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Socwatsha ka Papu Hyperlinked Archival Research Tool

Prepared by Kathrine L. Garrun for the Five Hundred Year Archive

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This sample electronic research tool links pages of the published *James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples* to photocopies of Stuart's handwritten notes used in the preparation of the published volumes.

It does this for the published text pertinent to one of Stuart's interlocutors, Socwatsha kaPhaphu (volume 6, 2014, pp.1-207).

The published text is linked to scans of annotated photocopies which one of the editors of the published volumes, John Wright, used to prepare the published text.

Explanatory note: editor's photocopies of the handwritten notes

The first step in the publication process of the *James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring people* was selection of what to publish and what to leave unpublished. From the start, the editors' aim was to publish material attributed by Stuart to specific, named interlocutors, as distinct from his own syntheses and memoranda. To this end, John Wright worked through the collection to identify what the editors considered to be pertinent historical material. Between 1971 and 1973 the identified material was photocopied for the editors by the staff at the Killie Campbell Africana Library. In the late 1970s Wright did a second search through the whole collection and further material was photocopied for the editors. The editors reorganised the identified material chronologically under the name of each person interviewed by Stuart, or in the case of discussions with more than one interlocutor, under the name of the main interlocutor, as determined by the editors. The editors then selected from their files the material which they considered to be of historical import, translated those parts that were recorded by Stuart in isiZulu into English, typed up the whole, annotated the text and published it. The photocopies contain annotations made by the editors in the process of their work.

The entire file of photocopies of Stuart's handwritten notes which they assembled under the name of Socwatsha ka Papu, used by one of the editors, John Wright, is now available on line. The full file can be read from start to finish by clicking on the link attached to the headline name "Socwatsha ka Papu" in the on-line version of the published text.

For the first time, researchers can see what the editors left out, what they changed, how they interpreted Stuart's handwriting, as well the original isiZulu which they translated into English. Annotations on the photocopies provide indications of the editors' working methods.

The presentation in this way of both the photocopied handwritten material that the editors used and the text which they produced from it demonstrates vividly a point made repeatedly by the editors that the published version differs in significant ways from the original notes. This point holds also in relation to the photocopies of the original notes which are in turn also, inevitably though less obviously, not the same as the original notes.

The FHYA has provided a set of links which enable researchers to flip directly from a particular point in the on-line version of the published text to the relevant page of the photocopies of the handwritten text to check a particular detail. The FHYA has further added

links wherever possible to other works mentioned by the editors in the end notes as copyright allows. The FHYA has also provided links from the superscript end note numbers in the main text to the relevant endnotes. Users are further able to click on the note number in the endnotes to return directly to the relevant point in the main text.

The FHYA has developed the system and the capacity to do this for the entire six published volumes. At present, the holders of the original material, the Killie Campbell Collections at the University of KwaZulu Natal, have only granted permission for this be publicly available for the texts pertinent to only one of Stuart's interlocutors. The FHYA selected the Socwatsha kaPapu text from the sixth published volume for this purpose.

There are a number of reasons for this choice. It is the lengthiest text in the published volumes (168 pages) and includes notes of conversations across a long time span, 1897-1922, itself a time of enormous political and social change in the region. The extensiveness of Stuart's engagement with Socwatsha presents an opportunity for readers to begin to grapple with Socwatsha and Stuart's engagement across time. John Wright has begun to explore this engagement in an article published in 2015, "Socwatsha kaPhaphu, James Stuart, and their conversations on the past, 1897-1922."

Wright further identifies Socwatsha as the almost verbatim source for 18 chapters in a series of Zulu readers which Stuart published in the 1920s, and which were prescribed for reading in African schools in Natal and remained in print from the time of their publication until the early 1940s. Wright goes on to demonstrate the influence of Socwatsha's accounts on key published texts of the twentieth century, among them A. T. Bryant's long-standing work of reference, *Olden Times In Zululand and Natal* (1929) and H.I.E. Dhlomo's influential play *UShaka* (1937).

The selection of a lengthy text provides an opportunity for readers to grapple with the editors' working methods in preparing the text for publication. The research tool allows readers easily to see text omitted by the editors. In addition, about one third of the whole was recorded by Stuart in isiZulu. Readers of Socwatsha's statements in the *James Stuart Archive* thus encounter long passages of translation. As John Wright has noted, these are as much the renderings of the editors as they are of Stuart and of Socwatsha. The electronic research tool makes it easy to compare the original Zulu and the editors' translations.

SOCWATSHA ka PAPU

<10.1.1897>

File 74, p. 138.

138	Regiments. Zululand.	[Approximate ages in 1897] ¹
	[Izimpohlo come in?]	
	Izinnyosi. [Turn to p. 141 and p. 142.] ²	94
	Udhlambedhlu - Dingana's first regiment	90
	Imkulutshane. [Turn to p. 141 and p. 142.]	88
	Ihlaba	84
	Ndabakawombe	81
	Ingwegwe (Imdhlenevu or Udhlambedhlu - Mpande's first regiment)	77
	Izingulube	73
	Isangqu (Amatshitshi)	70
	Amapela	68
	Tulwana (Imboza)	64
	Mzwangwenya (Inkonkoni)	63
	Indhlondhlo (<i>Imidwayimba of the Zulu</i>) ³	61
	Udhloko (uDhlokwe, Imambaluti)	58
	Udududu (<i>The bull of Tshaka</i>)	
	Umxapo	
	Umbonambi	
	Unokenke	
	Indhluyengwe	
	Ukandempemvu (Ungangezwe)	
	Umtuyisazwe	
	Unomzimane	
	Ingobamakosi (Amazwayi)	39
	Uve	34
	Falaza	
	Imbokodwebomvu (Ingubokakundhlase)	29

[For further observations in regard to this column beyond what is recorded below etc., see p. 140 and p. 141.]⁴

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[Note. The Zululand regiments were given me on 10.1.1897 by Socwatsha as Mpande's. I have copied them in here from another notebook.]

3.1.1900

File 9, item 51, pp. 1-7.

1 Socwatsha ka Papu speaks.

The Sirayo - Mgabi succession claim - Tshaka's decision.

Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele ka Maguya ka Tondo ka Ludiyo ka Buyiswayo (*'he who caused the women to return to hoeing and the men to return to clearing the fields'*);⁵ he, Sirayo, *disputed the succession* with Mgabi ka Mapoloba etc. as above. Their *isibongo* was abakwaNyuswa, kwa Ngcobo. Mapoloba's heir Mkuyane - by Magcwabe (daughter of Gcwabe, father of Zihlandhlo, Gcwabe's father being Kabazele⁶ - abasEmbo, kwa Mkize) - Mkuyane died. The Nyuswa *izinduna*, among them the greatest *induna*, Nkenezwa ka Ngcengece ka Mpipa *of the Ngidi people*, directed there should be a discussion to appoint another *heir (inkosana)* in succession to Mkuyane (Mapoloba, of course, being dead). Those who favoured Sirayo thereupon armed themselves with shields and assegais, and those who favoured Mgabi also armed. They then all went to the rendezvous to talk over matters as directed by the *izinduna*, intermingled with *abanumzana* and some of the royal family of Mbele.

Whilst the discussion was proceeding, those favouring Mgabi had made a plan; they said Sirayo must be taken by surprise (*junywe*) and *have an assegai thrown at him* and be killed there and then, whereupon Mgabi would *rule*, the succession dispute being over. Shields are not put skinside downwards but hair downwards and assegais on the hide; this is done so that if any *commotion (isidumo)* occurs a man can instantly take hold of the shield and assegais instead of *groping about (gwaqazing)*. A man Sihlanu of Mgabi's section hurled an assegai; it passed close to

2 Sirayo's right side but did not injure him and struck the shield beside him (*on the isijwabu* - inside of shield). The two forces immediately came into collision; *they fought fiercely (ya buqana ya buqana)*. Mgabi's lot was defeated and chased off. Warning was then given to all who were not present. They *called one another to fight (memana'd)* on both sides till their numbers swelled and again fought, severely killing one another. Again were Mgabi's lot chased away.

The amaNgcobo were very numerous who governed their own sections in various parts of the country. Word was sent to these heads of tribes of Ngcobo family. They then went and joined Sirayo. The Nyuswa *izinduna* then sent to the various Ngcobo heads and said, 'Go on to the side of the man you favour.' They then went. Bovungana ka Mavela went and joined Sirayo (Bofungana - not Bovungana - being of the section I personally am descended from, viz. abakwaNgongoma); Dube ka Silwane *of the Emaqadini people* also joined Sirayo. (Dube, grandfather of Mqawe and father of Dabeka.)⁷ Tondolozu ka Tayi *of the Emalangeni people* also joined Sirayo. Mtshiyane ka Tshuku *of the Tshangase people* went to Sirayo. Marawule ka Nonyanda *was of the abakwaMafuze people*. (Marawule, father of Madhlenya, father of Hemuhemu, father of Mveli.)⁸ As for the Amaosiyana, they broke in two, some to Sirayo, others to

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Mgabi. Mvakela's Amaosiyana went to Sirayo; those of Gcugcwa went to Mgabi [this Gcugcwa is the very man who was afterwards caught and brought to Tshaka for stealing the cattle taken from Pondos and other cattle as well - a notorious thief]:

- 3 Gcugcwa ka Ncameni ka Sizana ka Nozaca, *of the abakwaOsiyana people*. Gcugcwa lived at kwa Mambululu, *in country of dense bush (esixeni)*. Umambululu stream enters uTugela. Tshutshutshu now lives on Gcugcwa land.

