

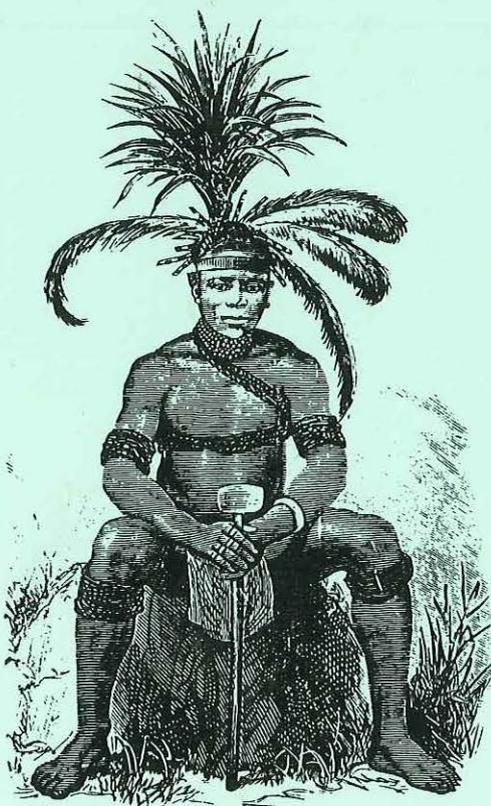
THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

VOLUME FIVE

THE
JAMES
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Editors

C. DE B. WEBB

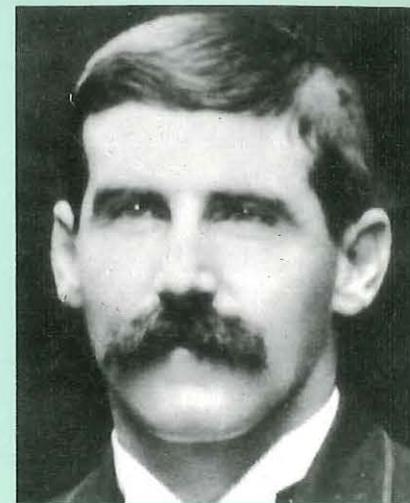
J. B. WRIGHT

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Killie Campbell Africana Library Manuscript Series



JAMES STUART IN 1906

This volume is the fifth of *The James Stuart Archive*. In it, the editors present a further forty documents compiled from material in the James Stuart Collection of the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban.

James Stuart was an official in the Natal colonial civil service in the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century. In meticulously recorded interviews with hundreds of informants, the great majority of them Africans, he assembled a vast and unique collection of notes on the traditions and customs of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples.

The documents published in the successive volumes of *The James Stuart Archive* represent edited, annotated and (where the original appears in Zulu) translated renderings of Stuart's notes and transcriptions. The testimony which he assembled piecemeal has been arranged by the editors under the names of the informants from whom it was obtained, and is being published in alphabetical name-order. The present volume carries the sequence from Nduna kaManqina to Sivivi kaMaqungo, and brings to 159 the number of informants whose statements have so far been published in the series.

Volume 1 of *The James Stuart Archive* was published in 1976, volume 2 in 1979, volume 3 in 1982, and volume 4 in 1986. Volume 6 is in preparation.



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JAMES STUART ARCHIVE.
Number 6 is in preparation.

**THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE**

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

VOLUME FIVE

Edited and Translated

by

C. DE B. WEBB AND J. B. WRIGHT

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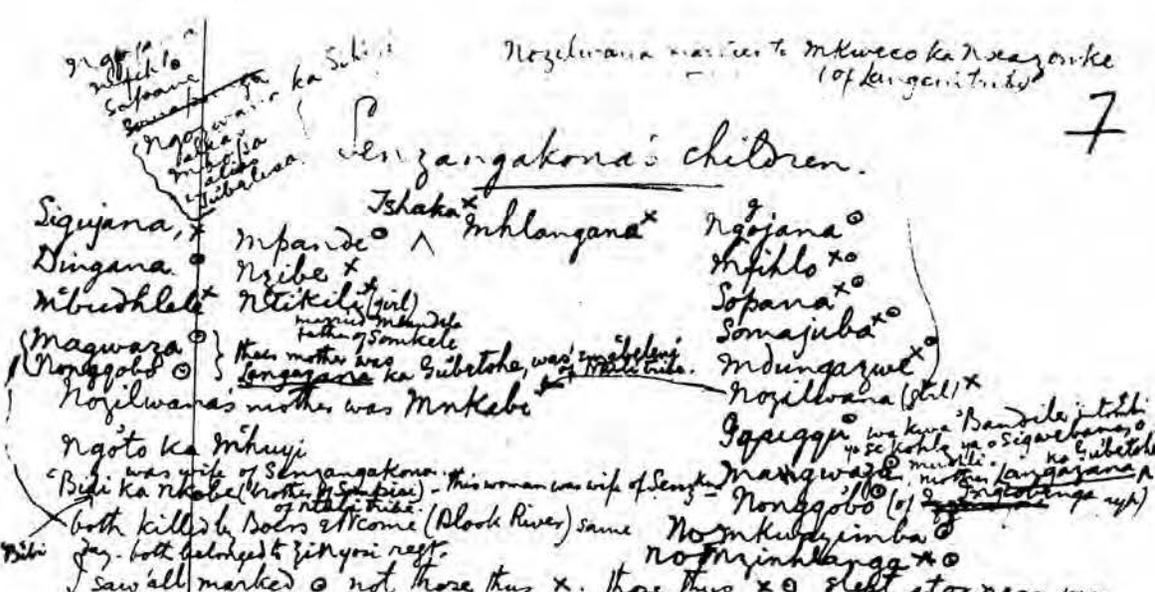
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Senzangakona's children.



I saw all marked o, not those thus x; those thus x o slept at or near my father's kraal on their return from 'Dalele impi when I was a boy. I did not particular notice them.

When Dingana died Mpande khangarisa Dhlambedhlu, mukulutshane Ndabakadengibona and called them Zwangendaba. Kokolet salid

It was the Imihayz regt. is the one that killed off the white people at Nondakusaka - the white people from eBodwe (Port) (derived from the words Port Natal). This battle was fought before Mbuyazi + Cetshwayo.

When Dingana buta'd imvoko he said wenz' inkonyana ka Hiza (Hintza) was imadogeni. His desire was to buta a regt. as large as Hiza's Inkonyane regt. This was a very great regt.

The reproduction above is taken from Stuart's notes of his interview with Ngidi kaMcikaziswa on 14.8.1904 as recorded in File 61, notebook 39, p. 7 of the Stuart Collection. For the editors' rendering of Stuart's notes, see pp. 37-8 of the present volume.

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PREFACE

Fourteen years have gone by since the publication of the previous volume of the *James Stuart Archive*. Elsewhere I have briefly mentioned the factors which made for this delay,¹ not least among them having been the untimely death of my co-editor, Colin Webb, in 1992, twenty-one years after the beginning of our fruitful working partnership.

The Stuart Papers project, which has so far seen the publication of four volumes of the *Stuart Archive*, was very much Webb's creation. He launched it in 1969-70, when he was lecturing at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, and played the main role in driving it and giving it shape until his departure from the University of Natal at the end of 1975. He remained committed to it during the course of an increasingly busy academic and administrative career which took him to the University of Cape Town in 1976, the University of Natal in Durban in 1984, and back to the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg in 1988. At the end of his life he was looking forward to helping to complete the project during his impending retirement. The volumes of the *Stuart Archive* bear witness to the far-sightedness he displayed in conceiving the project and to the intellectual energies he devoted to helping sustain it.

The present volume brings to 159 the number of individual testimonies published in the *Stuart Archive*, and takes the sequence of informants from Nduna kaManqina to Sivivi kaMaqungo. A sixth volume will complete the alphabetical sequence, while a seventh will carry a number of addenda.

