give him food in plenty, and he does this to obviate its being said to him, '*Are you so hungry that you pass by an isivivane?*', i.e. said by a fellow traveller. A piece of wood may, after being spat upon, be thrown on the heap. Some of these heaps have become very large.

I cannot say what the origins of these things are. They are very, very ancient. One sees their age from the fact that the path which went by them has eventually become a deep and regular watercourse,

- 16 no longer being used by travellers. There were many *izivivane* in our old district about Malakata and Qudeni. I used to throw stones etc. on *izivivane* as a child in this district.

The common place for these things is where a path goes through a neck, (with a) hill or hillock on either side of the path, with plenty of stones about.

There was another *izivivane* on the south side of the Mhlatauze on our way to Mgungundhlovu.

Mgungundhlovu. I do not know the origin of the name. It may have some reference to *ingungu* - native drum, goat-skin stretched over it. [See Bryant's *Dictionary*.]

Imilози.¹⁴⁰ I knew of these in early days. Tshaka would have had nothing to do with these, and put an end to them on the ground of, 'What is this whistling that comes sounding like this?' There were ventriloquists in Dingana's day. *Bulaing* was done before them. No shouting of 'Izwa!' was done. One made salutation, saying, 'Mngane!', and then sat down, whereupon it would proceed to whistle and say who was causing any particular illness.

- 17 Botshobana ka Sibaxa was a great *umlozi*. He said that all abaTembu chiefs were in him and had become *imilози*. Kopo, uncle of Nodada, said to him, 'Our chief would never have become an *umlozi*.' He went about saying he was to have beasts for slaughter presented to him, for he had the chiefs in him. Some members of the tribe invariably slaughtered beasts for him; others refused.

No smelling-out was held with *imilози*. They were consulted by those who were sick, who would go, say, two at a time.

Botshobana left our tribe. I do not know if he is still living; he is younger than I am.

I do not know of the *Mbete* famine.

- I know of the Madhlantule famine, when we were obliged to eat grass.¹⁴¹ [Socwatsha¹⁴² calls this 'Madhlantule' - see nbk., date 27.8.21, p. 19.] This came on before we left Qudeni. Grass was pounded up and cooked, (also) the *ingcengoe* plant (which has berries) also *uboqo* - like sweet potato, black roots. It was cut into pieces with a sharp-edged stone, put in the sun to dry, got quite black, then was mixed with curds and made a porridge of, then mixed up and eaten. It was not bitter. *Ingoni* grass was beaten, like *upoko* millet, ground up and kneaded into a dough. This grass was cut with an assegai and then threshed, the seeds beaten out and ground. This was good food. Dogs were also killed and eaten.

Beads came from among the *Nhlenga*,¹⁴³ also the red blankets, and green ones. They were brought by the *Nhlenga*. [Notice this: he does not say 'Nhlwenga'.]

I do not know what Lalas manufactured armbands and armrings.

Makabela tribe - present chief Gayede ka Magedama ka Nqobolela ka Mkulu ka Ndamane.¹⁴⁴ They do not *tefula* or *tekeza*.

.... <Praises of Magedama omitted - eds.>

22.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 18-26.

Also present: Sitashi?

19 In the *izicamelo* lived only big people, *izinduna*, persons of rank who were *izinduna* (who could not be killed except by order of the king), and the *izinceku*. Ndhlela used to have food brought him by his wives, and any wife without children might be directed to remain a little after the others had gone back. Ndhlela's wives visited him repeatedly, and one invariably remained with him to attend to his wants. And at his kraal he had *his own hut* which he slept in, and each night he had a different wife, this wife doing the cooking etc. for him. He did not go round to each woman's hut as ordinary people do, but his wives came to him. The *hut* was at the upper end of the *umuzi*.

My father and others used to go to each wife's hut in succession. Only his blanket would be taken from hut to hut, not his mat or *headrest*, because these could be provided in each hut.

Ndhlela, Mapita ka Sojiyisa, Nzobo and other *izinduna* used to act as Ndhlela did towards his wives. None of them, however, had *izi-godhlo*.

20 Some *umdhlunkulu* girls were married out to big men from time to time, e.g. to Mondise ka Jobe. Forty head of cattle was given for this girl to Dingana. I do not know the girl's father's name; her name was Ziwelile. The king made no present of anything to fathers for girls selected for the *umdhlunkulu*. My father's daughter Jezile was taken to be an *umdhlunkulu* girl. She eventually married Gubudu of the Bele because after Dingana's death his *isigodhlo* broke up. She lived in the Mgungundhlovu *isigodhlo*. My father got six cattle *lobola* for her.

Girls were reluctant to enter the *isigodhlo*. The fatter, larger-limbed girls were preferred - anyone who showed a healthy growth, i.e. likely to develop to a good size. Girls, however, could not get out of going to the *isigodhlo*. Many of the *isigodhlo* girls (Dingana's) scattered on his death, whilst many continued to remain with Mpande.

I have seen snakes *basking in the sun* on the *isigodhlo* fence [marked 'F', 'F', 'F' on plan, p. 11], lying along the fence and on it. These snakes were green mambas; there were also brown ones, marked with speckles, and all were quite tame.

There were no trees in the great *enclosure*, nor were there any antbear holes.

So wide was the kraal that one shouting on one side could not be heard across on the other.

21 Cattle were slaughtered in the *enclosure*, in different parts of it, the cattle being surrounded by troops when stabbed to prevent their running about. Small droves of special slaughter cattle were brought from time to time from the *outlying areas*. The slaughter cattle were only killed about 10 at a time.

The *umdhlunkulu* used to be marched out before sunrise to the river to wash. They were marched in a column by *izinceku* armed with shields and assegais, just as European prisoners are marched about. At other

times, four or five *umdhlunkulu* girls might go at a time to relieve nature, when in charge of armed *izinceku*.

The cattle kraal fence was not a high one, say about five feet.

Izinceku were sometimes caught by *umdhlunkulu* girls and made to seduce them on pain of their accusing them of attempting to do against their will what they really desired and urged their doing.

At the *umkosi* the *umdhlunkulu* emerged from the *isigodhlo* by all the gateways of the king's washing enclosure. They were decorated in differently coloured beads. Some girls wore only white beads, others only blue, others another colour. Grouping together just outside [by patches marked 'L', 'K', 'L' on plan, p. 11], they would then *dance*, the great bulk of spectators being already assembled in the cattle kraal.

*unNjunju wo hlanga*¹⁴⁵ - a name for Dingana.

- 22 Dingana's mother was a daughter of Donda. [Mgidhlana¹⁴⁶ says that she was Mpikase, a daughter of Myilela of the Qungebeni.] Her hut was in the 'white' *isigodhlo*, on the left side of it looking towards the main gates of the cattle kraal. It was in the third row of huts from the front.

Urine pots were used only by some girls.

[Lunguza and Sitashi left by train this morning. They left me at 7.45 and proceeded by the 8.40 train. I gave the former a present of 30s and Sitashi 6s and 1s for food. I also gave them a copy of the photo taken of themselves by Allerston on 18.3.1909 (mounted).]

The bull [referred to at the bottom of p. 13] was killed in the king's washing enclosure. It was slaughtered before the *dancing* took place. It was consumed by those referred to in the same enclosure, and the bones and horns were burnt there too.

- 23 The relieving of nature by the *umdhlunkulu*, as well as the two *izicamelo*, was done at a distance from the kraal, but lower down the kraal on either side. Owing to people relieving themselves close by, the stench was very bad. If a man went home and remained away for a time, those of adjoining huts would turn it into a closet, as already described. Even in the day-time men sat down to stool quite close to the kraal, there being no rule in the matter. Some again would void into the very water that others were in the habit of drinking. There was no decency in this respect, except only as regards those parts of the streams (Mkumbane and Nzololo) reserved for the use of the *umdhlunkulu*.