Nomazucwana ka Ndela *of the Mgangeni people* joined Mgabi. All these men, although given different *izibongo*, were all portions of the Ngcobo family.

Sirayo was thus *sided with (vunwa'd)* by 6 persons of note, whilst Mgabi was *sided with* by two.

Fighting then went on constantly - always killing one another, Mgabi's lot being defeated. This went on to such an extent as to be noised abroad *in the Zulu country* and to Tshaka that *the sons of Mapoloba were destroying one another*. It was stated to Tshaka, *'They are destroying one another over the chiefship.'* Tshaka then said, *'Go and summon them. Tell them to come here to me. Each one must come with those people who favour him. They must dress in their finery (ukuvunula); they must put on the dress which they use for the umkosi, the dress which they use when their father holds the umkosi.'* They thereupon went, went to Tshaka at Bulawayo. Sirayo was a very tall man and yet stout (*zimukile*), whereas Mgabi was quite short. Sirayo *put on his headband of otter skin and imnyakanya of widow-bird and lousy feathers, together with imiklezo and umqubula.*⁹ Mgabi wore a headdress of mouse-bird feathers, and also *imiklezo and umqubula*.

- 4 They then came to Tshaka. Tshaka had in the meantime sent and called Dingiswayo at oYengweni, also Macingwane at eNgonyameni.¹⁰ The amaNgcobo then *came to* kwa Bulawayo. They *formed a semicircle (umkumbi)*. Tshaka then *chose the chief (beka'd)*. The first thing that happened was that Tshaka's dog was doctored, it being said, *'It is the dog which appoints the chiefs.'* *It started at one side of the semicircle, and passed along, sniffing at the people. It sniffed at those in front,* for it is the more important that stand in front when in *umkumbi* formation. *It passed along the row until it came to Mgabi; it sniffed at him too, and passed on; it sniffed at the others in the front row. It came to where Sirayo was. It did not sniff at him; it lay down in front of him. Then the madman (uhlanya) of the Zulu people, Dhlungwana of Mbelebele,¹¹ called out, 'There is the chief of the amaNyuswa. The dog did not sniff at Sirayo; it came and lay down in front of him.' He said, 'Do you see that the dog has sensed who is the chief? Don't you see by the very ornaments and dress that Sirayo has on that he is indeed a chief? Has there ever been a chief who dressed in mouse-bird feathers, who wore mouse-bird feathers on the head?'* He then told Dingiswayo, Macingwane and others that the chief was Sirayo. He then said, *'Take Mgabi away and put him to death.'* Sirayo then said, *'Oh Sir, he is the son*
- 5 *of my father; I do not like to see him put to death. I have beaten him. I have defeated him in warfare and again when the question of succession was considered.'* Tshaka then agreed to what Sirayo requested. *'But you, Sirayo, must send people to me with bundles of tobacco (ugwayi), for the tobacco at the iMamba is good; I want to have some.'*

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They then all dispersed and went home. Sirayo thereafter caused *tobacco* to be sent to Tshaka.

Nomazocwana ka Ndela *konza'd* Tshaka. Tshaka liked him as he was smart, he being a member of Ngcobo tribe. Nomazocwana *met Mgabi; they took a liking to each other*. Sirayo became the great chief and inherited all the inheritances of the family. Mgabi was appointed chief by his mother, Magcwabe, for he was taken whilst a child and told to go and *milk the cows at the upper end of the umuzi*. Nomazocwana then said, 'This tobacco regularly sent you by Sirayo is as regularly washed upon by him before being dispatched to you.' He *informed on (hleba'd)* Sirayo, S. being absent. Tshaka then said '*Nomazocwana speaks the truth. Sirayo inspires great awe (isitunzi sake sikulu). When I look at him, I am struck by fear. Also, I made him my induna at oBadaneni (built at the Mamba, on Madungela ridge). His company of men (ixiba) does not fight with others; it drives them away.* 6 *He strongly desires (nxanela) to kill me so that he can rule.*' A force was sent out to put him to death, without <his> being called up to inquire if the allegations made by Nomazocwana were true or not.

Sirayo was then put to death, whereupon our *people (izwe) broke up and konza'd in the Embo country to Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe*, at his Ezimahleni kraal, '*the isimahla people who sleep by means of water (isimahl' esilala ngamanzi)*', said probably because many were in the habit of sleeping only after having water to drink.

Tshaka again *sent out his impi* and put to death Mafongosi ka Bofungana. He was killed because it was supposed he was angry at Sirayo having been killed, for he had a warlike *impi*.

Tshaka then killed Tondolozu ka Taye. All those who escaped *from the impi* went and *konza'd Zihlandhlo, in the Embo country, at Esimahleni*.

Tshaka said of Zihlandhlo that he was his *umnawe* and allowed him to build an *isigodhlo*, that being an honour denied to others.¹²

Zihlandhlo was only put to death after Tshaka's death by Dingana. Dingana was just about to fight the Boers. After this, people got into the habit of crossing over to live in Natal.

We are *amalala*. These are samples of our language:¹³

umntwana = *unwana* <child>

inkomo = *iyomo* <cow>

imbuzi = *imbuti* <goat>

ukuzwa = *ukuva* <to hear>

7 *ukuhamba* = *ukukamba* <to go>

izwe = *ilive* <country, land>

amanzi = *amadi* <water>

umlenze = *unede* <leg>

bangwatile enedeni = they have stabbed him in his leg

umkono = *ukono* <forearm>

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umkonto = *ukono* <assegai>
wenzani = *wedani*, not *wentani* <What are you doing?>
pambili = *kembili* <ahead>
kuqala = *ncadi* <at first>
ulimi (olimini) = *kelulimini* <tongue (on the tongue)>
inxeba = *linxeba* <wound, injury>

It was owing to being killed off by the Zulus that many crossed into Natal, and ill-feeling between the Natives of Natal and Zululand continued till after Cetshwayo's death.¹⁴ This feeling however is now disappearing in consequence of Dinuzulu. The old people resented their chiefs being killed by the Zulus, e.g. we Ngcobo people. The younger generation however speak of Dinuzulu as their king.

Nomazocwana was killed by Dubuyana ka Sirayo because of his having *informed on (ota'd)* Sirayo; this took place in Mpande's time. Matondwana ka Nodada, *an isikulu of the Biyela people*, was also killed. Mpande then told his Zulus on the Tugela to move back onto higher ground as the Makafula of *silungwini* would *destroy* them.¹⁵

Socwatsha can give many *izibongo* of Sirayo - about 50-80 lines.

9.12.1901

File 71, p. 63.

- 63 [I had a long chat with Dhlozi, who arrived on 7th inst., about my wish to gather information re native affairs.¹⁶ I mentioned the advisability of getting Socwatsha down from Nkandhla. This evening I proposed his going to call Socwatsha and asked if he would like doing work in regard to native customs etc. He at once consented and we arranged for him to go and call Socwatsha, leaving here 12th inst. (Thursday), going via Bond's Drift. My object in getting Socwatsha is to have someone I know and who thoroughly knows Zululand and its principal people, who is moreover smart and would understand the object of my inquiry and take interest in it; he moreover could supply good information as to biography of various Zulu heads.]

[I sent a few days ago (about 10) for a blind man from Zululand well up in *izibongo* of Zulu kings but he has not as yet been heard of. I gave £1 to the messenger for this man's expenses (with *mat-bearer* - *udibi*). I want Dhlozi to leave soon so as to get Socwatsha about the time of the Christmas and New Year's holidays.]

[Socwatsha and Dhlozi arrived 27.12.1901 (see notebook Hist. of Zululand).¹⁷]

<Stuart's records of most of the interviews which he conducted with Socwatsha in the period 28.12.1901 to 2.1.1902 exist in two forms: 1) the original rough notes which he made during the interviews, and 2) transcriptions which he worked up from his rough notes. Where both forms of record exist, we give the transcribed version, with cross-references to the original rough notes (which Stuart invariably scored out to

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indicate that they had been transcribed). Socwatsha's statements are presented here in the order in which they seem to have been given to Stuart. – eds.>

<28.12.1901, Saturday.>

File 70, p. 6.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana for part of interview

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 7-8 – eds.>

- 6 [Note. I sent Dhlozi about 17 to 20 days ago (12th inst. - J.S.) to Nkandhla Dist. to fetch Socwatsha. They both arrived yesterday evening (27.12.1901) by train from Tugela, having walked from Nsuze where Socwatsha lives.]

