

## NDABAZEZWE KA MFULENI

22.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 31-5.

Also present: Kamisile

- 31 Ndabazewe ka Mfuleni ka Lugalo ka Matshiba ka Macimade of the *Dhlahla* people - an offshoot of the amaMbata tribe. An old man, of the Ngobamakosi regiment.<sup>1</sup>

Kamisile ka Mahleka ka Bakajana ka Noyobo ka Boyi ka Senyela ka Macimade of the Dhlahla. Aged about 47 - Felapakati regiment.<sup>2</sup>

The chief of these two is Mlokotwa ka Mpumela.<sup>3</sup> Of these two, Kamisile is the more intelligent. They are related. These two were sent to me by Nsuze, who is pulling rickshas in Pietermaritzburg.<sup>4</sup>

.... <Praises, with notes, of Cetshwayo, Mpande, Dinuzulu and Shaka omitted - eds.>

- 35 Per Kamisile. Mndeni ka Godide is living under Mlokotwa - he is a good Ntuli *imbongi*.

23.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 36-44.

Also present: Kamisile

- 36 Our Dhlahla tribe is an offshoot of the amaMbata tribe. There were never *chiefs* (independent) in our section, which went to live under Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe of the Embo tribe.<sup>5</sup> The *chiefship* (*ubukosi*) was with the amaMbata.

Fight between the Ngobamakosi and Tulwana at Ondini.<sup>6</sup> This fight took place when Cetshwayo was *holding* his fifth *umkosi*. The sixth was not held, as that was (at the time of the) Zulu war. [Hence the fight in December 1877 or January 1878.]<sup>7</sup>

Ndabazewe says he was present with the Ngobamakosi at Ondini when it fought with the Tulwana. The trouble arose out of the *izi-nduna* of the Tulwana and Ngobamakosi disputing as to the relative strength and power of the two. They were *up in the isigodhlo* having beer, i.e. Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele (Butelezi) of the Tulwana, and Sigwelegcwele ka Mhlekehleke (emaNgadini) of the Ngobamakosi. One said to the other, 'My force (*ibandhla*) could overcome yours.' They argued fiercely. Sigwelegcwele said, 'Be silent now. You will see when the regiments (*amabuto*) go out.' Orders then came for the

Tulwana to move out (by the gate). They did so, and continued doing so until the *isibaya esikulu* had to pass through,<sup>8</sup> when the *van (ikala)* of the Ngobamakosi (i.e. the Uve) disputed the exit with them. Fighting occurred. The Tulwana then went back and reported to Hamu,<sup>9</sup> who was still in the kraal, what had occurred, upon which he said, 'Here are the youths climbing over us and covering the king's things (dancing dresses) with blood. Arm with assegais and stab them.

37 This has been caused by the king, who has shoved them in with us, whereas it is we who live with the king.' They then armed and stabbed us, chasing us away and killing very many. We ran away, for it was impossible to arm with assegais, seeing that the Tulwana was in possession of the Undi kraal where our assegais were. We too had been occupying huts belonging to the Tulwana. Moreover, the Tulwana broke into the great chant (*irubo*):

Woye, woye, woye-i. Pick out the cowards!

Ho! Hoho! Woye, woye-i. Pick out the cowards!<sup>10</sup>

When they sang thus they were advancing towards us. We then ran off to the foot of the hills, viz. the Sitshwili. The Tulwana advanced in two *bodies (imizila)*. We then went towards them. This was before we knew they had assegais. No sooner did we clash and find that they were attacking us with assegais than we broke and ran. We went to the house of a white man called Qomukufa, to take refuge there, but he shut the door and refused admittance. We then ran up the Sitshwili, with corpses all about. The time then was sunset. We turned on them when they retired to Undi and caught them at the Ntukwini.<sup>11</sup> Many of us succeeded in snatching their assegais and stabbing them with those so obtained. The pursuit was continued until they reached the kraal and entered their huts. They shut the doors.

38 After this we left the kraal and went to Gqikazi, leaving all our things behind.<sup>12</sup> The king (Cetshwayo) was at Nodwengu, having gone there because of the *umkosi*.<sup>13</sup> The *umkosi* was fixed for that day, and the two regiments were to have taken part therein. There was no *umkosi* held that day. At Gqikazi was the uDhlokwe regiment. Gqikazi was the place of Cetshwayo's people (*ku kwab' uCetshwayo*). Our intention was to take refuge with the Dhlokwe, but they ejected us, so we went outside. The king said on the same day at Nodwengu, 'Hau! Zulu people! What are you looking at? What is that, Zulu people? So the youths are covering us with blood?' So he ordered men of the Zulu to arm and go and kill the *iNgobamakosi*?<sup>14</sup> He said this at about sunset. The *izinduna*, Mnyamana and Lurungu ka Somungco, reproved him, saying, 'Wo! Ngasita!<sup>15</sup> It is not our fault. It is the fault of the king, who took the youths and pushed them onto the older men.' The king then put the blame on the *izinduna* as well as us, saying, 'Why, when I gave the order for your men to go out, do you say that the fault is mine?' He continued, 'No, I too am having nothing more to do with this. I am closing this matter off, *izinduna*, and I am fining the *iNgobamakosi*.' He fined us in cattle, as numerous as the trees of a forest. When we had paid the fine, that was the end of the matter.