There were *guards* in the *isigodhlo*, but I do not remember seeing them about the main portions of the kraal. I occasionally went out to relieve nature at night, when I noticed numbers of others out for the same purpose, and so this continued every night and all times of the night.

Both the 'white' and the 'black' *isigodhlo* were occupied by the *umdhlunkulu*. I do not know anything particular about the black *isigodhlo*, why it was distinct from the white etc., for I never entered it.

The spot known as Nkosinkulu was well below the spot known as Kwa Nkata. There was a *euphorbia* tree there.

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The *isigodhlo* was composed of girls collected from all parts of the country. The girls were specially selected by persons acting on behalf of the king. Some were picked at the annual *umkosi*.

- 24 The chief Jobe was very much afraid of the Zulus, so much so that in the hut occupied by him he had an opening made at the back so that if an attacking party stood in front of the door, he would be able to creep out at the back. In consequence of this fear he never visited the royal kraal.

The shaving of the king took place as a rule in the *isigodhlo*.

The *izimbongi*, when *bongaing*, approached and even entered the *isigodhlo*, *bongaing* the whole time. They also used language intended to excite the ire of the king, i.e. taunting him, e.g., 'We are Zuyu of Sitoye; we say, "Bellow, beast of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place." Here, fellow, as regards us, we are Zulu.',¹⁴⁷ all these phrases being addressed to Dingane himself.

There was a number of *menial* girls and women in the *isigodhlo*, i.e. old maids or widows. These attended on the *umdhunkulu*.

The poles used for shutting up the double big gate were stood up against the *gatepost* that stood in the centre when the cattle were out grazing.

- 25 The *izenceku* of the *isigodhlo* did not as a rule sleep in the huts of the *isigodhlo*, but *in the open*. When the weather was bad they did, however, sleep under cover.

I never saw a hut on fire at Mgungundhlovu, and so cannot say what would have been done had one got alight. I remember seeing one in a fairly large kraal of Jobe's burn once. The expedient adopted was to remove at once the grass of huts where the fire had not reached, so that by the time the flames got there, there would be nothing to burn. Probably this is what would have taken place had fire occurred at Mgungundhlovu.

The shields of the warriors were kept in raised sheds known as *unyango* (*anaxiba*, *izinqolobane*), of which there were a number in different parts of the royal kraal. Rats could not get at the shields. They were frequently taken out and aired and *shaken* to keep worms away.

- 26 [Note (22.3.1909). Lunguza seemed to me careful and accurate in everything he told me. The amount of detail he knows was surprising when compared with my other various informants. His memory for incidents and names is excellent, but his bump of locality is not strong, especially as regards Zululand, but this is explained by the fact that he left Zululand about 1837 or so, and seems not to have gone back, even on a visit.

His information about Mgungundhlovu is very full, though he naturally cannot speak about the inner workings of affairs. All that relates to Jobe (Sitole tribe) is also first-class. There are many customs and practices which he has also thrown considerable light on.

Not being familiar myself with what has been written by Gardiner, Owen and others, including Isaacs,¹⁴⁸ about Dingana's day, I could not ask all the questions I might have done, but no-one studying what I have set down independently can fail to get a very clear idea as to what went on at this great historic capital.]

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Notes

- ¹Ngqambuzana was chief of the Thembu in the Weenen district. This group was a branch of the Thembu who, in the early nineteenth century, had lived on the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river south of present-day Nquthu. For Bryant's version of the Thembu chiefly line see Olden Times, p. 244.
- ²The name Sokumalo literally means 'father of the Kumalo'. For a discussion of the ancestral relationships between the Thembu, Khumalo and Mabaso, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 241, 417-8. The term 'Ntungwa' is discussed by Bryant, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 233, and more extensively by Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, ch. 6.
- ³For Bryant's version of the origins of the Mabaso people, see Olden Times, pp. 243-4.
- ⁴Faku, Ngadabana and Mzakaza were chiefs of the Mabaso people in the Estcourt district. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 418, gives the chiefly genealogy of another section of the Mabaso located in the Msinga district.
- ⁵Malakatha is an extension of the Qudeni range overlooking the Mzinyathi river due east of Helpmekaar.
- ⁶Matshana had formerly been chief of the Sithole in the Msinga area of Natal colony. After falling foul of the colonial authorities in 1858, he fled to the Zulu kingdom, where he was assigned territory near the Mzinyathi river. See Colenso, The Story of Matshana, *passim*, and The History of the Matshana Enquiry, *passim*; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 261.
- ⁷The verb *ukuvungama* means to grumble or murmur complaints. Its significance in the present context is explained by the informant in the evidence that follows. *Abatabatanyaso* literally means 'those who step out with their feet', and connotes speed, haste. Its significance in the present context is obscure.
- ⁸Literally, 'those who bear the chief'.
- ⁹The name Nyandeni derives from the locative form of *inyanda*, a roll or bundle of grass. The tradition among the Mbatha was that the child referred to in this passage had been brought concealed in a bundle of grass. For Bryant's version of the story see Olden Times, pp. 244-5.
- ¹⁰The original has '*abanikazi umuzi*'.
- ¹¹It is difficult to unravel Lunguza's account, as he has previously given the father of the twins as Mabaso. Furthermore, Ndaba is described as 'of the Tembu tribe', yet later in this passage Lunguza states that the progenitor of the Thembu was Ndaba's son. The name 'Ndaba' features in the chiefly genealogies recorded by Bryant for the coastal branch of the Thembu and for the related Mbatha; see Olden Times, pp. 224, 244.
- ¹²For Bryant's comments on the terms 'Ndabezitha' and 'Mvelase' see Olden Times, pp. 221-2, 244-5.
- ¹³In the original Zulu there is a play on the word '*inyati*', which literally means 'buffalo'. The name Nyati appears early in the Mabaso chiefly genealogy as given in Lunguza's subsequent evidence. We are unable to identify Nsele.
- ¹⁴i.e. in the Weenen district.
- ¹⁵The best-known *umuzi* with the name Dukuza was the one established

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by Shaka on the site of present-day Stanger in 1827, some years after the attack on the Thembu described by Lunguza. We have been unable to establish the location of the Dukuza referred to here, nor can we identify Nombalo.

- ¹⁶A hill between the present-day villages of Muden and Weenen.
- ¹⁷Bryant gives Nomagaga ka Mphumela as chief of the Phahleni offshoot of the Dlamini of the middle Thukela region (Zulu History, pp. 40, 47). This Nomagaga and the previously mentioned Nomagaga ka Dlomo, chief of the related Kuze, should not be confused with Nomagaga ka Nsele of the Zondi, who lived on the Nadi stream south-east of present-day Tugela Ferry. For the latter see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 522-4; Zulu History, pp. 59-60.
- ¹⁸Bryant identifies the Mahlaphahlapha who lived on the Ndaka (Sundays) river as chief of the Ntuli offshoot of the Bele. His people are also described as cannibals. See Zulu History, pp. 35-7; Olden Times, pp. 58, 347.
- ¹⁹Dhlepu (Hlephu) was chief of a sub-section of the Wushe living on the Mngeni river upstream from present-day Howick. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 374.)
- ²⁰The prominent hill overlooking Pietermaritzburg and shown on maps as Zwartkop or Swartkop. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 752.)
- ²¹Ciki does not feature in the genealogy of the Wushe chiefly line given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 372.
- ²²Presumably Mbazwana ka Nondaba, chief of the Phahleni, a sub-group of the Natal Dlamini and closely related to the Kuze. The Phahleni settled on the middle Mkhomazi after the upheavals of the early Shakan period had subsided. (Bryant, Zulu History, pp. 46-7.)
- ²³The Bhalule campaign was fought in 1828 against Soshangana, founder of the Gaza kingdom. Shaka was assassinated during the absence of his army.
- ²⁴See also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 251-2.
- ²⁵Or Sundays river.
- ²⁶A Zulu regiment formed by Shaka.
- ²⁷A prominent hill on the Ndaka river west of present-day Pomeroy; shown on maps as Job's Kop.
- ²⁸A prominent ridge north-west of present-day Pomeroy.
- ²⁹Mamalumbazo means 'daughter of Malumbazo'. This was the conventional way of referring to a married woman.
- ³⁰At Ndondakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela in 1856.
- ³¹Already identified by Lunguza as a son of Jobe, and therefore a brother of Mondise.
- ³²Vela was brother to Matshana's father.
- ³³One of Matshana's people who was accused of responsibility for the death of another member of his chiefdom.
- ³⁴'Hlathikhulu', meaning 'large forest', is a common place-name in Natal and Zululand. The reference here is possibly to the forest of that name that lies between present-day Estcourt and Giant's Castle.
- ³⁵Formed c.1838; age-group born c.1818. According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, the regiment was also known as the Wombe.
- ³⁶See note 18 above.
- ³⁷Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236, also gives the Hlomendlini as one of Shaka's regiments. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, lists it as one of Dingane's.
- ³⁸This paranthetical note occurs in the original as an insertion at