Per Socwatsha in the presence of Dhlozi; Ndukwana was present during latter part of conversation and assisted in giving information, this day 28.12.1901 (Saturday).¹⁸ Socwatsha, if *buta'd*, would have probably belonged, he says, to Kandempemvu Regt. (*followed in age* by the Ngobamakosi) and so now about 48 or 49. He says he remembers seeing wounds on people who fought at Ndongakusuka (2nd Dec. 1856). Belongs to *aba kwa Ngcobo* tribe and the following is a list of names, in order, given by him of the heads of the tribe, beginning with the most recent: Mbozane, Sipandhla, Mafongosi, Bovungana, Mavela, Matshisa, Ndaba, Makamba (*amaLala* use this form) or Mahamba (Zulus use this form), Gasela, Nombika, Ngongoma and Ngcobo.¹⁹

A branch of a family followed out (genealogy) is spoken of as *umnyombo*. The chiefs of the *aba kwa Ngcobo* tribe are, beginning with the most recent: Deliweyo (deceased), Dubuyana, Sirayo, Mapoloba, Mbele, Magula (gave name, S. thinks, to the well known hill in Eshowe Dist.), Tondo, Ludiyo, Mbuyiswayo, Bamula and then, S. thinks, follows Ngcobo.²⁰

As regards the origin of the Zulu people, S. believes that, like the food plants on the earth, the various Zululand tribes *originated* (*dabuka'd*) in different places. As far back as tradition goes, the Zulu tribe *dabuka'd* at the Emtonjaneni, at Endhlovane (a river which flows into the White Umfolozi). The *aba kwa Ngcobo* tribe have for ages past lived at Emamba and Ensuze where S. and his elder brother Godhloza now live. When one cannot account for the origin of a people, one says '*dabuk' ohlangeni*'.²¹

<28.12.1901>

File 60, nbk. 1, p. 8.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga

- 8 *The Zulu people were stirred up (dudile); they were stirred up by Shaka.*

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<28.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 6-8.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 6 <The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 8-12 – eds.>

Now S. says he belongs to the Amalala people; these people *ba bezi fuyile*, i.e. <they were> their own masters. In ancient days when a fight arose the conquered chief would not be killed but caught and a large indemnity would be required to release him (*hlenga* him with cattle). The common people were of course killed. People went to fight with handfuls of assegais, instead of, as in Tshaka's day, with only one assegai - a short stabbing one.

A man of great note in early days was Zwide ka Langa of the Ndwandwe tribe - *he was well known (waye dumile)*.

- 7 The following are heads of those which appear the very oldest tribes of the country and of whose coming no traditions appear to remain: Zwide, Dingiswayo, Pakatwayo ka Kondhlo, Macingwana (chief of Amacunu).²² S. does not know which is the oldest.

In old days *kwa ku citshwana*, i.e. assegais were thrown at one another, not, as Tshaka taught, held in the hand.

In addition to the Amalala, above referred to, there are in Zululand the Amantungwa people, and these are those who speak of *coming down with a grain-basket (ehlaing ne silulu)*. The same people are called Abanguni; these are the people who *qokot'ulimi*, i.e. don't *tefula*, in other words speak pure Zulu.²³ The Amalala are more numerous than the Amantungwa. The word Inzula would be a collective name for all inhabitants of Zululand. The Amantungwa are said to have come down from the north and to have separated (*hlukana*) from the Besuto.

When Dingiswayo fled from Jobe he came first to Bovungana, the aba kwa Ngcobo chief [vide p. 6], and asked him to *protect (tola)* him. Bovungana replied, 'I will not give protection to a chief (*Ngeke ngi yi tol' inkosi*).' He then killed him a *nyumbakazi* cow and told him to leave.²⁴ Dingiswayo (then Godongwana) came to Sicongo ka Mandebele *in the Ngcolosi country*. Sicongo received him in a friendly way and, not perceiving his rank, sent him to *thresh sorghum (bula amabele)*. This man Sicongo lived at Emandhlalati, *below Ntunjambili*.²⁵ When *threshing*, Dingiswayo was *'bitten' by the chaff (umungu) of the sorghum*. He then *made off in the night*, saying, *'This is not protection; this is death,'* meaning the menial service he had to do, so he went on to the Amaxosa country and so on in the direction of the Cape. He went on to Cape Town. S. says he heard all this from natives of the Mtetwa tribe. D. returned on horseback. It is not stated how long he stayed away. Dingiswayo, when he came to power, *bonga'd* Bovungana for what he had done with a number of cattle.

The Mtetwa people are the *Amatefula* people, *those from down-country (a se zansi)*.

The Siklebe, Nobamba and Mgungundhlovu kraals are *on this side of the White Mfolozi* and close to one another. S. thinks the Siklebe kraal was larger than that of Nobamba.

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The sons of Senzangakona were: Sigujwana (*chief son - inkosana*), Mhlangana, Dingana, Tshaka, Ngqojane, Mpande and a number of others. Senzangakona is said to have had about as many sons as Mpande.

- 8 Dingana's *induna* was Ndhlela ka Sompisi. Ndhlela was the father of Mavumengwana and Godide.

Dingana's kraals were as follow: Mgungundhlovu. [Per Mruyi, 8.1.1903, and Ndukwana: Emvokweni (*on the White Mfolozi*, near waggon drift, south side), Odhlambedhlweni, Ezinnyosini.]

Tshaka's kraals

- 1 Kwa Bulawayo - head kraal (*ikand' eli kulu*).
- 2 Kwa Gibabanye
- 3 Kwa Gibixegu [same as Bulawayo, per Tununu and Ndukwana, 31.5.1903, also Ngidi]
- 4 Mgumanqa
- 5 Ufasimba - site near Enkanini and the Eqwageni site (Cetshwayo's kraal because he had 'eaten' Mbuyazi).
- 6 Mbelebele
- 7 Dukuza
- 8 Kangela
- 9 Ozweleni
- 10 Entekelweni
- 11 Mdadasa
- 12 Ntonteleni
- 13 Dhlangezwa
- 14 Kwa Guqu
- 15 Obimbini - *built in the Mtetwa country after Dingiswayo's death*, like the Mangweni kraal afterwards built by Cetshwayo?
- 16 Emkandhlwini
- 17 Emyeheni [Ndukwana does not know of this. Mkando knows it;²⁶ his father was 'poured in' (*telwa'd*) there.]
- 18 Nomdayana
- 19 Obadaneni
- 20 Ekuwazeni

(Kraal near Emandawe, name forgotten by S., may be one of kraals already given.) [Bulawayo, says Mkando, 2.8.1902.]

<In his original rough notes, Stuart indicates that Ndukwana was present at the interview with Socwatsha from this point onward: see File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 7, 12 – eds.>

- 21 Isipezi
- 22 Empangisweni

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[Kwa Wambaza - see p. 79. EmPukaneni - see Dingana's *praises* by Sivivi. Mbelebele - p. 292, Bird's *Annals*.]²⁷

Dingana was rejected (*aliwa*) in the Zulu country - not cared for. He was not praised at the place of the ancestors (*emadhlozini*).

[S. tried to give the Zulu kings but was not satisfactory.]

The Amantungwa lived at *Endhlovane* [p. 6].²⁸

Mzilikazi ka Matshobana belonged to the Ndwandwe tribe.²⁹

Dinuzulu married one of Qetuka's daughters and other girls.³⁰ He has had 4 children; one of these (girl) died, leaving 2 boys and 1 girl.

29.12.1901 - <evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, p. 8.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, p. 13 – eds.>

8 Same conversation with S. of yesterday continued.

Zwide, Dingiswayo, Macingwana (*of the Emacunwini people*), Pakatwayo (Qwabe tribe - Meseni and Siziba chiefs in Lower Tugela Division of this tribe), Malusi (kwa Nxumalo), Bovungana ka Mavela (a ba kwa Ngcobo) - these are the names of 'kings' before the Zulu people were fused into a nation.

The Basutos speak of Zulus as Amandebele. Mzilikazi belonged to the Ndwandwe tribe.

<28.12.1901>

File 60, nbk. 1, p. 13.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

13 *The umdaka ring was of brass (itusi) - put round neck. Cattle originated (dabuka'd) from ohlangeni.*³¹

<29.12.1901 - evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, p. 9.

Also present: Dlozi ka Langa, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 13-14 – eds.>

9 Under Cetshwayo, Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele was the *induna*. Qetuka was the *induna of the left-hand house (ikohlo)*. Ntshingwayo ka Marole was the *induna of the army at Sandhlwana*. Muwundula ka Nomansane became *induna in the place of*

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Masipula. Mpande's great *induna* was Masipula ka Mamba; the first *induna* was Mbilini of the *Mpukunyoni* people. Dingana's *induna* was Ndhlela ka Sompisi, whilst Nzobo was the lesser *induna*. This Nzobo was the one killed by the Boers. He was sent to the Boers, for the men (*amadoda*) said *allegiance should be tendered (a ku konzwe)*. Mpande however pointed Nzobo out as the principal cause of Pieter Retief and party's massacre, and so the Boers had Nzobo tied hand and foot to a waggon-wheel, the waggon was then pulled off by oxen, and the man [was] crushed to pieces. Nzobo had in reality come to Mpande.