39 The king then said, 'It is clear, *izinduna*. I shall follow your advice. The *iNgobamakosi* will never again stay at oNdini. I shall give it *kwa Ndhlayangubo*.<sup>16</sup> The *induna*, Sigcwelegwele, then gave praise. We then went down to *kwa Ndhlayangubo* in our companies (*ama-viyo*). An *ikanda* was built for us. We stayed there, while the king stayed at oNdini. For, while his father was still alive, the king

lived at the *oNdi* in the low country. He came to the *Undi* (where the fight occurred) after the death of his father.<sup>17</sup>

I personally was not struck or stabbed in this battle. The clashing at the gate occurred about one o'clock, for all were then off to hold the *umkosi*.

Sigcwelegcwele kaMhlekehleke (of the *emaNgadini* people). 'Uji! Ji!' - said when he *giya'd*. I do not know in which campaigns he fought. I do not know his praises except

*Mandondo* who was called by the mountains!

*The uji of Mhlekehleke!*

These are his *iziratsho* [noted Book of Eulogies, i, flyleaf, p. v], i.e. those he is praised by when he returns from *giyaing*.<sup>18</sup> A man, whilst *giyaing*, has a certain word or words shouted as he *giyas*, and as he returns, having finished, *iziratsho* are said.

40 .... <Praises of Cetshwayo and of Ndubé kaManqondo omitted - eds.>

41 Per Ndabazewe. Mankene ka -- <sic> was Cetshwayo's *imbongi*. He gave praises to the cattle of the spirits at *Kwa Nodwendwe*.<sup>19</sup> Mkungo ka Manqondo was another *imbongi* of Cetshwayo. He was a man of the household (was' *endhlini*), who lived with the king himself. He is dead. He was of the *imBoza* regiment.

Kamisile: Mtshiki of the Mkulutshane regiment was a good *imbongi*. He was of the *Dhlahla* people. He died many years ago.

Mtshayankomo ka Magolwana is a policeman of Mlokotwa.<sup>20</sup> He is of the *Jiyana* people. He is of the Ngobamakosi regiment. He can praise Cetshwayo, Mpande and Dinuzulu. He is living. Magolwana lived at *Kwa Ntabankulu*.<sup>21</sup> His son there is a chief; I don't know his name. Mtshayankomo used to be a bearer for his father. He is not an old man (*ikehla*) yet. He is of the old *ingobamakosi*, the one which was *buta'd* by Mpande.

'His voice (*ipimbo*) does not fail him,' i.e. he does not forget - said of Mtshayankomo who goes on and on declaiming praises, his memory not giving out.

42 .... <Praises, with notes, of Bhakajana, Mahleka, and Zibhebhu omitted - eds.>

43 The battle at *uluNdi* between Zibebu and Cetshwayo in 1883.<sup>22</sup>

Ndabazewe was present at this action. Zibebu arrived with his forces at *uluNdi* before day-break. His coming was observed by the *iNdhavela* regiment, consisting of three companies (*amaviyo*) and stationed there by Mswazi, the Swazi king.<sup>23</sup> The alarm was raised. The *ingobamakosi* were ordered into the cattle enclosure to go to the king. The *izinduna* objected, saying, 'What is the use of going to the king with the enemy at our very doors?' Hence it was that the *ingobamakosi* and *Kandempemvu* were sent out in two divisions to meet the enemy. The *Kandempemvu* were repulsed, which soon led to the defeat of the *ingobamakosi*. When repulsed, the regiments wanted to get to the king, but it was ascertained that the king had left and made off

44 towards the *Ntukwini* stream, and from thence to the *Umfoloz*i. In the meantime Zibebu pressed his attack on *uNdi*, then held by the *Tulwana*. The *kraal* was surrounded and entered. A fierce conflict occurred with

the Tulwana, who were completely wiped out, leaving Zibebu master of the situation. The Ngobamakosi and Kandempemvu were chased across the *Umfolosi* rivers and dispersed.

[Mtanotengayo. See Dingana's eulogies, p. (b). Get account of battle at uNdi in Zulu. (See next notebook, pp. 1-5.)]

[Ntshelela, the *imbongi*, is very ill.]

24.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 44-8.

Battle of uNdi between Zibebu and Cetshwayo, and subsequent events.

<The original Zulu notes on which the following translation is based incorporate a number of amendments which Stuart apparently made when he was preparing this portion of Ndabazewe's evidence for publication. (Extracts from these notes appear on pp. 202-8 of Stuart's Zulu reader, *uKulumetule*, published in London in 1925. See also p. 188 and note 41 below.) The effect of the amendments is to depersonalize the story by eliminating all references to the narrator. We here adhere to the unamended version - eds.>

The king was at his *umuzi*, when Zibebu's army came. The order was given, 'Attack!' The *amabuto* went out. The *iNgobamakosi* went out, then the *uKandempemvu*, then the *uTulwana*. Then it was seen that the *Falaza* went out, and the *iNkonyanebomvu*, and the *uNokenke*; then the *iMpunga* went out. The *impis* made for each other. As the enemy *impi* came up, it encountered us *iNgobamakosi* first. It carried us with it, driving us back. It then drove back the *uKandempemvu*. It then drove back the *uFalaza*. It then encountered the *uMbonambi* and drove them back. It then encountered the *amaMboza*.<sup>24</sup> It drove them back into the *kraal*. The regiments were running about outside; they no longer went into the *kraal*. Only the *uTulwana* went in. Then all the enemy who had been driving back the regiments returned, and they fought it out in the *kraal*; they fought it out with the *uTulwana*. They stabbed the *uTulwana* and finished them off. Then they went outside and pursued our regiments. They drove our *impi* before them, into the *White Mfolozi*. Then they returned.