- the top of p. 34. The circumstances in which this praise originated are detailed by the informant Lunguza in subsequent evidence.
- ³⁹The two lists of regimental names that follow do not conform in all details to the lists given by Bryant and Samuelson, which themselves show considerable discrepancies. See Olden Times, pp. 645-6, and Long, Long Ago, pp. 239-42.
- ⁴⁰*Izindaba* means 'matters, affairs'. The regimental name 'Izindaba ekadengizibona' literally means 'the affairs that I have seen'.
- ⁴¹'...wa kasa Mudhli, nezindhlabu namakasi' in the original. See also line 41 of the praises of Senzangakhona (Shaka's father) as recorded in Cope, ed., Izibongo, p. 77. Mudli was a close relative of Senzangakhona.
- ⁴²On the taboos held by the Zulu against the eating of curds, or *amasi*, Krige writes: 'In any kraal *amasi* is looked upon as food of the household, and strangers are not allowed to partake of it.' (Social System, p. 383.) See also Raum, Avoidances, p. 336ff.
- ⁴³Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 598, give *insasa* (pl. *izinsasa*) as 'beast with speckle-coloured belly on red or brown'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 646, gives *intsasa* as 'ox of red or brown colour having greyish spottings or speckles about the belly and lower flanks'.
- ⁴⁴The names are those of a branch line of the Zulu royal house. Its exact relationship to the main line of Senzangakhona is a matter of dispute.
- ⁴⁵*Ukhokhothi* is also the Zulu for a species of small snake.
- ⁴⁶Silwana(e) was chief of the Chumu section in the Weenen division when this evidence was recorded.
- ⁴⁷*Izivivane* (sing. *isivivane*) were piles of stones left by travellers as good-luck tokens at prominent places along the wayside.
- ⁴⁸A system of formally showing respect in both speech and action.
- ⁴⁹Literally, 'discussing war', presumably a reference to the announcements which were made to the army before a battle or campaign as to the plan of attack.
- ⁵⁰We have been unable to locate Mpama. In the best-documented study made to date on the early history of the Ndebele, Lye concludes that the Zulu launched two attacks against Mzilikazi's kingdom during the reign of Dingane. The first, in 1832, was made when the Ndebele were living near present-day Pretoria; the second took place in 1837 after they had moved to the present-day Marico district in the western Transvaal. (Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969.) For variant accounts see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Becker, Path of Blood, pp. 134-7, 152, 174-5.
- ⁵¹Sikhunyana was the eldest son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide. The attack mentioned in this paragraph probably refers to Sikhunyana's abortive invasion of the Zulu country in 1826. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-92.
- ⁵²Literally, 'the one who moves about like the sea'. In a subsequent comment on his father's praises, which we have omitted (File 59, nbk. 32, p. 3), Lunguza explained the derivation of this praise-name in the following terms: 'Said when he *gwiya*'d, probably from his style of *gwiyaing* resembling the regular motion of the sea. My father *gwiya*'d in the *isigodhlo* and elsewhere by standing in one place and not lifting legs off ground but yet moving body up and down regularly.' To *gwiya* or *giya* is to dance about performing

- war antics.
- ⁵³ Bongoza ka Mefu of the Ngongoma section of the Ngcobo people won fame for luring a Voortrekker force into an ambush after the battle at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 493.)
- ⁵⁴ 'Boy or boys of any age, from about five or six years, to the time when they are fit for warfare.' (Colenso, Dictionary, p. 301.)
- ⁵⁵ One of Shaka's *izinduna* who rose to become principal *induna* to Dingane.
- ⁵⁶ *Isiziba* means a deep pool.
- ⁵⁷ Colenso, Dictionary, p. 471, gives *ipini* as '*induna*, second in command of a regiment'. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 663, give it as 'underling; inferior officer; personal representative'.
- ⁵⁸ Literally, 'the great cattle enclosure', a term applied to that section of a regiment attached to the principal *umuzi* of a chief or king.
- ⁵⁹ Father of the Thembu chief Ngoza.
- ⁶⁰ The verb *ukubhina* means specifically to gird the loins with an *umutsha* or skirt.
- ⁶¹ *Inkaveshelezi* means a bent or drawn-in object, and applies to a person with flat buttocks. *Idanda* (pl. *amadanda*) is applied to protruding buttocks.
- ⁶² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 335, gives *isikusa* (pl. *izikusa*) as 'menial of the chief engaged to herd the cattle, guard the fields from birds, etc.; sometimes applied to any menial or dependent living in a wealthy man's kraal'.
- ⁶³ The position of the *isicamelo* section is shown in the accompanying sketch map of Mgungundlovu. Literally the word means 'headrest'.
- ⁶⁴ The Rev. Francis Owen ran a mission station at Mgungundlovu from October 1837 to February 1838. Captain Allan F. Gardiner was the first missionary to reach the Zulu. His first visit to Dingane took place in February 1835; he finally left Natal after the killing of Piet Retief and his companions at Mgungundlovu in February 1838.
- ⁶⁵ Literally, 'the mediator'. The verb *ukulamula* means to settle a dispute or argument.
- ⁶⁶ Mhlangana, half-brother to Shaka and Dingane, was an accomplice in the former's assassination in 1828. Phakathwayo, chief of the Qwabe, was an early victim in Shaka's career of conquest. Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo's half-brother and rival for the succession, was killed at the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856.
- ⁶⁷ i.e. Weenen.
- ⁶⁸ The original has '*izitunyisa*', which Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 808, give as a *hlonipha* term for the more commonly used *izibhamu*.
- ⁶⁹ Neither Bryant nor Samuelson lists this regiment.
- ⁷⁰ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 645-6, gives 'AmaWombe' as an alternative name for the Khokhothi, and gives 'Ndabakawombe' as the name of a regiment formed by Mpande. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236, gives the 'Undabakaombe' and 'Amaombe' as regiments of Dingane.
- ⁷¹ The reference is to Mpande's secession in September 1839 when he crossed with a large following from the Zulu country to the Natal side of the Thukela. The word *igoda* (literally 'rope') as used in the text denotes the expression *ukugqabuka kwigoda* ('the breaking of the rope'), which is commonly used to refer to this event.

⁷²January 1840.

⁷³A section of Dingane's *isigodhlo* was known as the iBheja or iBheje. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 27, writes, '... the kraal set apart for them at emGungundhlovu was called eBeje.'

⁷⁴An *inkatha* is a grass coil placed on the head for carrying a load. As a symbol of nationhood, a royal *inkatha* was ritually manufactured, and preserved as part of the king's regalia. See Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, p. 401; Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 469).