Under Tshaka the *indunas* were Mdhlela ka Ncidi, Klwana ka Ngqengelele.

S. does not know who Senzangakona's *induna* was. The *country joined together (hlanganela) in the time of Ngqengelele*.

A king rarely retained the preceding king's *induna* because he was afraid lest he should 'a mapule nge si tunzi', i.e. overshadow him (the new king).

Dinuzulu's *induna* is Mankulumana ka Somapunga ka Zwide ka Langa, also Mgamule ka Langa, also Mgamule ka Nzobo ka Sobadhli (aba kwa Ntombela).

<28.12.1901>

File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 15-17.

15 Questions to Socwatsha.

<In the original list, some of the questions have been scored out. These seem to be the questions which Stuart ended up discussing with his informant. We have marked them with a dash '-'. The questions marked with an 'x' are so marked in the original – eds.>

- You said Dingiswayo had no son, who was Mgcobo [p. 101]?³²
 - You said Dingiswayo had no son, who was Somveli, the man Sitimela said was his father?³³
 - Mzilikazi's father.
 - Kwa Nteke (T.'s kraal) not Ntekelo?
 - Is not Mpangisa a kraal of T.'s?
 - Who were Mkabayi and Mmama?
 - Who used to be the great *izimbongi*, are any of Cetshwayo's still living?
Who keep the graves *emakosini*?
 - Is Dingana's grave known? How did he die?
Who are the *izinceku* of the various kings?
Used ambassadors come to Zululand from Tongaland, Swaziland, Pondoland, Basutoland or Natal?
What is the relation of an *inceku* to an *induna*?
Who were the king's doctors?
Who were the great witch doctors in the various reigns?
 - x Who were Cetshwayo's greatest men, cabinet council?
 - x Where was the *inkata yezwe* kept?
- 16 Who is it who lived at Ntumeni and kept the *inkata* etc.?
When did Tongas first come to Zululand?

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- x Who are those who *ran away* when Tshaka *occupied the country* of Mzilikazi, Zwide, Matiwana? Qeto of the Qwabe people who murdered Farewell and came to Lower Tugela.
- x Do you know anything of circumcision, used it ever to exist in your tribe? What caused it to be discontinued in Zululand?
When was the headring first worn?
- x Give the *izibongo* of the various kings, of any prominent men you know, also women.
Names of the respective mothers of kings.
Give me your life's history.
- x What is the greatest emblem of nationality, the *inkata*? What other things?
- x What things were *forbidden* (*nqunyiselwa'd*)?
- x Is there nothing about Zululand and the people that was permanent? Where are the national records?
- x The graves are of great importance and permanent but is there nothing else, no stone or iron or *izidwedwe*?
- 17 x What was to the nation a witness to having existed ten or fifty years before in the country?

Praises of Cetshwayo, account of his death, causes.

History of Zululand for the years 1882 to 1888.

x Your father's name.

Revise the Zulu regiments.

- x On what river was Nobamba built, Zimtlanga?

Account of your tribe, aba kwa Ngcobo.

What was *isigodhlo*?

x Names of various Europeans, in Zululand, Eshowe, Nkandhla.

x Native names of Cane and Ogle.

x What do you know of the flight of aba kwa Qwabe under Qeto, in Dingana's day?

<29.12.1901 - evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 9-10.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 17-18 – eds.>

- 9 S. says he is about the same age as those in the Kandempemvu regt. and rather older than the Ngobamakosi. He says, jokingly, 'I "drank" from a bag of maize-meal' (*nga klez' esakeni le mpupu*).³⁴ Remembers seeing persons who came wounded from the Ndongakusuka battlefield, being then [2nd Dec. 1856] about 4 years old.

Cakijana was a son of Dingiswayo; he *came to nothing* (*citeka'd*) due to illness (*ukufa*). Somveli was another son and the alleged father of the notorious Sitimela. Mgcobo too was a son of Dingiswayo and was killed by the Usutu.

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Mzilikazi's father was Matshobana.

The Empangisweni kraal was built *on the breaking-up (citwa) of the Ndwandwe*, and was one of Tshaka's kraals.

Cetshwayo *revived (vusa'd)* many of the old kraals.

- 10 Mkabayi *ruled (busa'd)* whilst Senzangakona was still young. She *carried a war-shield (isihlangu)*, and *put on an umqubula of blue-monkey and genet tails, worn like an isidwaba*.³⁵ She was a daughter of Jama and elder twin sister of Mmama.

Miyiyeya was the father of Dingana's mother. *'Is there not one of Miyiyeya's offspring? (Kako ini o ka Miyiyeya na?)'* Mkabayi used these words when appeal was made to her to decide who was to succeed Tshaka.

<28.12.1901>

File 60, nbk. 1, p. 18.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 18 *The place of washing (enhlambelweni)*, where the king *washes (geza's): an enclosure at the upper end.*

<29.12.1901 - evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, p. 10.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 18-19 – eds.>

- 10 Mmama was of less importance than Mkabayi. Among Zulus there is a great and a small *wele* (twin); the first born is the great one.

Mtshongweni was the *imbongi of Tshaka*. S. does not know who Dingana's *imbongi* was.

Magolwana ka Mkatini, Hlantele ka Qukaqa, and Mahlangeni were Mpande's *izimbongi*. He may have had others. Magolwana was killed (put to death), whilst Hlantele was stabbed by a man. Mahlangeni went to Zibebu after Cetshwayo's defeat and became Zibebu's *imbongi*. He had a peculiar voice and *cried out like a crow*.

Izimbongi are usually given the *stomach (itwani)* part of a beast to eat.

Mahlangeni *bonga'd* also for Cetshwayo.

Vumandaba is a man who could *bonga* Cetshwayo well; he however was not an *imbongi* but an *induna*.

Mtshongweni frequently *bonga'd* on behalf of others; so much did he do this that a proverb arose out of so doing, viz. *'Ngi bongel' amabandhla ngi ngu Mtshongweni ini na?'*: Who, not having been given anything himself, *bongas* for those who have received gifts? [Noted. B. Prov.³⁶]

There are *izimbongi* still living.

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31.12.1901 - <evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 10-12.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 19-21 – eds.>

Conversation of 28.12.1901 continued.

At the time of Dingana's death Dhlambula was chief over the Nyawo people. Dingana was killed at Hlatikulu and there buried.

The battle between Mpande's forces and Dingana was fought at Emaqongqo. *The Izimanguyawana of Sonsukwana*,³⁷ they said, 'Ma! Ma!'

Ndhlela was killed by Dingana's order for *ona-ing* (spoiling) and *tukusa-ing* (hiding) the army; he was killed at Emagudu. Dingana went off with a body of men to the Nyawo tribe, at the Ubombo hills. Dingana, however, had given out to the
11 *izinduna* and the *impi* that he was going to Somkanda's; no one knew where that was.

Dingana's troops said, 'This man is killing us.' It was the *izinduna* who sent to the Swazis (*amankengana*).³⁸ A rumour was then circulated to the effect that an *impi* was coming to 'eat' the cattle. (Socwatsha got an account of all this from one Shibela ka Makobosi who is still alive, belongs to the Ihlabu regiment and *is of the age-group of Mnyamana* - deceased). Hearing this rumour, Dingana went outside, looked up at the sky, and said, 'Mnyamana, Ndabezita, do you see what is in the sky? I have seen his evil practices (*imikuba*).' He continued looking steadily at the sky. Shibela went in and out, seeing the king doing this. Night came and all retired to rest. *Very early in the morning they smelt a strong smell (iququ) of birds.* Mnyamana asked Shibela what this smell was. As he said so, *an impi wearing bird-feathers came in. The women of the isigodhlo cried out.* Then Dingana was stabbed, stabbed in the forearm. He went out and ran away. Many of the women of the isigodhlo were killed, others escaped by running away. The regiments had gone away; they returned the day following this occurrence and looked for the king who had hidden in a bush. 'Weh, So-and-so; weh, So-and-so,' Dingana said to someone he recognized in the distance. (Dingana used to *tefula* but Tshaka used to *qokota*).³⁹ This man said, 'Here is the king,' and went up and the king directed him to go and fetch from the *izinceku* his *ubuhlungu* (antidotes). These were got but the wrong drugs must have been sent, for when brought he drank a preparation made from them and then died.

The Swazis as they left the Ubombo shouted out to the Zulu people, 'Here is your chief; what more do you want? Your people called us to come and kill him because he has tired you out.' These Swazis were Dhlambula's people for Dhlambula's people were dependants (*ba be fuyiwe*) in the Ngwane country.

People on the death of the king were killed, as well as cattle. People were buried with Dingana (as *umgando*).⁴⁰

The *impi* returned with the cattle. The plot was the making of the troops believe that an *impi* was coming, causing them to take the cattle some distance off; during
12 their absence the massacring party attacked, did their work and left before the troops got back.