On their way back, some of the enemy discovered the king down the *Mfolozi*. They stabbed him twice; they wounded him on the thigh (on right leg, about three inches above knee, and then six inches above that wound). The king reproved them, saying, 'Hau! Boy! Am I stabbed by you then?' The boys took fright and ran away. They were sons of *Mahlokwe* of the *Mdhletsheni* people. They ran away and left the king. The king then went off up the *Mfolozi*. He slept there up the *Mfolozi*, then rose in the night, and made for *eSiklebeni* (which was situated near *eMakeni* - a river).<sup>25</sup> He crossed the *Mkumbane*, and climbed the hills to the open country, heading for the *Mhlatuze*. He crossed the *Mhlatuze* and made for *Nkandhla*. All the time he was travelling with a son of *Mbangambi*, *Nqumela* (still living - *iMbokodwebomvu* regiment). He was travelling with *Ntabeni ka Ntobolongwana*.<sup>26</sup> (*Ntabeni* is still living - *Ngobamakosi* regiment.) He then fled into the *Nkandhla*, to the *Mome* stream. He put up there at the *Mome*; he built a temporary

kraal (amadhlangala). Then his umdhlunkulu women arrived; his izi-sebe.<sup>27</sup> The daughter of Qetuka came, as did the daughter of Ntobolongwana, and the daughter of Godide.<sup>28</sup> All the Zulu people gathered, making for that place.<sup>29</sup> They came and made temporary shelters.

That moon waned. Then messengers came from the white chiefs. They said, 'The king must leave, and come to us at eTshowe.'<sup>30</sup> But the king refused. Many messengers came, but the king continued to refuse. Then the abeSutu people came.<sup>31</sup> They brought him out. They went up-country with him; he came to eTshowe. He put up there. The regiments came running to xawula.<sup>32</sup> He stayed there in his home at eTshowe. He remained there a month, and then a second month. At the beginning of the third month he died.<sup>33</sup> On his death, people went to buy a coffin. The king's body was placed in it. The white chiefs said that he should be buried at that place, but the Zulu people refused. They took the king's body by night and placed it in a waggon which they had bought from the white chiefs. The body was taken to the Nkandhla and buried at the Nkunzane stream.

Then we were ordered to pay taxes. We replied that we could not do so before the ihlambo ceremonies had been held.<sup>34</sup> Many messengers came. The Zulu people refused, saying, 'On no account shall we pay!' Then a force was armed and sent to the Nkandhla. It came in two sections. One came up the iNsuzi river, the other passed below the Komo hill. They met up at dawn. They said they had come to exhume the king's body from the grave where we had buried it, as we were refusing to pay the money. The impi of Ndube ka Manqondo then engaged with them.<sup>35</sup> While this was going on, other bodies of men (amabandhla) were sitting watching. The force came to fetch cattle from the Mome stream. It took their cattle. The men attacked it and drove it back. They drove it back to Nkolotshana up above. They went up the iNsuzi, stabbing and striking and finishing off the impi that had come from the white chiefs. We stabbed them, shouting, 'Here is the money which you came to find.' We finished them off. The sun was going down; as the impi began to cross the Mkalazi, it went down. [The Mkalazi enters the Insuzi.] We then returned with the cattle. We sang the great chant (irubo), which went:

Ho-ho! Wo-wo-wo!

Pick out the cowards,

Wo-ye-ye oye-yi!

Pick out the cowards!<sup>36</sup>

We returned with the cattle which the impi had eaten up. Our impi (i.e. Zulus) was under Nsungulo, a son of Ntobolongwana.<sup>37</sup> It put up at the place of Mkungo ka Manqondo.<sup>38</sup> He slaughtered two cattle for it. While we were eating the meat we heard that the Zulu had gone against the impi which had sat down during the day, the one under the command of Qetuka ka Manqondo. They went to surround the place where the white people had camped. The Zulu came up in the night. The soldiers attacked them and smashed them up. They drove them back on to the Komo hill. As dawn was breaking we met up with them at the neck below the Komo. We went up into the forest. They utterly defeated the Zulu. They then climbed to the top of the Nkandhla at esiBudeni. They camped there. Messengers came to say that the white men were on the way. The impi then scattered, running away from the white men. Dinuzulu then went up-country, running away, making for oSutu.<sup>39</sup> The Zulu scattered; they fled over the Tukela. They crossed to the other

side of the Tukela.

Then messengers came from Malimade to say that the Zulu should return to their homes.<sup>40</sup> Then abeSutu people came again and made us pay taxes. They ate up cattle. They completely finished them off over the whole country. We were now helpless. We followed the chiefs and our cattle which they had eaten up. It was Muntompofu ka Manqondo who followed. He went all the way to eTshowe. They gave him the cattle; the cattle were given up. Cattle were given up to every place. After that we all went home, and the country settled down.

24.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Kamisile

Battle between Zibebu and Cetshwayo, at oNdini, in 1883.<sup>41</sup>

Ndabazewe speaks. The king was staying at oNdini. He was putting up there, with his regiments, the iNgobamakosi and the uKandempemvu about him. On hearing of the impi's approach, the iNdhlovela regiment came up and said, 'Is the king going to die in his hut, then? The impi has arrived, and is upon us!'<sup>42</sup> We went out and saw it with our own eyes at the Mahlikihlikana kraal (a kraal of the king when he arrived from down-country). It was now in sight. We then made for the king's home to take him away. Qetuka and Mnyamana refused to allow it, and the army was sent out.