⁷⁵A prominent hill south of the Thukela below its junction with the Mzinyathi.

⁷⁶Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 650, records a similar story of Shaka's reprieving a condemned man.

⁷⁷The verb *ukuphupha* is literally to dream, or to talk nonsense, or to become weak. Its meaning in the present context is obscure.

⁷⁸The name which Lunguza uses elsewhere in his evidence to refer to his father is Mpukane. For Zulu conventions in regard to the use of personal names see Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 208-9, 431-7; Krige, *Social System*, p. 96.

⁷⁹Literally, 'weak, powerless, stunted'.

⁸⁰The name of the place on the north bank of the lower Thukela where the forces of Cetshwayo defeated those of Mbuyazi in 1856. *Indondakusuka* means someone slow to move.

⁸¹For Bryant's genealogy of the Khabela chiefs see *Olden Times*, p. 512.

⁸²Literally, 'start it for the chief'.

⁸³The Zulu lunar month commencing at the beginning of December.

⁸⁴Another of Stuart's informants.

⁸⁵The Chenyane was an age-grade of girls. In his *Dictionary*, p. 72, Bryant gives it as formed by Dingane, while in *Olden Times*, p. 645, he gives it as formed by Shaka. *Ukujutshwa* is the passive form of the verb *ukujuba*, which most commonly means to give the order permitting girls of an age-grade to marry.

⁸⁶The original has 'Amany' *amabandhla a zo tola amavutuluka*. *Amabandla* more strictly means assemblies of men; we have here translated it as regiments.

⁸⁷The original has 'UFasimba a lu garwe iCenyane'.

⁸⁸The Zulu reads, 'U ya bona wena mtanetu, usa uzo gana kimi.'

⁸⁹The Zulu reads, 'Ngi kuleka uhlangoti o luhle, mnta ka -, ngi lale.'

⁹⁰In his *Dictionary*, p. 602, Bryant gives the 'inTshuku-ka-Madango' as an age-grade of girls formed by Shaka. In *Olden Times*, p. 645, he gives it as formed by Senzangakhona.

⁹¹Literally, 'look for her over here', a phrase associated with certain courting procedures. For particulars, see Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 536-8.

⁹²The *ingquthu* beast is the one given to the bride's mother, and is distinct from the *lobolo* cattle. See Krige, *Social System*, p. 390.

⁹³Presumably the son of Mpande by Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo. He lived for many years in Natal.

⁹⁴Dambuza was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 318, gives 'Tambuza' as the praise-name of Nzoba, who is presumably to be identified with the Nzobo ka Sobadli ka Jama of the Zulu clan referred to by Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 133, 429, 670.

⁹⁵Mathiwane was chief of the Ngwane who fled across the Drakensberg onto the highveld in the reign of Shaka. He returned to the Zulu kingdom soon after Dingane's succession in 1828, and was put to death at Mgungundlovu at the place of execution subsequently known

- as KwaMathiwane.
- ⁹⁶ 'Amakiwan' *abo* in the original; literally 'their figs'.
- ⁹⁷ 'The expelled one' is our translation of 'uMkatshwa', which derives from the passive form of the verb *ukukhaba*, to kick. In the present context it presumably refers to Mzilikazi's flight from the Zulu country. It may be significant that Mkatshwa was the name of an ancestral figure in the Khumalo chiefly line to which Mzilikazi belonged. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 420; also Mzilikazi's praises as recorded in Cope, ed., *Izibongo*, p. 133.
- ⁹⁸ Bryant's version of this fight in *Olden Times*, pp. 429-30, is based on Stuart's account in his vernacular reader *uTulasizwe*.
- ⁹⁹ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *ubelu* as 'Very fine kind of ox... captured originally by Dingane from uMzilikazi'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 30, gives it as 'Afrikander cattle...first brought down from the Transvaal Basutos about the time of Mzilikazi's raiding there'. The word *ubhelu* derives from *abaBhelu*, the Zulu form of 'baPedi'. (See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 309.)
- ¹⁰⁰ H.C. Lugg relates that when the Trekkers came to claim these cattle the Zulu said that they were to be found at the place of the headman Marole (Mahole). The Trekkers went off to fetch them, only to be told that the cattle were not there but at the place of another headman, and so they were sent from pillar to post. Hence the expression *izinkomo zikaMahole*, 'the cattle of Mahole', referring to the cattle claimed by the Trekkers.
- ¹⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 315, gives *inkondhlo* as a 'kind of dance... with gradual forward and backward movement...of a quick, spirited nature...not being accompanied by any clapping of hands'.
- ¹⁰² The Zulu reads, 'Bazi tel' *obisini*; *beti ka si ku wu tshis* 'uMhlahlandhlela', etc. etc. Mhlahlandhlela was the name of the *umuzi* which Mzilikazi built c.1826 on the Crocodile river near its confluence with the Limpopo. (Becker, *Path of Blood*, p. 78.)
- ¹⁰³ Zulu ka Nogandaya and Nombanga ka Ngedi were distinguished warriors in the time of Shaka. Ngqengelele ka Mvulana of the Buthelezi rose to prominence in the service of Shaka, and his son Mnyamana became a chief *induna* under Cetshwayo. Mdlaka ka Ncidi of the Mgazini commanded Shaka's army in a number of campaigns. Hlambamanzi, a Xhosa-speaker from the Cape, was stranded on the coast near present-day St. Lucia while serving as interpreter to a trading expedition. After the establishment in 1824 of a settlement of white traders and hunters at Port Natal, he rose to prominence as Shaka's interpreter. He lost favour in Dingane's reign and was killed. Bryant gives Xoko as eldest son of the Zulu chief Ndaba, and first head of the Mgazini offshoot of the Zulu clan. Menziwa and Mvundlana were his son and grandson respectively. (*Olden Times*, pp. 39-40).
- ¹⁰⁴ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 158, says of the ejaculation 'Mgane!' that it 'may be used respectfully on entering a hut, or to one not very high in rank, or to a chief coaxingly'.
- ¹⁰⁵ The place-names given are those of principal *amakhanda* or royal *imizi*.
- ¹⁰⁶ The reference is to the battle at Vecht Laager on the Mtshezi (Bushmans) river in 1838. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 69, writes, 'The Natives call the place *emaGebeni* - the Place of the Pits - a reference to the earthworks hurriedly thrown up at the time'.
- ¹⁰⁷ Neither Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 645-6, nor Samuelson, *Long*