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1.1.1902 - <evidence given 28.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 12-13.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcriptions of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 1, pp. 22-4 – eds.>

12 Conversation with Socwatsha of 28.12.01 continued.

Some *woman of the royal house (inkosazana)* is reported to have said, '*Let us go to Mapita;*⁴¹ *let us not go to Mpande, who is an umtakati.*' They, the party under Dingana at uBombo, accordingly went to Mapita, who seized the lot of their cattle and would not send them on to Mpande who then had become king. It was a great *wealth (umcebo) of cattle* that Mapita received on this occasion.

Ndukwana then made these remarks: Mapita was with Dingana at the uBombo. A man, Mfinyeli, was sent by Mpande to see where Mapita was; they said, '*At Esokosoko*' (*a forest on the mountain*). Mfinyeli was afterwards given a piece of ground by Mapita to live on.

Lufu and Malambule, who are Swazis, are said to have fetched a Swazi *impi*.⁴² Malambule was accused of *pressing out (xoxaing) fat for Dingana*. Lubelo was *sent out (paka'd)* by Mpande and killed Lufu.

There is a story to the effect that when, on the uBombo, Dingana sent to his last kraal for his things, it was the Kokoti regiment that was sent.

The people were wanted by Dingana to go northwards, but they demurred, fearing to be killed by *imbo* [probably dysentery of the worst kind - Colenso].⁴³

Practically speaking, Mpande was killed by Cetshwayo, for he used to speak of him as *the little old man (ixegwana)*, and he became thus disrespectful; <this was> for *setting on (qataing) C. and Mbuyazi at Ndondakusuka*.

Socwatsha says: Tshaka's *impi* went as far south as the *Esikaleni se Nyoka*,⁴⁴ wherever that may be. He *attacked in the country of the aba Bomvana aba fanayo* (i.e. Europeans).⁴⁵ Tshaka himself went with this *impi* and it was he who used this expression in regard to the 'white people'. [But on looking in Colenso's *Dictionary* I see 'Bomvana (ama). Name for Bushmen.' Socwatsha must be mistaken in saying the expression referred to Europeans.]

Papu was Socwatsha's father, Zikayana (*left-hand house - ikohlo*), Mavela [see list of ancestors, p. 6].⁴⁶

Socwatsha returned to Zululand after Cetshwayo's restoration and was at Emtonjaneni when Somsewu (Sir T. Shepstone) spoke.⁴⁷ Papu, S.'s father, died a very old man; he had *put on the headring* and married late in life.

Among those who fled from Zululand (in Dingana's day) was Nqeto ka Kondhlo.
13 This Nqeto [wrongly called Qeto in Bird's *Annals* and Russell's *Natal*] met his death at the Mzumbe.⁴⁸

Among the first residents of Durban were Kito [Cato], Mangcingci [Beningfield], Hohlo [Ogle?] - a son of this man was called Tshaka and lives near the Umzimkulu.⁴⁹

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The *inkata of the nation (inkata yezwe)* etc. The *inkata* is constructed of *medicines (imiti)* and *izidwedwe*,⁵⁰ which are twisted round and round together and made one, thereby intending to symbolize the unity of the nation, being an embodiment or visible expression of a hope that none shall *break away (muka)* and *konza among other peoples (ezizweni)*. The *inkata*, S. says, resembles the *intelezi, medicines* which the *impi* before going out to war was *sprinkled* with; the *intelezi* was *sprinkled* on the men by means of a *grass broom (umtshanelo)* and it is said to have *been bitter (baba'd)*.

The *inkata of the umuzi* was made so that the *umuzi* would not *break up (hlakazeka)*, and the object in constructing it was to bind all into one united people.

No one but the King was allowed to make an *inkata* of this kind, not even a member of the Royal family. The *inkata* was *carried* by *old women* who no longer menstruated.

The doctors were the ones who *sprinkled* the *impi* with *intelezi* but *old women* also assisted and like them used *grass brooms*.

The following is a list (perhaps not quite complete) of things which were always preserved or kept at the King's kraal.

- 1 *The axe (imbazo) of the umuzi* - for *cutting trees for the umuzi*
- 2 *The inkata of the umuzi*. [There were two *izinkata*, say Ntshелеle ka Godide and Somzica ka Godide - one was kept at kwa Nobamba, the other at esiKlebeni; the more important was the one at Nobamba - 27.2.1922.]⁵¹
- 3 *Firesticks of the umuzi* - for kindling fire
- 4 *Intelezi*
- 5 *The king's ubuhlungu*⁵²
- 6 *Things known by those at the upper end (ukwazi kwa nga s'enhla)* for poisoning people⁵³
- 7 *The assegai of war (umkonto we'mpi)*
- 8 *The stick of war* - used to *point* with in giving orders

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File 60, nbk. 2, pp. 1-5.

1 Questions to Socwatsha.

Sir M. Osborn's *praises*, who made them?

C.R. Saunders' *praises*, who made them?

What does *amantungwa* mean, also *abanguni*? Distinguish carefully between the characters of the two classes, *amantungwa* and *amalala*, and between the *amatefula* if these were a separate class.

Who were the principal *envoys* to Somsewu, Sobantu, the Boers, also to Sir M. Osborn? Names of *envoys* from Tongaland to Sir M. Osborn, from Mapita and Zibebu.

Who besides Mkabayi, Mmama and Sojisa (father of Mapita) were children of Jama?

Was Senzangakona a son of Jama? Did he reign long?

Are any of Dingiswayo's own relatives still living who would tell us how long he stayed away, how many seasons they planted?

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- Were you with Sir M. Osborn at Nhlazatshe, if so how long?
Who are the great smelters of iron and iron-smiths of Zululand and who of them are still living? Where are their homes?
- 2 Who are the great *izangoma* of Zululand who are still living and where?
Imilozi.
Distinguish between *isanusi*, *isangoma* and *inyanga yo ku bula*.
Who are the marriage officers of Zululand, is anyone responsible to the king for the occurrence, were marriages ever reported? Were deaths reported or births?
Where did cattle and goats come from respectively?
When did sheep and horses first arrive?
What were Cetshwayo's symbols of office?
Describe the effect civilisation has had on Dinuzulu.
Is Ndabuko dead? [Yes.] Give his history.
The histories of Qetuka, Mgamule, Mankulumana, Siziba, Msutswana, Yamela, Somkele, Sokwetshata, Mvundhlana, Ngqengelele, Zwide, Dabulamanzi, Mtokwana, Somveli (ka Dingiswayo), Tshaka, Dingiswayo, Dingana, Zibebu, Cetshwayo.
- 3 When did Mapita die? [Before Zululand war and after Mpande's death.]
Where and what from? Who was his chief *induna*, also Zibebu's? [Sikizane ka Nomageje.]
What is Zibebu's present attitude?
Distinguish between *hlobonga* and *soma*.
Names of all Zululand lethal weapons, also knotted and straight sticks, all shapes and sizes, also carved ones.
Names of food plants, cereals etc.
Are there any customs peculiar to the Ngcobo tribe which distinguish it from other peoples?
Do you mark yourselves in any way, or speak or *hlonipa*, taboo anything re burial, building huts, marriage etc., *zila'ing*?
Who were the first Europeans to come to the Inkandhla Dist.?
Give the names of Mpande's sons and daughters, who they married, etc.
Names of ornaments in your tribe, and what was the clothing worn in old days?
Have you any old legends?
Names of all kinds of basket-work and strings.
Names of all kinds of *pots (kambas)* and utensils.
- 4 Do you know of any old stone implements?
What woods are used in making fire?
Conservatism: Are there any 'survivals' in Zululand, 'which take place when old acts and fashions, though superseded for ordinary purposes, are kept up under special circumstances, especially on state occasions and in solemn ceremonies'? Is there a general attachment to ancestral habits and dislike to change and reform? If so how is it Tshaka managed to change the mode of fighting? Has not *isicoco* changed?

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- Did cannibalism ever exist in Zululand?
Give the story of Sitimela.
Give list of all the old independent tribes of Zululand; was Mzilikazi an independent tribe, also Nqeto? What was the true cause of Mzilikazi's going? Did the people of any other tribe follow after him?
What do you know of Bovungana or any other of the chiefs of your tribe?
How come there to be the two branches you enumerate? What split the tribe up? What localities do they respectively occupy?
- 5 Senzangakona's, Dingana's and Mpande's kraals.
Do you know of any old *men* in your tribe who would not be afraid of coming and giving me information? [Godhloza.]
How did the word *Amabunu* originate?
Was Tshaka the first to speak of Europeans as *ababomvana*?
Who was Mxamama? [p. 97, *Annals of Natal*]⁵⁴
What regiment is your brother Godhloza? [Would be Mpunga regt.; S. thinks Dhlokwe.]
If Tshaka said *abaBomvana* then when did the term *abelungu* arise?
Izidwedwe.
Inkata.
Difference between *ubuhlungu*, *isihlungu* and *ukwazi*.
Amabomvana.
Ngungunyana and Sotshangana.
Kondhla - meaning of.
amaNtungwa and *abeNguni*, difference between *ama* and *aba*.
Praises of Tshaka, Mpande, Dingana, Pakatwayo, Dingiswayo, Zibebu, Mapita, Sir M. Osborn, Dinuzulu, Senzangakona, Dabulamanzi.
Sons of Mpande.
Revision.
Return in the winter and bring Siyunguza and another.