We had been in residence at the kraal, enjoying ourselves with beer. When the king wanted to call out his army and send it against Zibebu, Gwalagwala had refused.<sup>43</sup> His camp was at Kwa Sitshwili. The king had wanted to take action, but Gwalagwala had held him back. Gwalagwala had said, 'Did not Somsewu place you on the other side of the Mfolozi at Mtonjaneni?'<sup>44</sup> And now you do this? And not for the first time. Was it not for this that the white people destroyed you before? Because you did not obey the law of the white people?' The king replied, 'Let it be once only!'

Zibebu's impi appeared early in the morning before the time when people wash. It appeared at Mtanotengayo, on the ridge that goes down to the Nhlungwane. It drove the impi back to the kraal. Then the iNgobamakosi went out, and the uKandempemvu and the uFalaza. Then all the 2 regiments went out, the uTulwana, the uNokenke and the uMbonambi. The enemy impi engaged with the iNgobamakosi. Upon this, the regiments simply ran away, without having joined the fight. The enemy impi completely routed us, driving us back to the kraal. We ran away past it, leaving the king behind. The fight continued inside the kraal when the uTulwana fell back into it. Zibebu's force entered the kraal at the upper end and at the sides. Those of his men who had been pursuing the regiments returned and joined in the battle. Wild fighting took place. The impi attacked the uTulwana inside the kraal, and cut them to pieces. It was now broad daylight. The impi utterly finished them off. It was in the winter, at about this time. [About 24 June. The actual date of the attack on Ulundi was 21 July 1883.] The impi then burnt the kraal. Zibebu then ordered, 'Do not burn the kraal. Why are you burning my beer when I have overcome this fellow?' They ate up the cattle. They went into the kraal; only the temporary shelters were burnt. Then Zibebu's regiments returned. He cooked food

for them. The impi left in the afternoon as the sun was going down. It went up the Umfolozi river, looking for the king. At each place they came to they were told, 'The king has passed by.'

- 3 When the king heard that his impi had been defeated, he left his kraal, mounted a horse, and, going out by the right-hand side of the kraal (*isibaya esikulu*), made off to the Ntukwini stream. He went down the Ntukwini. He left the horse there because his way was obstructed by thick bush. He went up the Ntukwini, crossed the Umfolozi, and hid himself. Soon afterwards a number of warriors came up. They saw him. He was seen by a party (*ixiba*) commanded by a son of Mahlokwe. When they saw the king they surrounded him. A fellow of Somapunga's house, one of his sons, came up and stabbed him.<sup>45</sup> He flung an assegai at him and wounded him in the thigh. He was breaking off another assegai when the king reproved them, saying, 'Hau! Son of Mahlokwe, are you leaving me to these boys?' When he scolded them they took fright. They said, 'Ndabezita, we did not see that it was you, Ndabezita!'<sup>46</sup> Upon this they ran away. The second wound did not penetrate deeply; it was slight. It was also caused by a flung assegai. The warriors ran away on account of this incident. The son of Mahlokwe went into hiding. The wounds did not bleed, though they were open.

- Kamisile adds: Then sons of Somfula of the Hlabisa people came up; they had been *izinceku* in the time of Zulu rule, although they were now on the side of Zibebu. They looked for a reed, sharpened it, and  
4 blew water into the wounds to wash them. They then bled freely. The men then stripped the bark from a mimosa (*wungu*) tree, and bound them up. It was they who warned him of dangers on the road. They said, 'No, Nkosi! This is the path to take, one that will lead you away from the impi.' The king then came through without mishap.  
[Kamisile ends.]

Ndabazewe: I know the story that Kamisile has related.

Kamisile adds: The sons of Somfula came to the king after the party that had been with the son of Mahlokwe had passed by.

The king had wanted to attack Zibebu. He wanted to disregard Gwalagwala's words. The induna at oNdini was Mnyamana. He escaped on horseback.

We *iNgobamakosi* did not close with Zibebu's impi; they held us back with their firing. Zibebu's men used the cry, 'Watshetsha!'<sup>47</sup> Zibebu was mounted on a brown horse. Zibebu's force rose this side of the Black Mfolozi. The *iNdhlavela* was sent out to go and scout; it was three companies (*amaviyo*) strong.

- 5 I don't know if Somfula's sons who doctored the king are still living. They would be found at Kwa Hlabisa.

We of Cetshwayo's army used the cry, 'USutu!'<sup>48</sup> We all had on the ox-tail (*umtshokobezi*) badge, even the Tulwana.

To *tshokobezu* means to evade the law, i.e. the white people's law, for we crossed the Mhlatuze and the White Mfolozi - two rivers - and joined Cetshwayo. Thus this became the badge of those who owed allegiance to the king. The others were *amambuka*, i.e. those who had deserted (*hlabuka'd*) the king - deserters, renegades.

<The notes that follow appear to have been added by Stuart subse-

quently to his interview of 24.6.1921 with Ndabazewe and Khamisile. There is no indication as to the identity of the informant - eds.>

*'You slept when he was not asleep?*

*When he was lying in the forest?'*<sup>49</sup>

*This was called out in the night from the hill-tops by Cube people when Bambata was in the Nkandhla.*<sup>50</sup>

*A boy who had a nocturnal emission would wash with the tshisamlilo herb. He would not sleep on his grass mat.*<sup>51</sup>

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

*'Ndube is our Nkulunkulu.'*<sup>52</sup>

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

6 Per Ndabazewe.

*The Mahlikihlikana temporary kraal (amadhlangala). This is a kraal which Cetshwayo occupied on coming up from uNdi (near oNgoye and Kwa Ndhlayangubo) and eMangweni.*<sup>53</sup> He built the temporary kraal of Mahlikihlikana in Mahlabatini.<sup>54</sup>