- Ago, pp. 236-7, lists the latter regiment.
- ¹⁰⁸ Presumably J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, London, 1857.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ithambo* beads were white, *umgazi* dark red, *imfibinga* opaque and amber-coloured.
- ¹¹⁰ The Zulu has 'A u kupuk' umpakati! Uyezwa njena?'
- ¹¹¹ The original reads 'Kala nkomo ya kwa Zulu, wen' o nga soze waya ndawo; woze wayapi-ke?'
- ¹¹² *Iwaba* is given by Bryant, Dictionary, p. 691, as a black ox with a white patch on the belly and side.
- ¹¹³ To *sisa* was to place stock in the care of another person, usually a dependent, who was given certain rights of usufruct.
- ¹¹⁴ The original reads, '... za zi qede imizi yonke'.
- ¹¹⁵ The Zulu reads, 'A u butan' umpakati izwe lonke ku zo dhlal' umkosi.'
- ¹¹⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 378, gives *Masingana* as the 'month beginning about or after the middle of November....'
- ¹¹⁷ The *ukunyathela* or *ukweshwana* ceremony was the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony held in the lunar month *Zibandlela*, which began in mid-October. See Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 465, 726; Zulu People, p. 511ff.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ukuncinda* means to suck food or liquid from the tips of the fingers.
- ¹¹⁹ Literally, 'He throws'.
- ¹²⁰ A derogatory term for foreigners and destitute persons.
- ¹²¹ For an extended set of Ndlela's praises see Cope, ed., Izibongo, p. 187.
- ¹²² For the position of the *isicamelu* see the sketches of Mgungundlovu as reproduced on pp. 309 and 340 above.
- ¹²³ The wizards and Shaka are making a play on the word *izulu*, which literally means 'the heavens'.
- ¹²⁴ One of Jobe's *imizi*, situated near the Mbilane hill east of the Mzinyathi river.
- ¹²⁵ i.e. python
- ¹²⁶ For discussion of the terms 'Ntungwa' and 'Nguni' see Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 1; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6.
- ¹²⁷ Mpukunyoni is the name of a hill on the eastern side of the Mzinyathi due east of present-day Pomeroy. During the disturbances of 1906 an engagement took place nearby in which the Natal Government forces were under the command of Col. G. Leuchars. See Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, pp. 266-76.
- ¹²⁸ Macingwane was chief of the Chunu. For Phakade's career see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 271-3.
- ¹²⁹ Mhlumayo hill overlooks the confluence of the Thukela and Ndaka (Sundays) rivers from the west.
- ¹³⁰ The names are those of figures in the Thembu chiefly genealogy. See Lunguza's opening statement of 11.3.1909, and Bryant, Olden Times, p. 244.
- ¹³¹ *Ukungena* means to take to wife the widow of a dead brother for the purpose of raising issue for his house.
- ¹³² *Ukuvusa* in this context means to raise up, as a house or family. For further clarification of the terms *ukungena* and *ukuvusa*, see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 272; Zulu People, p. 599; Krige, Social System, pp. 168-9, 181-2.

- ¹³³The Zulu reads, 'Mfana ka ntanga yetu!'
- ¹³⁴The names mentioned are those of figures in the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly line. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ¹³⁵The informant is illustrating one of the conventions of formal avoidance known as *ukuhlonipha*. The words *izimpande* and *izingxabiyo* both mean 'roots'.
- ¹³⁶i.e. to need.
- ¹³⁷Literally, 'Where was Dingane in need?' The implication is that Dingane was not expected ever to be in need.
- ¹³⁸Originally the name given to the faction which supported Mbuyazi in his contest for power with Cetshwayo in 1856. After Mbuyazi's defeat, many of its members crossed the Thukela into Natal. The word is also 'sometimes applied to any Zulu Native who has "gone over" to the white people or to reside in Natal'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 201.)
- ¹³⁹See note 47 above.
- ¹⁴⁰*Umlozi* (pl. *imilozi*) means a 'familiar spirit of a necromancer which makes itself audible by a whistling voice, said to be produced by ventriloquism; such a necromancer supposedly possessed by such a spirit'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 364.)
- ¹⁴¹Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 63, 68, refers to a Madlutule famine as having occurred in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ¹⁴²Another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁴³*Inhlwenga* is a derogatory term applied to the Tsonga living to the north of the Zulu country.
- ¹⁴⁴Cf. Bryant's genealogy in Olden Times, p. 512.
- ¹⁴⁵Literally, 'the sharp pain of the royal line'.
- ¹⁴⁶Another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁴⁷The original reads: 'Si uZuyu we Sitoye; siti "Kala nkomo ya kwa Zulu, wen' o nga soze waya ndawo." Mina! mfana, si ngaba kwa Zulu tina!' In saying, 'uZuyu we Sitoye' instead of 'uZulu we Sitole', the *izimbongi* are deliberately drawing attention to Dingane's *thefula* manner of speech. According to H.C. Lugg, 'Sitoye' or 'Sitole' (from *isithole*, a young heifer or steer) was a praise-name often applied to royal personages. As used in this context, the word may also allude to the Sithole people, and hence serve further to draw attention to the extraneous influence apparent in Dingane's speech.
- ¹⁴⁸Captain A.F. Gardiner was author of Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country, and Nathaniel Isaacs of Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, both of which were originally published in London in 1836. The Rev. Francis Owen's Diary was not published until 1926; Stuart may be referring to a number of his letters which were published in J.C. Chase, ed., Natal Papers (Grahamstown, 1843) and in J. Bird, ed., Annals of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1888).

LUZIPO KA NOMAGEJE

21.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 50, pp. 1-6.

- 1 Luzipo ka Nomageje of the Ndwandwe tribe [but see p. 4] arrived on Saturday from Pietermaritzburg, 19.11.1904.

Zwide, the Ndwandwe king, was the son of Langa ka Ludonga ka Mavuso ka Pangode ka Sidinane.¹

We did not come from the Zulus or Besutu; we are said to have *originated with the Swazi and Nhlwenga.*² We are from the coast lands,³ not Amantungwa or Abanguni. We resemble the Mtetwa.⁴

Nxumalo was a person - *of the left-hand house of the line to which Zwide belonged.* Nxumalo belongs to the house of Sotondose ka Mayusi (Malusi) ka Manukuza ka Mkatshwa.⁵

I do not know Zwide's brothers.

The Ndwandwe tribe *originated* at the Gudu (hill overlooking Pongolo).⁶ We are spoken of as *the Ndwandwe of the Gudu.*

- 2 Zwide lived at Nongoma at his Nongoma kraal. When he was *defeated* the hill came to be called Kwa Nongoma. (Ndondakusuka took its name after Zulu ka Nogandaya's kraal Ndondakusuka, on a small hill near the Tugela.)⁷

Zwide's main kraal was Emgazini; it was below Isigwegwe hill, where Ziwedu is now living.⁸

Zwide's other kraals were Esikwitshini, near Tatiyana, and Kwa Dhllovunga (where Ntombaze lived) at eTokazi hill. Tatiyana are dongas near where Zwide caught Dingiswayo.⁹

Zwide's sons are: Sikunyana, Somapunga, Nqabeni, Myomo, Nomahlanjana, Dayingubo, Mpepa, Nombengula.

Zwide's *regiments*: amaPela, abaHlakabezi, Isikwitshi, amaNkaiya.

- 3 Zwide's *praises*: 'The one who crouches over people so that they may be killed; owl of Mkonto and Langa.'¹⁰ I do not know other praises.

*M pangazita was the son of Mncumbata.*¹¹

Sotshangana was of the Ndwandwe tribe, and was the son of Zikode ka Langa, i.e. the same Langa who was Zwide's father.¹²

M pangazita ka Mncumbata *fell foul* of Zwide. He fled to Tshaka and told Tshaka all about Zwide, dissuading him about coming into conflict with that chief.

Zwide was a great fighter, so much so that he was always fighting, and caused many to join Tshaka. *Zwide used to be ferocious with the assegai*, i.e. to attack in all directions.

Mzilikazi was of the Kumalo tribe, and was a son of Matshobana.

Luzipo says his father was Nomageje ka Gaqa ka Mnyenyeza ka

LUZIPO

- 4 Ngwane ka Mavuso ka Pangode.

I belong to the Nxumalo tribe, Manqele section.¹³ Malusi became a *Nxumalo of the Piseni section*. Gaqa (my ancestor) became a *Nxumalo of the Manqele section*. Zwide was the cause of these divisions taking place.

Nomageje, my father, was of the iHlaba regiment. He was killed at the Msebe battle when Cetshwayo fought with Zibebu.¹⁴

Zwide is said to have died *beyond Mtolo*. I don't think Zwide re-joined Sotshangana. Mtolo is well to the north.¹⁵

There are a number of our former kings buried at the Gudu hill between the Mkuze and Pongolo.

- 5 When my father Nomageje died, some of Gaqa's descendants came from the north, whence they had fled, to come and mourn, I found they had become amaNhlwenga and turned into *amayobiyobi*. [*Amayobiyobi* - people who have altered from what they used to be, i.e. Ndwandwes changed to *amanhlwenga* owing to long residence in the north.]

Dinuzulu's girls' regiment: Ndungundamela.