29.12.1901

File 70, pp. 13-17.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 2, pp. 6-10 – eds.>

- 13 On the 29th Dec. 1901 a conversation took place on the following subjects.
Among the things *nqunyiselwa'd* (tabooed) by the Kings were:
- 1 Leopard skins
 - 2 *Umncaka*, i.e. *large red beads*
 - 14 3 *Igwalagwala* - the Lory [Colenso]⁵⁵
 - 4 *Red wire armrings (ubusenga)*, worn by the *isigodhlo* women; made (*gaywa*) by *amaNhlwenga*⁵⁶

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5 *Lion skins*

6 *Dun-coloured beads - imfibinga*. The following is a form of oath:

*'I hulula the imfibinga.'*⁵⁷

7 *Ingxota, armband for important men*

8 *Umkangala* [see Colenso] - name of wood used by Tshaka.⁵⁸

AmaNtungwa and abeNguni. These two names are for one and the same class of people. Among the amaNtungwa are the Kumalo tribes. The Kumalo people have an *isibongo* which runs '*umNtungw' oluhlaza*'.⁵⁹ The Kumalo people were also addressed as 'Ndabezita'.

The spelling abeNguni is the proper one, but the pronunciation abaNguni will also be heard.

S. can give no meaning to the word i- or ama-Ntungwa except that such people *are those who came from up-country (aba qamuk' enhla)*.

The aba kwa Nzuza *separated (hlukana) from the Besutu*; the aba kwa Ntuli (former chief Ndhlela) belong to the amaNtungwa class. The people known as *umzansi*,⁶⁰ viz. Mtetwa, Qwabe and Ndwandwe tribes, *said to the amaNtungwa, 'So you left your country and came down with a grain-basket (ne silulu) to the country of our people?'* AmaNtungwa say to Mtetwa, '*You are amaNhlwenga from down-country.*'

The Mtetwa, Qwabe and Ndwandwe tribes *tefula* in their speech and may be called amaTefula. Their proper collective name is *umzansi*. '*Mtetwa ka Nyambose, wena was' ezansi*' is an Umtetwa tribe *isibongo*.⁶¹

The amaLala are not *associated (hlangene) at all with the abeNguni: they are separate (a wodwa nje)*. They were *brought together (hlanganisa'd)* by Tshaka. The *umzansi* people are not again *associated (hlangene)* with the amaNhlwenga.

The amaLala *originated inside the country (dabuka'd pakati kwezwe)* and first dwelt on both sides of the Tugela and *reached as far as the Mhlatuze*. The Amacube (chief: Sigananda ka Zokufa) are amaLala, as also the aba kwa Hlabisa who live at eHluhluwe. They went to live across the Mhlatuze *on the accession of Mpande*. Malusi, father of Sotondose (Sir M. Osborn's *induna* at Nhlazatshe and who was got
15 rid of for being on too intimate terms with Zibebu and Hamu whilst Cetshwayo was
still *over the sea - ngapetsheya*),⁶² lived in Hlabisa district. Mbopa (of the Hlabisa
tribe) *was killed by Zibebu at oNdini* (the kraal was burnt).⁶³ Mnyombo is now chief.

The amaLala for the most part therefore are *on this side of the Mhlatuze*. The following, for instance, are amaLala tribes: aba kwa Cele; aba se maLangeni (*they live at the eMvuzane, which enters the Mhlatuze*); amaCube, Emansomeni (the people themselves say Emasomini); a ba se maQadini; a ba kwa Ngcobo or Ngongoma; and a ba kwa Nyuswa (these belong really to the Ngcobo tribe); a ba seMbo (chiefs: Tilongo and Sikukuku, both *sons of Ngunezi ka Siyingela ka Zihlandhlo ka Gwabe* (a somewhat numerous tribe); they begin at Engudwini and go as far as the Qudeni forest. The Eshowe district is built by Qwabe as far as uMhlatuze.

Socwatsha has purposely left out of account those amaLala tribes living on the south side of the Tugela.

In comparing amaNtungwa with amaLala, the latter are said to *tekela*;⁶⁴ the building of huts is the same with both peoples; their customs are the same as

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regarding marriage, burial, and construction of headring. The differences between the two classes are now practically nil.

The word '*Bayete*' originated from the *uhlanga*, like *sakubona*. As regards the word '*Ndabezita*', the Zulu people, when under Tshaka they acquired power, appropriated it for themselves and tabooed it in respect to the Kumalo, emaMbateni and emaCunwini tribes who had previously used the term.⁶⁵ The Zulu *isibongo* was *aba kwa Lubololwenja*; this afterwards became obsolete and frequently the words *a ba kwa sibongo sibi* were substituted.⁶⁶

S.'s father Papu was an *isancute*, i.e. not with *pierced ears (boboza'd)*; this in face of the fact that Ngqengelele had to *boboza*.⁶⁷ [He, Papu, belonged to Tshaka's oBadaneni kraal near the Mamba river, close to Tugela and on left side of road going from Fort Yolland towards Tugela - per Socwatsha, 10.4.1916. This kraal fell within the Nyuswa district.]⁶⁸

Envoys (amanxusa). To Somsewu (Sir T. Shepstone): Sintwangu (deceased) ka Ntenjane; Sidindi (living - *an old man*) ka Mnqunelwa; Nkomesiswebu (deceased); Funwayo (deceased); Sijulana (*of the Mngunyana people* - name of reeds - at White Mfolozi near Ntuzuma hill).

- 16 *Amanxusa* to Sobantu (Bishop Colenso). Same as above. Under Dinuzulu they were Mjwapuna ka Malungwana, Mtokwane, Tulwana ka Mantizela (remained a long time at Colenso's), Luzipo ka Nomageje (stayed a long time) - was present in Pietermaritzburg when the Duke of York received the chiefs.⁶⁹

Mtokwane was also an *inxusa* sent to Sambana. He was called *ucingo*, not because of his speed in carrying messages but in consequence of the frequency with which he went there.⁷⁰ He used to go backwards and forwards without spending any time to speak of at home.

It was owing to the influence exercised by Nzobo, one of the *izinduna*, that *the amarole cattle* were not restored to the Boers.⁷¹ Nzobo found that these cattle were of a superior breed, had long large udders etc.

Amanxusa to Sir Melmoth Osborn: Ndungunya ka Mlaba (*of the Nxumalo people*), Mfunzi ka Dumuzele (*of the Xulu people*), Zeyize ka Mtendeleka. There were also a number of others: Nomagqwaba ka Mgungulu (built at kwa Gazo, in Sotobe's district).⁷²

Among those sent by Sir Melmoth Osborn to Tongaland were Bikwayo, Weli, Magatsha (died there), Mpiko, Botshobana.⁷³

From Tongaland came Madevu (Bruheim) and others; and from Ndhlaleni came Nkamba.⁷⁴

Among the children of Jama were: Senzangakona, Sojisa, Nontshiza (*left-hand house - ikohlo* - father of Timuni), Sigwebana (*ikohlo*), Mudhli.

Senzangakona *disputed the succession (banga'd)* with Sojisa; latter defeated by Senzangakona. S. reigned a long time, about as long as Mpande; he died when he had grown-up sons. Tikili (chief Somkele's mother) was a daughter of Senzangakona; Sokwetshata's mother was also a daughter of Senzangakona.⁷⁵

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Tshaka *sent out an impi into the wilds (endhle)*, i.e. before it got home from one expedition it was sent off on another. His troops never rested. If any section of the *impi* felt proud and indispensable on account of their proved bravery, Tshaka would give an order to kill them on the ground that they stood in the way of others who could equally distinguish themselves.

3.2.1902 - <evidence given 29.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 18-19.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 2, pp. 11-12 – eds.>

18 Conversation of 29.12.1901 with Socwatsha continued.

There are no doubt persons living who could throw light on the subject as to how long Dingiswayo stayed away from the tribe but it is not likely they could state the period at all definitely. Natives cannot count years.

S. never stayed with Sir M. Osborn at Inhlazatshe. He found Misjane (J.W. Shepstone) at Eshowe.⁷⁶ Met Mr Osborn at Eshowe.

There used to be no cannibals in old days. Cattle *originated from the uhlanga (dabuka'd ohlangeni)*, also goats and *izimvu* (black goats); there were dogs but no cats, no fowls; no pumpkins but *amabece melons, amapuzi pumpkins*; no horses.

It was Dingiswayo who brought in the practice of *butaing amabuto* for he saw European troops at Cape Town. In old days *amabuto* were not *divided according to age-grade (nqamuke ngo buntanga)* but went according to kraals; all the men and boys of such kraal, no matter how various their ages, formed the fighting force of the kraal and were all given one name; *it was ingxube* - mixture. Among some of the ancient regiments are the *Amapela of Zwide*, but these men were not arranged according to their ages. Mzilikazi had the *Izimpangele* regiment; this was found to be the case when he was *fetched from up-country (landwa'd enhla)*. *Zwide* would, of course, have *learnt from Dingiswayo*.