The Ntukwini is the stream one crosses going from the store at Ulundi to the mission place.<sup>55</sup>

*The king rebeza'd, i.e. waved his hands to warn the regiments to go away and cease causing dust.*

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

Per Ndabazewe. Explains lines in Cetshwayo's praises re Ngxangaza. [In connection herewith, see Cetshwayo's eulogies (Kamisile's version), note to line 17.]<sup>56</sup>

*The izinduna sent out Mfuleni first of all, to go and bring to the side of the iziGqoza all the country on the Tukela.*<sup>57</sup> Then Ntobolongwana went out; he was sent out by the king (Mpande) to go and bring the country into the iziGqoza camp. Then Masipula went out and called Ntobolongwana, saying, 'Come here.'<sup>58</sup> He then said, Ntobolongwana, do not take the country to the side of the iziGqoza. You will be driven into the water; you will be swallowed up by the Tukela, for all the Zulu people are going over to the side of Cetshwayo. Go and tell Manqondo to arm his country and bring it to the side of the uSutu.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, Manqondo then armed his country. His impi then went up-country, passing by the Kwa Ngxangaza kraal, the home.<sup>60</sup> It crossed the Mvuzane stream, making for another of Cetshwayo's impis. When it was at eNtument, it saw the impi of the iziGqoza.<sup>61</sup>

7 This Mfuleni was my father. He was an inceku, of the amaWombe age-grade, an inceku of Mpande.<sup>62</sup> He used to carry the medicines used in sprinkling ceremonies. He was not an induna. He was of the age of the iWombe ('the ukokoti which ate a horse' - they got the horse from the Boers), but of the umNgenela - vide Zihlandhlo's kraal of that name.<sup>63</sup> My father and his contemporaries were not buta'd. He had been a man of Zihlandhlo ka Gewabe of the Embo people.

*Ntobolongwana was a son of Matshwaibana kaSomungeo of the amaCube people. He proceeded to disobey the king's orders and do what Masipula had told him.*

.... <Praises of Mfuleni, with notes, omitted - eds.>

My father went off with Dingane and Ndhlela when 'the rope was broken'.<sup>64</sup>

*Umfakela - i.e. like the Kokoti which were incorporated (telwa'd) into the amaWombe regiment, and the Indhloyengwe which were incorporated into the uTulwane.*<sup>65</sup>

'So you were holding back the grindstone for me?'<sup>66</sup> - said by Dingana to Ndhlela for having prevented him from killing Mpande, saying he was a swollen, scrofulous thing (*umcoboka*). '(You were) harbouring a snake for me.'

8 Mfuleni used to wash Mpande with water of *ubulawu*, medicine made from plants dug up in uninhabited parts.<sup>67</sup>

Lugalo crossed the river with Zihlandhlo; they came over to this side (Natal).<sup>68</sup> Zihlandhlo's sons crossed over, going with my grandfather. I don't know if Zihlandhlo's sons crossed over with Lugalo, or some of his sons.

Lugalo used to carry medicines. He carried them for the chief, Zihlandhlo, and afterwards for Mpande.

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

I think my grandfather Lugalo was an *induma* of Zihlandhlo.

9.7.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 8-13.

Also present: Kamisile

Kamisile and Ndabazewe. Dinuzulu's life, and end of Cetshwayo's.

Kamisile states: I do not know Dinuzulu's mother's maiden name. Her father was Msweli.<sup>69</sup> She was a girl of Mbuyazi's house (*ya nga kwab' uMbuyazi*) - that I am sure of. She was of the *isigodhlo*. Cetshwayo's *inkosikazi* was Mfumuta ka Qetuka ka Manqondo, of the *Magwaza* people. Mfumuta is still living. She married Siswana ka Mtiyaqwa ka Didi ka Menziwa (father of Xoko).<sup>70</sup> Siswana is now dead; before he died Manzolwandhle was given land and made a chief.<sup>71</sup> She then left Siswana to live with her son Manzolwandhle. She is still living with him.

Dinuzulu's mother was of the *Isitimana* regiment. [Ndabazewe says *Isitimane*, and yet he and Kamisile are of the same (*Dhlahla*) tribe.] Dinuzulu was born at the first *Undi kraal*, then (lived at) *Kwa Dhlayangubo*, i.e. at that part of the long ridge which is about five miles from *oNgoye* - this kraal was not far below the *Kangela* site (*Tshaka's kraal*).

Ndabazewe says he saw Dinuzulu when *he was a youth (ibungwana)* at the later Undi kraal, at Emahlabatini.

When the Zulu war occurred, Dinuzulu was at Emahlabatini, at oNdini. He escaped from Undi with his father, though the latter separated from him, going to the Ingome forest, where he was afterwards captured.<sup>72</sup> Dinuzulu went to take refuge with Zibebu.<sup>73</sup> When Cetshwayo was captured, he was brought to the Umfolozi where the troops were, and was asked where his children were and what he wanted done with them. Was it his wish that the *induna* Mnyamana should take them?<sup>74</sup> Cetshwayo said he wanted Zibebu to look after them, including Dinuzulu. Upon this, the authorities set apart a lot of cattle, about 100, and handed them over to Zibebu, saying they were for 'feeding' Dinuzulu and his *umdhunkulu*, i.e. his mothers etc.