Dinuzulu's regiments: Felapakati, Zuledakiwe, uNtabengenaliba, Ingobolwane (still *klesaing*).

Pikisile is Dinuzulu's daughter. Mnyaiza, Maqumuzana are two of Dinuzulu's sons.

Ngqumbazi - Cetshwayo's mother. Luzipo says: I *participated in the 'washing of the spears' ceremony held in mourning for her at Sikutwaneni*, a hill near Ndunu, not far from Maqongqo. This was a *hunt*. We killed a *black rhinoceros*. We took the horn back to the king. The king was then *treated with this rhinoceros*.

23.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 50, p. 6.

- 6 Mankulumana is of the Mbonambi regiment. He is Dinuzulu's great *induna*, formerly *induna* of the Mbonambi regiment. He has taken the place of Mgumule,¹⁶ but even this he has gone beyond and is full prime minister.

25.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 50, pp. 6-8.

Ndwandwe (under Mgotshana ka Somapunga,
Mankulumana's elder brother - deceased)
Mambata
Mantshali
aba kwa Ndebele
Butelezi
Mpungose

Biyela
Zulu
Mandhlakazi
Gazini
Nkunga ka Sitayi's
lot
Nobete
Masi¹⁷

- 7 Jama had a brother Mbuzo, both being sons of Ndaba.¹⁸ Mbuzo's son was Zivalele, whose son was Nobete whose son was Nkankane whose son is Mabeketshiya.

Masipula (Mpande's great *induna*) ka Mamba ka Ntopo ka Sidinane ka Ndaba (i.e. Jama's father).

Dumezweni ka Mkosana ka Mvundhlana ka Menziwa ka Xoko ka Ndaba. Mlandu ka Nkunga ka Sitayi ka Ndaba. Nkunga was next in age to Mbopa who killed Tshaka.

Ngqengelele ka Mvuyana of the Butelezi, of the people of Mevana, chief of the Butelezi. Pungatshe is another name for Mevana.

Muntumuni ka Klwana ka Ntshingwayo ka Mbuzo ka Ndaba.

8 Ntabata ka Mqundane ka Nobongoza ka Jama ka Ndaba of the Zulu.

Cakijana ka Timuni ka Mudhli ka Nkwelo ka Jama. Cakijana's father is Timuni, but he raised issue¹⁹ for Sigwebana, Mudhli's principal son.

Gazini. Habana k <sic>.

Notes

¹Zwide was Ndwandwe chief in the early nineteenth century. After establishing his supremacy over what is now northern Zululand, he was decisively defeated by Shaka, c.1818. See also the genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 161.

²The original has '... dabuka'd namaSwazi and Manhlwenga'. The word 'Nhlwenga' was commonly used to refer to the Tsonga peoples living to the north of the Zulu country.

³The Zulu reads, 'Si ngabe se zansi'

⁴For discussion of the terms 'Ntungwa' and 'Nguni' see Bryant, *Olden Times*, ch. 1; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6.

⁵Cf. Bryant's references to Nxumalo, *Olden Times*, p. 161.

⁶Variously shown on maps as Magud, Magudu, Magut.

⁷Zulu ka Nogandaya was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time. Ndondakusuka was the scene of Cetshwayo's victory in 1856 over Mbuyazi, his rival to the Zulu royal succession.

⁸The Sigwegwe hill is near Nongoma. Ziweddu was son of the Zulu king Mpande.

⁹The places referred to are all in the Nongoma area. Ntombazi was Zwide's mother.

¹⁰For an extended version of Zwide's praises, see Cope, ed., *Izibongo*, p. 128.

¹¹According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 277-8, Mpangazitha ka Mncumbatha of the Ncwangeni people was 'headman over the right side (ekuNene) of Dingane's emGungundlovu kraal'.

¹²Cf. Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 160-1. Soshangana(e) was one of Zwide's military leaders. After the defeat of the Ndwandwe by Shaka, c.1818, he fled northwards, and eventually established his political supremacy over a large part of what is now central Mozambique.

¹³Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 213-4, describes the Nxumalo as 'a sub-clan of the Ndwandwe, formed in comparatively recent times'.

¹⁴In 1883

¹⁵Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 209, 212, identifies KwaMtholo as a hill in the vicinity of the upper Nkomathi river in what is now the south-eastern Transvaal.

¹⁶The original reads, '... is izinyawo zi ka Mgamule'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 756, gives Mgamule as the name of a son of Nzobo, one of Dingane's chief izinduna.

¹⁷The names in the right-hand column are those of persons or groups

closely related to the Zulu royal line. For a discussion of the origins of the Biyela, Mandlakazi and Gazini see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39-40, 45. The uncompleted word 'Masi' presumably refers to Masiphula who, with Nkunga and Nobethe, features in the evidence that follows.

- ¹⁸ Jama and Ndaba were respectively grandfather and great-grandfather of the first Zulu king, Shaka. With the exception of Ngqengelele's genealogy, the genealogies that follow are those of men tracing their descent from Ndaba. Many of the names we have been unable to identify with certainty. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 758, gives 'Nobata, son of Zivalela' as 'originator of the eGazini clan'. Dumezweni was chief of the Biyela in the Mthonjaneni district at the time of the interview here recorded. The name of his father, who was one of Cetshwayo's *izinduna*, is variously given by Bryant as Mkosana or Mgitshwa. (Dictionary, pp. 753, 756; Olden Times, p. 40.) Mbopha's father Sithayi was of the Gazini offshoot of the Zulu. Ngqengelele rose to prominence under Shaka and Dingana, and was father of Mnyamana, one of Cetshwayo's principal *izinduna*. Cakijana was presumably the chief of that name who, at the time of the interview, headed the group of Zulu living in the Lower Tugela division. Mudli served as a co-regent during the minority of Shaka's father Senzangakhona (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 41).

- ¹⁹ The original has '*zalela'd*'.

LYLE, WILLIAM

8.6.1914

File 63, item 2(a), pp. 41-3.

Also present: Leonard Lyle? Lyle's shopman?

41 I left Durban at 7.12 a.m. today (8.6.1914). On getting to Tugela I got Fearon, the hotel proprietor, to lend me horse etc. for 10s. Left at about 2 p.m. with Nkantolo and Mvayisa, an old man (the same
42 who gave above story).¹ Came to Nkuku's son Mgwazeni's house (he is a *kolwa*² teacher), where I met Nkuku and his brother. These gave me some account of Ndondakusuka.³ Nkuku is of Dhloko regiment, and was one of Mbuyazi's *izinceku*. He had miraculous escape: got off by pretending to be dead, this in the rushes just below Wili's (i.e. Lyle's) place but Zululand side.⁴

Met Martin (Matutudaka) at foot drift, passed his house and got to Lyle's after crossing Tugela twice.

Gramophone played for us after I had had the long preceding talk with Mvayisa in Nkantolo's presence. Lyle, his son Leonard and his shopman also present.

Lyle says a Negro, Black Jack as he was called, had a house here during the Ndondakusuka time, whilst one Buckley had a punt lower
43 down the river. The bush has been cleared away a lot on the Natal side in recent times.

Mangete⁵ is almost due north of this (Lyle's house) - five miles away.

Lyle has been here 22½ years.

Lyle thinks the big slaughter took place just above where his house was, i.e. a little higher up the river but on the Zululand side of course, not where both Nkuku and Mvayisa tell me. He says an old native, Tekwane (deceased), told him that.

Notes

¹Mvayisa's evidence will appear in a subsequent volume.

²The term *ikolwa* (*ikholwa*), literally 'a believer', was generally used to refer to a Christian convert, but was also loosely applied to an African exempted from Native Law or who had adopted distinctive features of European culture.

³Battle for the Zulu succession fought between Cetshwayo and his half-brother Mbuyazi near the mouth of the Thukela in 1856.