Among the notable and distant rivers were the *uBekenya (deep pools only, no drift)*, *Malinga, Isangqu, uBemba*.⁷⁷

After Tshaka's mother left Senzangakona, she is said to have married Ngendeyana [Gendeyana, according to Mkando, 13.7.1902], who is believed to have been the father of Ngwadi, Tshaka's half-brother.

As regards Dinuzulu, he is merely an *umlandwane; he did not dance (sina)*, and his mother's father, Msweli, had no *name (igama) in the Zulu country*. Under ordinary circumstances *Manzolwandhle* would certainly have *ruled*; the late *Ndabuko sided with him*.⁷⁸

Tshaka's mother, Nandi, *was of the eLangeni people*, not 'Amola'.⁷⁹ *Sibongo* is *kwa Mhlongo* (not of course to *Zwide ka Langa's people*). S. thinks Nandi was a

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daughter of Mgabi; Makedama is *a son of Mgabi*. Mgabi's grave is near where Matendeka (Harry Osborn) used to live, on his farm and just above the first house. Tshaka was *harassed (hlutshwa'd)* by Makedama, not *of the Qwabe people*, but *of the Langeni people*. H. Osborn's second house is further down.

19 ... <Linguistic note omitted – eds.>

One of Pakatwayo's *amabuto* was called Izinkondo.

S. says that after full consideration he concludes that Dingiswayo did get as far as Cape Town, for tradition says he did get there. However impossible it may appear for him to have travelled so far, even though he was a great sufferer, still in view of the current general belief S. feels compelled to accept it as true.

5.1.1902 - <evidence given 29.12.1901 and 5.1.1902 (Sunday).> File 70, pp. 19-22.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

19 ... <Praises of Cetshwayo, with annotations, omitted. These praises were transcribed by Stuart from original rough notes: the latter are to be found in File 60, nbk. 2, pp. 13-20 – eds.>

22 S. says that the *praises (of Cetshwayo)* are much longer than above given. A man called Vumandaba kaNteti, *induna of the Kandempemvu*, who, however, was not a regular *imbongi* though he took a special interest in *bonga'ing*, could go on *bonga'ing* for hours. He is dead now. S. also heard others, viz. Zimu ka Madhlozi, when *using the smoking-horn (igudu) at the place of the people of Sitshitshili*; this man used to be a policeman at Eshowe and was well up in *the praises of Cetshwayo*. Maxetshana ka Vumbi, who was *of the age-grade (intanga) of the king*, could also *bonga*; is living, his kraal being near Socwatsha's in the Ngcobo tribe.

30.12.1901

File 70, pp. 22-4.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 2, pp. 21-4 – eds.>

22 Tribes of Zululand (fairly complete list of those in Zululand at the outbreak of Zulu War). Given by S. on 30.12.1901.

- 1 Aba kwa Butelezi (b)
- 2 Aba se Mambateni (c)
- 3 Aba kwa Nzuzi (d)
- 4 Aba kwa Xulu

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- 23
- 5 Aba kwa Kanyile
 - 6 Aba kwa Ndwandwe
 - 7 Aba kwa Qwabe
 - 8 Aba kwa Mtetwa
 - 9 Aba kwa Nxumalo
 - 10 Aba se Mantshalini
 - 11 Aba kwa Mdhlalose
 - 12 Aba kwa Redeba
 - 13 Aba se Mangwaneni
 - 14 Aba se Macubeni
 - 15 Aba kwa Majola
 - 16 Aba se Langeni
 - 17 Aba kwa Ngcobo
 - 18 Aba se Mbo (no chief now)
 - 19 Aba se Macunwini
 - 20 Aba kwa Ndhlovu
 - 21 Aba kwa Ntuli
 - 22 Aba se Mangweni
 - 23 Aba kwa Mpukunyoni
 - 24 Aba se Mdhletsheni
 - 25 Aba se Mancwabeni
 - 26 Aba se Qadini
 - 27 Aba kwa Kumalo
 - 28 Aba se ba Tenjini (*the people of the place of Jobe*)
 - 29 Aba kwa Cele
 - 30 Aba se Maqungebeni
 - 31 Aba kwa Biyela
 - 32 Aba kwa Zulu
 - 33 Aba kwa Ntombela
 - 34 Aba kwa Cebekulu
 - 35 Aba kwa Mbonambi
 - 36 Aba kwa Sokulu
 - 37 Aba kwa Zondo
 - 38 Aba se Mapisini
 - 39 Aba kwa Gazo
 - 40 Aba kwa Magwaza
 - 41 Aba kwa Nxamalala
 - 42 Aba se Mabomvini
 - 43 Aba kwa Hlabisa
 - 44 Aba se Mgazini
 - 45 Aba se Gazini
 - 46 Aba kwa Zungu
 - 47 Aba se Mandhlazini
 - 48 Aba kwa Dube
 - 49 Aba kwa Makanya
 - 50 Aba se Mambedwini

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- 51 Aba se Mangadini
- 52 Aba se Manzimeleni
- 53 Aba kwa Mwandhla
- 54 Aba se Mankwanyaneni
- 55 Aba se Maqanyeni
- 56 Aba kwa Caba
- 57 Aba kwa Nene
- 58 Aba kwa Koza
- 59 Aba kwa se Zibisini, 'whose mouths are red from children' (*ezimlom'*
ubomvu na bantwana)
- 60 Aba kwa Ngedi
- 61 Aba se Manzobeni
- 62 Aba se Mayezeni
- 63 Aba kwa Luhlongane
- 64 Aba kwa Vilakazi
- 65 Aba kwa Sibiya
- 66 Aba kwa Mpungose (a)
- 67 Aba kwa Makoba
- 68 Aba kwa Matonsi
- 69 Aba se Maxatsheni
and possibly others

- 70 Aba se Mdhletsheni
- 71 Aba kwa Sikakana (chief: Mboma ka Mqele)

Notes on above: (a) present chief is Mbango ka Gaozi ka Ndhlovu ka Kuba;
(b) chief: Tshanibezwe ka Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele ka Mvuyana; (c) chief: Nqodi
ka Diyikana ka Hlakanyana; (d) a former ancient chief was Madhla.

- 24 Conversation of 30.12.1901 with S. continued.
The Amampondo are called *amadebe* because they cut their faces.⁸⁰

... <Praises of Zwide and of Mzilikazi omitted – eds.>

S.'s brother Godhloza was not *buta'd*; had he been, S. thinks he would belong to
the Dhlokwe or Dududu regiment, but G. himself gives out that he would have
belonged to the younger Mpunga regiment, which S. thinks incorrect.

<30.12.1901

File 60, nbk. 3, p. 1.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

- 1 *The a ba kwa Lubolo lwenja people. They are of the original people (kwo
kudabuka).*
The small vagina (umsun' omncane) - Amabacas'.

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<30.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 24-6.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 3, pp. 1-4 – eds.>

- 24 Mzilikazi belonged to the *Kumalo* tribe; he and his people lived near the Ndwandwe people (*Zwide*). They went off up-country without *konzaing*. Mzilikazi was an *inkosi*. In olden times there were not many people. Mzilikazi was *driven away* (*citwa'd*) when living where that *ikanda* of *Mpande* called *Mfemfe* was and in which
25 Hamu lived. He, Mzilikazi, lived in what afterwards became Hamu's land. When the exodus took place no doubt other than mere members of his tribe joined him.

S. cannot account for the origin of the name amaBunu (Boers); it is an old name, for S.'s old father, Papu, used to use it. An amaBunu *isibongo* runs thus: '*the imiranga of Piti's people*' (*imiranga ya ko Piti*). *Umranga*: cf. *the big buttock-cover* (*ibetshu*) is an *umranga*.⁸¹

S.'s father lived at Obadaneni, one of Tshaka's kraals and into which people of all ages were *incorporated* (*telwa'd*). This kraal was somewhere in the Mahlabatini District. Papu did not go out much; he, however, was not *ungogo*,⁸² a man who never *konza'd*, never went out with the *impi*, but stayed and minded children and cattle.

Pieter Retief and party were killed at Emkumbane.

Notes respecting the aba kwa Ngcobo tribe:

In old days, a hundred years ago or so, there were no small kraals in the tribe. Nowadays only *imizi of the inkosi* are large kraals. *The country was not at war, with people blockading* (*vimbezela*) *one another*. The kraals were all made large, of many huts etc., so that if *blockaded* the people at the kraal would be sufficient to offer an effective resistance.

The names of Bovungana's *amakanda* were: Emdunyeni, Ebagiyozini, Ebugagwini, Embizeni (*of our people*, S. says, *of the left-hand house*), Ogujini, Engxangangxangeni, and others. All these were large kraals of 20, 30 and 50 huts apiece.