Zibebu then rode off on horseback towards Banganomo with Dinuzulu.<sup>75</sup> Ndabuko, Ziwedu, Mahanana, Mnyamana and the other Usutu heads followed on foot.<sup>76</sup> After going a little way, Ndabuko declared that they, being of the house of Senzangakona, would not consent to eat off the dishes of the house of Sojiyisa.<sup>77</sup> A message was accordingly sent by Ndabuko etc. to Zibebu to say that Dinuzulu and the women were to come to them, also the cattle. When Zibebu heard this, he was greatly surprised and distinctly opposed to complying with this wish, seeing he had been nominated guardian of Dinuzulu and the rest of C.'s family by Cetshwayo himself in the presence and with the consent of the white authorities. He called a big council of his men, who, after full discussion, advised him to accede to Ndabuko's wish. He did so, but refused to surrender the cattle. All he did, when sending Dinuzulu back, was to send along with him two oxen, *saying they were food for the journey*; the rest of the cattle he kept.

The Usutu demanded the cattle, but Zibebu would not yield. Reprisals now followed. Crops of *amabele* belonging to the Mandhlakazi people were cut down (i.e. the ears of corn) by the Usutu party,<sup>78</sup> and they presently took to seizing cattle belonging to followers of Zibebu by way of recompensing themselves for the cattle Zibebu had refused to give up. Zibebu retaliated, and fighting took place, though at first only small parties were engaged. These disturbances became more and more serious; the Usutus induced many others to join their party, and Zibebu did likewise. A pitched battle was then fought at Umsebe, resulting in a complete and crushing defeat of the Usutu party.<sup>79</sup> It was shortly after this action that Cetshwayo was brought back from captivity. He was returned by Somsewu and brought to Emtonjaneni [29 January 1883].<sup>80</sup> The Zulu heads were called to meet him. Ndabuko and many Usuites failed to come because, having just been severely punished by Zibebu, they were afraid of venturing into the open, for many had taken to the bushes. Nor would Zibebu, though he obeyed the summons to be present, agree to meet and speak to Cetshwayo.

Somsewu then declared the conditions under which C. was being restored to Zululand, viz. that Cetshwayo was to live between the Mhlatuze and White Mfolozi, which were to be his new boundaries, and within which he was to try cases, not kill off indiscriminately, and refrain from recruiting regiments. South of the Mhlatuze were to live *those in trouble who belonged to the government (izihlupeki zika rulumeni)*. North of the White Umfolozi was to be Zibebu's territory. Fynn was appointed to watch the position and keep an eye on

Cetshwayo . The plan was that Cetshwayo was to be assisted by five *izinduna* of his own choice in trying cases.<sup>81</sup>

No sooner had Shepstone withdrawn than C. determined to disregard the orders. He infringed the terms of the settlement by marching across the White Umfolozi and re-erecting the Undi kraal on a site quite close to the Undi kraal that had been the scene of the final action in the Zulu war.<sup>82</sup> Ndabazewe [my informant] assisted in this reconstruction. This happened a few weeks after Shepstone's departure (the next month). It was here then that C. lived in defiance of the government, and Dinuzulu lived there with him. He lived there, says 12 Ndabazewe, for about two months, when Zibebu attacked him. One day, not long after [Encyclopaedia Britannica, xi ed., 'Cetewayo', says a week], Zibebu made a night march on Undi and attacked it in the manner already fully described by Ndabazewe [on pp. 1-5],<sup>83</sup> this man having been engaged in that action. C. succeeded in escaping with Dinuzulu [Dinuzulu was saved by Sitshitshili - Stuart, History of the Zulu Rebellion, p. 15], and, although wounded, succeeded in taking refuge in the Nkandhla forest. Here he remained until fetched by Fynn to Eshowe. Dinuzulu remained with Ndabuko at the Nkandhla.

When C. was at Eshowe, a native policeman, Tomu ka Mampuya, in command of a force of police and messengers, backed up by those from south of the Mhlatuze who were loyal to the government, was posted at the pass of the *iBomvu* near Robertson's (Nzimela's) mission station with orders from the government to prevent those in the Reserve territory going across to join C.<sup>84</sup> He was told to seize the cattle of any that did so. He carried out these orders to a considerable extent. He seized cattle and arrested disaffected people, bringing them to the authorities. After a while the Usutu party issued forth from the Nkandhla and surprised Tomu and his men in force. It seems the latter regarded the attacking force as being friendly, but they killed them off, including Tomu himself, and seized the cattle he had been collecting from people loyal to the Usutu cause.

13 The next step was that Dinuzulu sought the help of the Boers against Zibebu. The help was given and a severe action, in which very many of Zibebu's party were killed, was fought at Tshanini [5 June 1883 - see Stuart, History of the Zulu Rebellion, p. 15].<sup>85</sup> Zibebu was completely defeated.

.... <We here omit a passage which repeats information given on pp. 9-10 of the original - eds.>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The inGobamakhosi *ibutho* was formed by Cetshwayo in the mid-1870s of youths born some twenty years earlier.

<sup>2</sup>The uFelapakathi *ibutho* was formed by Dinuzulu in the late 1880s of youths born some twenty years earlier.

<sup>3</sup>Mlokothwa was chief of the Ntuli in the Nkandhla division.

<sup>4</sup>Nsuze kaMfelafuthi was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.

<sup>5</sup>Zihlandhlo was chief of the Mkhize (Mbo) people in the early nineteenth century.