LYLE

⁴Stuart records elsewhere a more extended statement made by Nkuku.
This will appear in a subsequent volume.

⁵Near the mouth of the Thukela on the north bank.

APPENDIX 1

KINGS OF SWAZILAND

per T. Shepstone and A. Miller

<The two lists that follow are those to which Stuart refers in his comments on the list of kings given in John Gama's evidence. The notes accompanying each list occur in the original as footnotes and insertions - eds.>

File 74, p. 137.

- 137 This list, beginning with Umbowlo, was as I believe furnished by T. Shepstone who was in office at the time.¹ It occurs on p. 31 of the Blue Book. On p. 32 of same Blue Book is an official letter, by Shepstone as Adviser.

Vide document dated at Resident Adviser's office, Embekelweni, May 24, 1888, in Blue Book C -- re Portuguese-Swazi boundary.

- 1 Umbowlo
- 2 Uhili
- 3 Usikula Maloyi
- 4 Usiruba
- 5 Umsimude
- 6 Udulunga
- 7 Ulange
- 8 Udondobala
- 9 Umswazie
- 10 Usamukiti si nam' Bova
- 11 Unkomo
- 12 Ukabako
- 13 Unkose
- 14 Ulange
- 15 Umavuso
- 16 Uludonga
- 17 Uhlubi
- 18 Uhlamini
- 19 Ungwane (Masenjana)
- 20 Ndungunya. Zikode, per Mgoqo. (Mdindane)
- 21 Sobuza (Mgayi)
- 22 Mswazi (Mbovane)
- 23 Ludonga. Queen Regent in charge - Lazide. (Sandhlana)
- 24 Mbandeni. Madolomafitsha regent. (Mbovane, Tikuba, Makambana)
- 25 Ngwane, alias Bunu. Kunab'tibeni regent. (Mbaba, Mgudhlula)

APPENDIX 1

The names put in brackets after those of kings are their respective *indunas*.² Only a very few seem to be remembered.

It is stated that this line of kings represents a period of over 250 years.

Bili, an important man in Swaziland, says Hlubi should come before Ludonga.

I wrote to T. Shepstone today asking authorities for list, 9.11.1898. See Shepstone's reply p. 127, and see p. 128 for kings by Giba and Mnkonkoni.³

File 74, p. 127.

- 127 Letter from Mr T. Shepstone, Pretoria Club, 15.11.1898, in answer to one from me dated 9.11.1898 in which I referred to the list of Swaziland kings that appeared on p. 30 of the Blue Book re Portuguese-Swaziland boundary commission of 1888. The list contains 24 names of kings.

My dear Stuart, I have yours of the 9th. Yes. The memo is a copy of an original of mine. I took a very long time with old John Gama in getting the information which I then and now believe to be accurate. John of course was assisted by the information he had from Edendale men and the Rev. Allison, who was as you know in Swaziland over 40 years ago. I also got information from every old Swazies (sic). One very old man in particular was very clear in his memory and, as I remarked to Gama at the time, he looked about 2,000 years of age! If you want further information, old John can give it to you. The memo was drawn up for my book which I intend to publish some day.... Yours sincerely, Offy Shepstone.

File 74, p. 137.

- 137 Kings of Swaziland, according to Miller, Times of Swaziland, 21.8.1897.⁴

- 1 Ungwane 1889
- 2 Umbandine 1873
- 3 Ludonga 1868
- 4 Umswazi 1836
- 5 Zopuza 1815
- 6 Usikotza 1795
- 7 Ungwane 1780
- 8 Hlamini 1765
- 9 Hlubi 1750
- 10 Ludonga 1735
- 11 Mavusa 1720
- 12 Ulangi 1705
- 13 Wa Inkosi 1690
- 14 Inkomokabako 1675
- 15 Zamukiti 1660
- 16 Umsimute 1645

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17	Kasikulu Maloi	1630	
18	Umswati	1615	
19	Umboholo	1600	
20	Umkabi ingiwe	1585	
21	Usihuba	1570	
22	Uhlamini	1555	
23	Ucebisa	1540	
24	Kungwane	1525	
25	Inkosi	1510	
26	Usidwaba si lutuli	1495	
	Kuluamba		
	Kulualala		undoubted myths
	Kuwawawa		
	Kuumkulu inkosi		

Notes

¹'Offy' Shepstone, son of Theophilus, served as adviser to the Swazi king Mbandzeni, 1887-9.

²It is not always completely clear in the original to which kings the names of the *izinduna* relate.

³See under Giba's evidence above.

⁴Allister Miller served as adviser to Mbandzeni in 1889. His list is in reverse order to that given by Shepstone.

APPENDIX 2

KINGS OF SWAZILAND

per Giba ka Sobuza, Mnkonkoni,
John Gama and Tikuba.

<The lists that follow, though attributed in the original to Giba and Mnkonkoni, represent information supplied by four informants. The names given by Giba and Mnkonkoni, as also those given by Tikuba, were recorded in the original in ink; these we reproduce underlined to distinguish them from the names and supplementary information supplied by Gama, which were recorded in pencil. The revisions and additions in the original make it difficult in some cases to determine the associations intended by Stuart between the names in the three columns - eds.>

<25.11.1898>

File 74, p. 128.

128 The following is a list of Swazi kings given by Giba ka Sobuza (the king) and Mnkonkoni, the well-known Special Messenger, men who, when I asked the Queen Mother to send me someone to give me information on this point, were sent by her this day. She considers them trustworthy.

Kings	<i>Izinduna</i>	Kraals
1 <u>Ngwane (Bunu)</u>		<u>Emampondweni</u> <u>Zombode</u>
(Queen Mother:) <u>Kunabtibeni</u>	<u>Mbabe</u> <u>Mgudhlula</u>	
2 <u>Mbandeni (Dhlamini)</u>	<u>Tikuba - at</u> <u>Embekelweni</u> <u>Sandhlana -</u> <u>at Didini</u>	<u>Embekelweni - his own</u> <u>Zombode</u> <u>Didini</u> <u>Inkanini - the place</u> <u>of his own people</u>
Mother: Nandi (Queen Mother:) <u>Madolomafisha</u> ¹	<u>Makambana</u> <u>Mgoqo</u> <u>Matebula</u>	

APPENDIX 2

Kings	<i>Izinduna</i>	Kraals
3 <u>Ludonga</u> - died a minor Mother: Sisila (Lamgangeni or Mamgangeni) Co-regent: Ndwandwe wa Sobuza	<u>Mgenge</u> - at Inkanini	
4 <u>Mswazi</u> (Mavuso) ^a (Mother:) Lazide, daughter of Zwide	<u>Sandhlana</u> <u>Jojo</u> - at <u>Ekufinyeni</u> Mbovane	Didini
5 <u>Sobuza</u> (Somhlolo, Ngwane)	<u>Mngayi of his own</u> <u>house</u> <u>Mkiza</u> ^b <u>Magongo</u> - at <u>Elangeni</u>	Nobamba Ezulwini Elangeni Esigombeni Didini Ntunja Moya Nkunga etc.
6 <u>Ndungunya</u> (Zikode)	<u>Dinile ka Nkambule</u> Mdindane Mlobokazana	Embekelelweni (Lakubeka, <i>great</i> <i>wife of Ngwane</i>)
7 <u>Ngwane</u>	Masenjana Mkuzanto - father of Masenjana	Zombode?
8 <u>Dhlamini</u>		
9 <u>Hlubi</u>		
10 <u>Ludonga</u>		
11 <u>Mavuso</u>		Engolelweni - still on Ingovuma, <i>at the</i> <i>place of the people</i> <i>of Maconda (induna)</i>