This volume has been translated and edited according to the same principles and conventions that Colin Webb and I used in the previous four volumes. But in the annotating of the testimonies presented here, the policy followed has been somewhat different. When, in the late 1980s, Webb and I began annotating the first testimonies scheduled for inclusion in volume 5, both of us were concerned to move on from the somewhat uncritical positivist notions about the nature of oral testimonies which, we were coming to realize, had informed our work on the earlier volumes. In common with most historians of the time, we had tended to view oral testimonies primarily as 'sources' which could be unproblematically searched for 'facts' rather than as 'texts' which had to be carefully interrogated for 'meanings'. As we originally saw it, one of our main tasks in annotating the testimonies which we were rendering in published form was to provide researchers with pointers which would help to resolve apparent anomalies and contradictions in the historical accounts given by Stuart's informants, or, in other words, to help 'get the story straight'. By the time we picked up work on

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volume 5, we were starting to take note of currents of thought, then just beginning to be felt in the relatively isolated world of South African historical scholarship, which suggested that oral histories should be seen less as stories containing a more or less fixed 'core' of facts than as fluid narratives whose content could vary widely according to the social and political circumstances in which they were made. In consequence, we were gradually coming round to the view that our function as annotators was not so much to point users of the *Stuart Archive* towards a definitive version of the past as to clarify obscurities in the testimonies. In practice this meant that in our annotations we became less concerned to refer readers to other sources that we saw as relevant, while continuing to identify people and places where we felt it necessary, to indicate where we were literating the text, and to explain Zulu words and phrases that we had retained in the published texts. I continued with this approach when, working on my own, I was able to resume active editorial work on volume 5 at the beginning of 1997.

My perception of the testimonies recorded by Stuart as texts written under specific, and varying, circumstances has been considerably enhanced by my reading of the pioneering academic studies of Stuart's activities as a researcher recently made by Carolyn Hamilton.² As her work makes clear, we cannot adequately understand the testimonies as sources of historical evidence without a detailed appreciation of the specific contexts in which they were produced by Stuart in conjunction with his various informants. This means developing a detailed knowledge of Stuart's own life and work, and also, where possible, of the lives of his informants. A potentially wide field of research is beginning to open up here in parallel with the research which continues to go into the publishing of the *Stuart Archive*. Hamilton's studies, together with my article cited above, and sections of the editorial material in Rycroft and Ngcobo's excellent edition of the praises of Dingane as collected by Stuart,³ form the nucleus of what I hope will be a growing body of critical studies in this field.

The present volume is the first of the *Stuart Archive* to have been set on computer. One consequence is that it has been set in a different typeface from that used in the previous four volumes. Users will also notice that in place of a single index there are now two - an Index of Subjects and an Index of Personal Names.

Praises given by Stuart's informants have again been omitted from the text, partly for consistency with the practice followed in volumes 1 to 4, and partly because publication of the praises would require different editorial treatment from that given to the narrative testimonies, namely, publication of the original Zulu text as well as a translation into English. My intention is to publish all the praises omitted from the *Stuart Archive* in volume 7.

Notable among the forty testimonies published in this volume is that of Ngidi kaMcikaziswa, who, in his eighties, gave Stuart detailed information on the history of the Shakan period. Ngidi was a member of the chiefly house of the eLangeni clan, the people of Shaka's mother, Nandi; his testimony differs in significant respects from that given to Stuart by other informants who were members of, or closely

PREFACE

associated with, the Zulu chiefly house. Nsuzwe kaMfelafuthi provides a detailed account, on which Stuart drew heavily in writing parts of his *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906*, of his experiences in the rebel forces under Chief Bhambatha Zondi. 'Inside information' of a very different kind comes from John Shepstone who, at the age of 85, provided Stuart with numerous anecdotes, not all of great significance, on the life of his brother Theophilus, formerly Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal. Qalizwe kaDlozi was one of Stuart's employees at a very early stage (1899-1900) in the latter's career as a recorder of testimonies, when he seems to have been as interested in recording evidence of cultural change among black people in the urban areas of Natal as he was in recording testimonies about the histories of the Zulu kings. Qalizwe's statements contrast sharply with those of Pixley Seme, the well-known lawyer and political activist, who spoke to Stuart about his views of 'Zulu culture' in 1925, when the latter was living in London and was at the very end of his recording career.