- <sup>6</sup>UNdi or oNdi was Cetshwayo's principal *umuzi*.
- <sup>7</sup>The fight referred to took place in January 1878.
- <sup>8</sup>The term *isibaya esikhulu*, literally great enclosure, is ambiguous in its connotations. On the one hand it is used to refer to the 'great house' (*indlunkulu*), together with its 'right-hand' or 'supporting' house (*iqadi, inqadi*), i.e. those sections of the household which produced the heir. (See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 416-20; Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, pp. 249-51; Holleman, 'Die twee-eenheidsbeginsel', *Bantu Studies*, vol. 14, 1940, pp. 33 ff.) On the other hand, the term 'is one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived' (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 310, evidence of Lunguza kaMpukane). It seems to be in this latter sense that Ndabazewe is using the term. The quarters in a royal *umuzi* occupied by such a section of an *ibutho* were also referred to as *isibaya esikhulu* (see sketches accompanying Lunguza's evidence, *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 309, 340).
- <sup>9</sup>Hamu was the biological son of Mpande and the genealogical son of Mpande's brother, Nzibe. He was a figure of great political importance in the Zulu kingdom in the reign of Cetshwayo.
- <sup>10</sup>The original reads:  
*Woye woye wo ye i, Ketan' amagwala!*  
*Ho! Hoho! Woye woye i. Ketan' amagwala!*
- <sup>11</sup>The Ntukwini stream flows into the White Mfolozi from the north near present-day Ulundi.
- <sup>12</sup>KwaGqikazi was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- <sup>13</sup>KwaNodwengu was the principal *umuzi* of Cetshwayo's father, Mpande.
- <sup>14</sup>Cetshwayo was presumably referring to the order given by Hamu to the uThulwana.
- <sup>15</sup>Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 549, give Ngasitha as 'Name for Zulu royalty'.
- <sup>16</sup>KwaNdhlayangubo was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- <sup>17</sup>Cetshwayo's first oNdi *umuzi* was established in the early 1850s near the Ngoye hills in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom. After succeeding to the kingship on the death of his father in 1872, Cetshwayo re-established oNdi north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- <sup>18</sup>The noun *iziratsho* may derive from the Xhosa verb *ukuratsha*, which Kropf, *Dictionary*, p. 369, gives as 'To be proud, haughty, supercilious; to boast'. The reference to 'Book of Eulogies, i' is to the first of three notebooks in which Stuart wrote up praises which he had collected from his informants: it is to be found in File 75 of the James Stuart Collection.
- <sup>19</sup>This should presumably be Kwa Nodwengu.
- <sup>20</sup>Mshayankomo was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears elsewhere in this volume.
- <sup>21</sup>Ntabankulu mountain lies thirty kilometres south-east of present-day Vryheid.
- <sup>22</sup>Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi, a lineage closely related to the Zulu royal house. He was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed by the British to rule in Zululand after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, and retained power in the north-east of the country after Cetshwayo's restoration to the central part of his former kingdom in January 1883. The account that follows describes the

- attack made by Zibhebhu's forces on Cetshwayo's oNdini *umuzi* in July 1883.
- <sup>23</sup> The iNdhlavela was a Swazi *ibutho*. Mswati was king of the Swazi from the mid-1840s until his death in 1865.
- <sup>24</sup> AmaMboza was another name for the uThulwana *ibutho*.
- <sup>25</sup> EsiKlebbheni and emakheni were both Zulu royal *imizi*.
- <sup>26</sup> Ntobolongwana kaMashwayibana was of the Cube chiefly house.
- <sup>27</sup> Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860, give *isixebe* (pl. *izixebe*) as '1. Paramour, concubine. 2. Sweetheart (male or female)'.  
<sup>28</sup> These women were presumably of the *umdlunkulu*.
- <sup>29</sup> By 'all the Zulu' is presumably meant all who were loyal to Cetshwayo.
- <sup>30</sup> Since early in 1883 a British Resident Commissioner (first John Shepstone, then Melmoth Osborn) had been stationed at Eshowe.
- <sup>31</sup> This may be a reference to the Tlokwa people of Hlubi, who had been appointed chief in the Nquthu area in terms of the post-Anglo-Zulu war settlement of 1879.
- <sup>32</sup> The verb *ukuchwawula* literally means to shake hands.
- <sup>33</sup> Cetshwayo lived in exile at Eshowe from October 1883 until his death in February 1884.
- <sup>34</sup> Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 239, gives *ihlambo* as 'Custom of "washing the spears"...at the conclusion of the month's mourning following the death of a person'.
- <sup>35</sup> Ndube succeeded his father Manqondo as chief of the Magwaza people.
- <sup>36</sup> The original reads:  
*Ho-ho! wo-wo-wo!*  
*Ketan' amagwala!*  
*Wo-ye-ye-oye-yi!*  
*Ketan' amagwala!*
- <sup>37</sup> For Ntobolongwana see note 26 above.
- <sup>38</sup> For Manqondo see note 35 above.
- <sup>39</sup> OSuthu was an *umuzi* of Dinuzulu situated to the west of present-day Nongoma. We have not been able to establish whether it had been built at the time of the events here described, which took place in 1884.
- <sup>40</sup> Malimade was Melmoth Osborn, Resident Commissioner at Eshowe from April 1883.
- <sup>41</sup> Extracts from the notes which we here render in translation appear on pp. 202-8 of Stuart's Zulu reader *uKulumetule*. See also our editorial note on p. 186 above.
- <sup>42</sup> For the iNdhlavela see note 23 above.
- <sup>43</sup> Gwalagwala was the Zulu name for Henry Francis Fynn junior, who was appointed British Resident to Cetshwayo when, at the end of 1882, the British government decided to restore the deposed Zulu king to part of his former territories.
- <sup>44</sup> Somsewu was the Zulu name for Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who had been called out of retirement to oversee the restoration of Cetshwayo. The installation ceremony took place on 29 January 1883 on the emThonjaneni heights overlooking the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi from the south.
- <sup>45</sup> Somaphunga kaZwide was chief of a section of Ndwandwe in the time of Shaka and Dingane, and father of Mankulumana, the principal *induna* to Dinuzulu.
- <sup>46</sup> 'Ndabezitha!' was a term of address reserved for Zulu royalty.