<Kings antecedent to Mavuso>

Samugedi
Lange, son of Bululwana
Sidwabasolutuli
Sikulamaloyi
Sihuba
Mbohlo

Ngongoni^c
Dhlodhlotella^c

Lange (Emalangen)^d
Nkosi
Nkomikabako
Samukedi (si nam' Bova)
Mbova
Msimude
Sihuba
Mswazi
Sikulamaloyi
Mbohlo

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Kabingwe
Gebase
Zimase
Wawawa
Sidwaba
Lutuli
Luwamba
Luwalala
Qomazita
Cebisa
Ndhlovu
Hlubi
Dhlamini

^aIn a proclamation by M.W. Pretorius, State President of the South African Republic, dated 29th April 1868 and appearing in a Blue Book headed 'Cape of Good Hope and Natal, Correspondence relating to the alleged kidnapping and enslaving of young Africans by the people of the Transvaal Republic', London, printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869, price 8d, Mswazi is referred to as 'late', and two agreements with him and Boers are referred to as dated 25th July 1846 and 21st July 1855. From this, Mswazi must have been reigning in 1846 and dead by 1868. Erskine told me that when in 1867 he came to survey, Mswazi was reigning, but he did not seem to be quite sure. In the same Blue Book as above, p. 29, a statement by 'Illunganiso, messenger from the Amaswazi tribe to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal', 20th July 1868, occurs, complaining of McCorkindale's action. Evidently Lazide, or Ludonga's mother, sends the message, which was received by T. Shepstone.²

^bMagongo was Tikuba's father.

^cAdded by Tikuba,³ 26.11.1898. Gama says Ngongoni was not a king. Gama does not know Dhlodhlotella.

^dPer John Gama, 17.12.1898. John Gama's list, given straight off from memory, is however to be revised to get a better order (see p. 126). He considers Shepstone's and Miller's lists⁴ defective and incomplete. See p. 52 for Gama's informants etc.⁵ He says sometimes old women know better than men, for instance, an old woman, the wife of Mpikheleli's elder brother, now deceased. A great opportunity of becoming acquainted with the kings was when *the cattle of the ancestral spirits* were killed. The *imbongis*, sometimes three, four, or five in number, one assisting the other, would be instructed to *bonga*. The name 'Sidwaba' is disliked by Swazis. There are very few old men left in Swaziland, due very largely to *sons* who had been nominated heirs killing off their fathers. They used to *make malicious accusations against them* to the king. Gama says the *cattle of the ancestral spirits* were received by different sets of people who were familiar with the king to whom they were attached (enquire further). Another reason why so great a string of names is remembered is because Swazis were in the habit of *naming* later by former kings and so keeping up the connection. Gama agrees with the list as far as Mavuso. It was he who added for me the name 'Mavuso' to the later Mswazi, as well as the alias 'Ngwane' to Sobuza (17.12.1898). Note: for John Gama's revised list see p. 126.⁶

APPENDIX 2

Notes

¹Nandi (Nandzi) was the mother of Mbandzeni. Her sister Madolomafisha, who had been one of her co-wives, served as Queen Mother during the latter part of Mbandzeni's reign. See Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 29-31.

²The Erskine referred to in this passage was probably St.V.W. Erskine, a surveyor who held a variety of posts in the colonial service in Natal and elsewhere. The McCorkindale mentioned was probably Alexander McCorkindale, who was the main force behind a scheme for the European colonization of the Transvaal-Swazi borderlands in the late 1860s. The T. Shepstone referred to is almost certainly Theophilus senior, Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal.

³Another of Stuart's informants. The names supplied by Tikuba appear in the original as marginal insertions against 'Lange - son of Bululwana' and 'Sidwabasolutuli'.

⁴See Appendix 1.

⁵i.e. in File 74. See Gama's evidence as reproduced on p. 132 of this volume.

⁶i.e. in File 74. See Gama's evidence as reproduced on pp. 133-4 of this volume.

APPENDIX 3

ROUGH NOTES OF EVIDENCE GIVEN BY LUNGUZA KA MPUKANE

<The notes given below appeared in the original as part of the evidence of Lunguza ka Mpukane, but were scored out by Stuart and written up in extended form on pp. 13-25 of notebook 32, File 59. As these notes illustrate one of Stuart's methods of recording oral evidence, they are reproduced here without translation or editorial emendation - eds.>

21.3.1909 and 22.3.1909?

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 12-13.

- 12 Principally oxen - calves tied up inside - no izimbuzi - izimvu from Jobe - killed - grass in kraal - each herd has bull of its own - white cattle - bull killed on back of head with axe by doctor at umkosi - different colours - caught with hands - bull not eaten by young regts not hlasela - they osa'd it - bones burnt in sigodhlo - part eaten in sigodhlo - horns also burnt in isigodhlo kraal - uKokoti slept in isigodhlo cattle recalled in afternoon - come of themselves herds guarded by zikuza - came in irregularly izikuza of all herds slept at gate chiefly oxen among the herds zaluka isibodhlolozu - if away too long - till lunch time carry short sticks and gida with them no gidaing if gone on sibodhlolozu I - - ! Wadh! ezivezayo, zand' ukwaluka other izibongo shouted by izikuza - go own accord calves herded by boys after cattle out no cattle kept in sigodhlo kraal black sigodhlo divided up with fences - not so white sigodhlo I entered twice in isigodhlo as a little boy - 4 times as a man I found D. always in the 4th hut - snakes mambas on the fence of isigodhlo - quite tame - tamele - catshacatsha, nsundu no trees in sibaya shout one side of kraal to another, don't hear killing beasts in kraal - beasts brought amaqabi come from other places - zomlomo cattle only killed 10 at a time zenz' umbonda i.e. a column - cattle kraal fence not high izinceku used to be caught by mdhlunkulu girls at umkosi will gida enhla - leave each sigodhlo - come out by each gate - girls gida, all spectators are in the kraal uNjunju wo hlanga (Dingana) The bull is killed in king's kraal - killed before the gidaing -

APPENDIX 3

- eaten in the king's sibaya - botsha eduze, smell
 gqayinyanga in sigodhlo
 sigodhlo went out early before daybk to wash
 4 or 5 girls could go out to relieve nature
 Dingana's mother was okaDonda - her hut was on left side of
 white isigodhlo, 3rd row back - izikigi by some girls
 white and black sigodhlo were occupied by mdhlunkulu
 nkosinkulu well below nkata
- 13 isigodhlo butwa'd from izwe lonke - all pretty girls taken -
 picked even coming to see umkosi
 Jobe and hole at back of house - afraid of Zulus
 shaving took place in king's sigodhlo
 Si uZulu we sitoye
 Siti kala nkomo ya kwa Z wena
 Mina mfana, si nga ba kwa Zulu tina
 izigqila (women) - women, old maids or widows
 impundu - stand poles for shutting up against
 izinceku do not sleep in huts of sigodhlo but ebaleni
 I never saw a hut burning - fuz' izindhlu, tapa utshani
 unyango, amaxiba, izinqolobana - a number of them
 shields tintitwa'd - izinundu

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turned out by Zuluo. They then went & lived ^{anywhere} ~~exactly~~ ⁱⁿ no Mvoti, between Grelstown & Stanger.

From there they went to Mzinto to live there. Boiya is the chief that ^{last lived near Mzingali} ~~last lived near Mzingali~~. They passed through Imbo tribe, ^{is got protection from them,} ~~having relatives~~ among them. The reason for going was to escape from the Zuluo.

I know of the abakwira Inkateni people.

They ~~are~~ may have been related to us, many live ^{andrygon tribe near Mzingali} ~~near Mzingali~~.

Boiya was the one who took the trail, away from vicinity of Mzingali. I do not know if he actually got to Mzinto. If any not

Boiya ka Mdalagda.

uBoiya ka Mshukela.

Owa fakh' amatsobha ^{was} ~~u~~ gangalazisa

am unable to bong' Donsela, the next chief after Boiya.

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