My thanks go to the National Research Foundation (formerly the Centre for Science Development) and to the University of Natal Research Fund for financial assistance; to Jennifer Duggan, Iain Edwards, Yonah Seleti and the staff of the Killie Campbell Africana Library; to Jabulani Sithole for assistance in problems of Zulu translation; to Barbara Ivins, Joan Osborne, Ursula D'Arcy-Donnelly, Cara Pretorius, and Trish Comrie for their work on the typing of the volume; to Olive Anderson for help with artwork; to Margery Moberly for help in proofreading and in producing the indexes; and to Tim Nuttall for help in solving problems in word-processing.

John Wright
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

December 2000.

Notes

- ¹ John Wright, 'Making the *James Stuart Archive*', *History in Africa*, vol. 23 (1996), pp. 333-50.
- ² Carolyn Hamilton, 'Authoring Shaka: Models, metaphors and historiography', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1993, chs. 7 and 8; Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1998, ch. 4.
- ³ D.K. Rycroft and A.B. Ngcobo, eds., *The Praises of Dingana (Izibongo zikaDingana)*, Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, and Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1988, esp. Preface and ch. 3.

NOTES ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES USED IN THE TEXT

Roman and Italic Type

Roman type is used for passages recorded in English in Stuart's notes, and italic type for passages 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 standardized 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 amplification 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.

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.

iButho (amaButho): 1. age-group of men or women; 2. 'regiment'; member of an age-group; warrior.

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.

ukwEshwama: to perform the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony, in which, about a month before the *umkhosi* (q.v.) ceremony, the king or chief ritually tastes the new crops.

ukuGiya: to rush out alone from the assembly and dance about energetically.

isiGodlo (iziGodlo): 1. king's or chief's private enclosure at upper end of his *umuzi* (q.v.), where the huts of the 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 premarital (external) sexual intercourse. Cf. *ukuSoma*.

ukuHlonipha: to show respect through practising certain formal avoidances in action or speech.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

ukuJuba (pass. *ukuJutshwa*): to give orders for an action to be performed, especially to give the order permitting age-grades to marry.

iKhanda (*amaKhanda*): royal *umuzi* (*q.v.*) where *amabutho* (*q.v.*) are quartered.

iKhehla (*amaKhehla*): man who has put on the headdress; elderly man.

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 a superior.

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.

isiKhulu (*iziKhulu*): person of high standing.

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 *umnumzana* (*q.v.*); title applied by courtesy to any wife of a man of such position.

ukuLobola (pass. *ukulotsholwa*): 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.

isiLomo (*iziLomo*): man who, though holding no special office, has high status at court by virtue of the king's favour.

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*.

ukuNgena (pass. *ukuNgenwa*): to marry the widow of a deceased brother in order to produce children for his house.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

iNsizwa (iziNsizwa): youth approaching manhood; young man who has not yet put on the headring.

umNumzana (abaNumzana): head of an *umuzi* (*q.v.*) or household; family head.

iNyanga (iziNyanga): doctor, medicine man, herbalist, diviner.

iPhini (amaPhini): lower-ranking officer in an *ibutho* (*q.v.*).

ukuSisa: to place livestock in the care of a dependent, who then has certain rights of usufruct.

ukuSoma: to practise premarital (external) sexual intercourse. Cf. *ukuHlobonga*.

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 harmful purposes.

umThakathi (abaThakathi): one who uses supernatural forces for harmful purposes; the harmful acts committed by such a person.

isiThakazelo (iziThakazelo): term of formal address or salutation specific to each clan.

ukuThefula: to speak in Qwabe fashion, in which 'y' is substituted for Zulu 'l'.

ukuThetha: to give praise to the ancestors; to take an army through the ceremonies of giving praise to the ancestors.

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

umuZi (imiZi): 1. homestead, collection of huts under an *umnumzana* (*q.v.*); 2. the people belonging to a homestead.

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