- <sup>47</sup> 'Washesha!' literally means 'How he makes haste!' or else 'He made haste'.
- <sup>48</sup> The name uSuthu had been the collective designation for Cetshwayo's adherents since the early 1850s.
- <sup>49</sup> The original reads:  
*Wa lal' engalele?*  
*E lel' ehladini yena na?*
- <sup>50</sup> Bhambatha kaMancinza, chief of a section of the Zondi in Natal, played a prominent role in the rebellion of 1906.
- <sup>51</sup> On the practices observed after a boy's attaining puberty, see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 653 ff.; Krige, Social System, pp. 87 ff.
- <sup>52</sup> For Ndube see note 35 above. Nkulunkulu was a Zulu name for the Deity.
- <sup>53</sup> UNdi (oNdini), kwaNdlayangubo, and emaNgweni were *imizi* of Cetshwayo located near the oNgoye hills. See also notes 16 and 17 above.
- <sup>54</sup> The emaHlabathini (literally the place of sands) country was that about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where the main Zulu royal *imizi* and *amakhand*a were located.
- <sup>55</sup> The reference to Ulundi is to the locality named after Cetshwayo's *umuzi* of that name in the emaHlabathini country.
- <sup>56</sup> The note here given in square brackets appears in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of the page. The passage in the praises referred to reads:  
*U ya jabul' mfazi wa kwa Ngxangaza*  
*Wen' ubon' umnta ka Ndaba*  
*Mzolwan' e zo lal' esibayeni*  
*Amatol' odwa e ngazi ukub' a zo lalapi.*
- This translates as  
 You are glad, woman of kwaNgxangaza,  
 You saw the son of Ndaba  
 On the day when he came to sleep in the cattle enclosure,  
 Only the calves did not know where they would sleep.
- <sup>57</sup> The iziGqoza were the adherents of Mbuyazi in his struggle for the succession to the Zulu kingship against his half-brother Cetshwayo in the mid-1850s.
- <sup>58</sup> Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini people was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. For Ntobolongwana see note 26 above.
- <sup>59</sup> For Manqondo see note 35 above.
- <sup>60</sup> According to another of Stuart's informants, Dinya kaZokozwayo (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 101), kwaNgxangaza was an *umuzi* of Dingane on the Mhlathuze river.
- <sup>61</sup> The eNtumeni hills lie some fifteen kilometres west of Eshowe.
- <sup>62</sup> The amaWombe or uKhokhothi *ibutho* was formed in the late 1830s of youths born some twenty years earlier.
- <sup>63</sup> The uKhokhothi which ate a horse' was a common praise of the uKhokhothi *ibutho*. Another of Stuart's informants, Mbokodo kaSikhulekile, gives the umNgenela as the name of an *umuzi* of Zihlandlo, chief of the Mkhize, and of the men of that *umuzi* (Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 8, 9).
- <sup>64</sup> Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. 'The breaking of the rope' (*ukudabuka* or *ukugqabuka kwegoda*) was an expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.
- <sup>65</sup> Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 199, give *imifakela* as 'Adjuncts;

additional regiments or warriors in the war, reinforcements'.

<sup>66</sup>The original reads: 'Wa u ngi godhlel' imbokodwe na?'.  
<sup>67</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 351, gives *ubulawu* as 'Love potion or medicinal charm of any kind...', as so commonly used by young men in their dealings with girls'.

<sup>68</sup>Lugalo was the grandfather of the informant Ndabazewe.  
<sup>69</sup>Dinuzulu's mother was Nomvimbi, daughter of Msweli of the Nzimela people.

<sup>70</sup>Siswana was of the Biyela chiefly line. The Biyela were closely related to the Zulu.

<sup>71</sup>Manzowandle was a son of Cetshwayo.  
<sup>72</sup>Cetshwayo was captured in August 1879.  
<sup>73</sup>For Zibhebhu see note 22 above.

<sup>74</sup>Mnyamana kaNgqengelele, chief of the Buthelezi, had been Cetshwayo's principal *induna*.

<sup>75</sup>Banganomo, Zibhebhu's principal *umuzi*, was in the north-east of the former Zulu kingdom.

<sup>76</sup>Ndabuko, Ziwedu, and Mahanana were brothers of Cetshwayo.

<sup>77</sup>Sojijisa was Zibhebhu's paternal grandfather.

<sup>78</sup>For the Mandlakazi and the uSuthu see respectively notes 22 and 48 above.

<sup>79</sup>The fight at Msebe took place in March 1883.

<sup>80</sup>See note 44 above.

<sup>81</sup>The southern boundary of the territory to which Cetshwayo was restored was the Mhlathuze. The northern boundary was not the White Mfolozi, as stated by Ndabazewe, but a line to the north of the Black Mfolozi. For Fynn see note 43 above.

<sup>82</sup>The informant is mistaken in claiming that Cetshwayo infringed the terms of the settlement by moving north of the White Mfolozi, as the site of his new oNdini *umuzi* lay well within the territory to which the British had restored him.

<sup>83</sup>See pp. 188-9 above.

<sup>84</sup>The Rev. R. Robertson's mission station at kwaMagwaza was situated ten kilometres south-west of present-day Melmoth. The territory between the Thukela and the Mhlathuze was established by the British government as the Zulu Native Reserve in December 1882.

<sup>85</sup>The fight at Tshaneni took place on 5 June 1884.