Our chief fought with aba se Mcubeni and aba se Malangeni, aba se Maqadini, aba se Mbo (only once with these, because the Nsuze got full; *low-class people* (*abafokazana*) *muddied* (*dunga*) *the water up above, higher up*).

All the chiefs died natural deaths and they never *paid tribute* (*etula'd*) to the Zulus. They used to *ask for the gourd* (*uselwa*) *for the ukwetshwama ceremonies from Mapoloba* (a Ngcobo chief).⁸³ Mapoloba got angry if Bovungana, Dube or Tondolozu *tshwama'd* without telling him. Bovungana's people got their own *gourd* but it was necessary to report the incident to Mapoloba, who would say, '*Let these our brothers* (*abafowetu*) *go and tshwama*.'

- 26 If a chief who was not an *inkosi* got a *gourd* with the view to *tshwamaing*, it would not *vutwa* (get cooked). Bovungana *ruled* according to his own customs. He

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practised umcatu, a custom apparently peculiar to the tribe.⁸⁴ *People would go out to wash at the river; at the Mfuduka; mats would be spread out from the river to the home; people would walk very slowly on the mats.* Should any stranger come and walk hurriedly along the mats, people would say, '*Who is this fellow (umfokazana) who is seizing the inkosi's land by walking so hurriedly?*' He would be at once called on to stop and come back, would be asked to say where he comes from, be told to wash and then *do the umcato* in a proper manner. On such an occasion as this, plenty of beer would be cooked, also *izindhlu* nuts. This stranger would be given food and otherwise he hospitably treated, and after he had been detained some time the *izinduna* would *plead* for him and the *inkosi* would permit him to go but he would have to move off at a very slow pace.

<30.12.1901>

File 60, nbk. 3, pp. 4-7.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

<In the original, Stuart's notes are in abbreviated form. We have kept editorial intervention to a minimum – eds.>

- 4 Bovungane killed many people. There is a hill *at the Nkandhla, the uGcongco*. Grain baskets were woven for killing people; they were made of grass. Any doing wrong, [he] said, '*Carry the basket.*' Goes down. All go up Gcongco. When up, they would put [them] in *the basket*, even if 2 or 3 persons. Each person be given a lump
5 of meat so that he *can eat as he goes*. Get in. The *basket is sewn up* and then *rolled down the steep hill*. Goes like a stone, bump bump, until the person or persons is smashed to pieces.

His cattle when milked on rainy days the *izincekus* poured in *their gourds*, not in Bovungana's; *the rain dripped on the insila; the cow got wet*.

Food ground by women, ground sideways for Bovungane. Did not look at stone because *strong-smelling smoke would blow on the food*. Saw *old woman* (Nkofela) who actually did this - *she ground for the inkosi*. Bovungana used to have a woman killed to see how a child was situated in the vagina.

- When had gone out to see cattle with men would say, '*We are boys herding cattle; let us kill an ibuzi rat and roast it.*' He would give directions to *collect firewood*. Get
6 a heap as it was *bush country*. '*Catch a steer.*' Kill it, put it on the heap of wood unskinned and fired. Burn and *turned* with *izinto*.⁸⁵ Give leave to eat, inside as if boiled.

Not young boys *herded cattle* but men *armed* for there were many thefts - *bandits* (*izigcwelegcwele*).

Father said that no *inkosi* (neighbour) ever *overcame* them, only Tshaka. Bovungana died natural death. B.'s son Mafongosi was killed by Tshaka.

Tshaka *concealed the impi* that came to *destroy our country* (*izwe*). Sent what were called *amanxusa*, 2, then 3, then in fours.⁸⁶ *The men were suspicious*, and *whispered among themselves*. *Amadoda sola'd* and *nyenyeza'd*. The main body was

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hidden. They did not carry war-shields to prevent arming. The number of amaxusa
7 *increased greatly at Mafongosi's kraal. Our people say, 'I swear by the chief who*
died when people were whispering.'

The *amaxusa* stabbed the *inkosi* and sounded the call to arms (*umkosi*). When said, 'To arms,' Tshaka's *impi* swooped in. When *impi* suddenly rose up, no ability to fight. Killed off. The so-called *amaxusa* came of course from Tshaka who said *they must be taken unawares* (surprised), as the Ngongoma people were brave.

31.12.1901

File 60, nbk 3, pp. 7-15.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

7 Mbozana still living (Tulwana Regiment).

Sixebe *went out from Nobamba*, Senzangakona's chief kraal. Sipandhla died just before the Zulu war. Saw him. Headringed, tall and slight, dark. Mafongosi, don't know him, killed by Tshaka.

... <Praises of Bovungana omitted – eds.>

9 Bovungana's grave is at Nsuze.

... <Praises of Mavela and Matshisa omitted – eds.>

Ndaba - not know. Godhloza is our *imbongi*.

In former times (endulu) no small kraals; not married, your few children elama'd
when big, when *impi* came how to carry them all; not much *beer* drunk by men, *it*
made them tired and made them grow old; young men did not care for it, not *andile*.⁸⁷

10 Men and *youths rose in the night* and sit *at the gate*; eat there; *teeth*, had complete sets in old age, no toothache; did not quickly get grey; strongly built, retained strength a long time.

Dried mealies and *boiled mealies (izinkobe)* - these *made a person strong* (*qinisa' umuntu*).

Umyambazi, ibaqanga - *stiff porridge*.

... <Praises of Mafongosi omitted – eds.>

12 *His voice becomes hoarse (kocoza); it becomes weak and hardly audible.*

Wants boys to be in office and *write*, know debts etc. and to make waggons and *workshop (shabu)*.

Tshaka was blamed for never allowing his *impi* to rest - despatched from the veldt.

[*Ukwazi* means knowledge and it also means poison, a remarkable combination - J.S.]

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[Compare the word *insaba* = detective (one who fears and yet comes to *know*). There is a perpetual fear that surrounds those who seek for knowledge. Truth is shrouded with fear. Death encircles Truth on every side. It is the brave and patient that win.]

- 13 [An unassisted nation's knowledge of a people is well illustrated by the Zulu people, I mean unassisted by ships, telegraphs, writing and steam-ships, horses, coaches etc. or other means of locomotion. Consider the geographical knowledge of a Zulu in the days of Tshaka, also his historical knowledge of his own people. All this, I say, shows what man is under certain conditions and shows us when we compare it with our advances what man can be and it shows the meaning of progress and the instrument whereby it is made.]

Ngungunyane was chief of the abaTshweki, who qakaqa, and who often became izinyanga of healing. They came to Zululand and Natal. Nxumalo and Ndwandwe people left Zululand. Manukuza was a descendant of Gasa (wa ba ka Gasa).⁸⁸

The Amampondo *impi* was the *kukulela ngoqo* when got as far as *Sikala se Nyoka*,⁸⁹ said to *make large fires*, not to *sleep* there, and leave fires burning - afraid that we would come (heard all this from Dingiswayo).

- 14 S. says Tshaka spoke of white people as *abaBomvana*.

The *impi* was sent out again to Mzilikazi and Sotshangana, the *ihlambo* for his mother Nandi, the *ukukulela ngoqo*.⁹⁰

'Here is the Mediator (*umalamulela*), the one who mediates for the cattle of the hawkers (*abarwebi*)' - this was called out by Dingana.⁹¹ No one to weep. 'The evil-doer (*itshinga*) from the Mtetwa is dead, the madman who is destroying the country, the one who is refusing to allow the people to have children.'

Told all in the *bushes* to come, and *the sick*, but as matter of fact they were afraid of Tshaka's *impi*.

*Isitunyisa - isibamu*⁹²

*Ihashi - injomane*⁹³

Abelungu and abelumbi - does not know origin of this word.⁹⁴

Inkata. Placed in a large pot (imbiza) with an ikamba pot over it; stayed kwa nkosikazi at the upper end.

- 15 Ndukwana: We think the Swazi name *abalumbi* suggests the real meaning because they make many things.⁹⁵

Does not know what tribes with Sotshangana - hear it said *uSotshangana ka Zikode*.

Does not know who Manukuza is, though familiar with word.

'*USotshangana ka Zikode*' were words used in songs in Dingana's day, that is how N. comes to know them.

Does not know what caused them to go, but it happened in Tshaka's day.

Vumandaba ka Nteti was an *inceku* of Mpande, but *induna* of the *Kandempemvu*, of the *uhlangoti* section, *Umtuyisazwe*. *Mkosana ka Mvundhlana* was *induna* of the main section (*isibaya esikulu*) of the *Kandempemvu*. Vumandaba <was> killed at Ondini by Mandhlakazi.

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2.1.1902

File 70, p. 17.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga? Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 3, p. 16 – eds.>

17 Conversation with Socwatsha this day.

Dingana, as soon as he came into power, *allowed (vulela'd)* certain regiments of girls to marry, doing this no doubt to win public favour (*namatela kuye*).⁹⁶ Among these *amabuto* were those known by the names Ntshuku, Mcekeceke, uMvutwamini, 'which ripened when the sun was hot',⁹⁷ iCenyane. These were *butwa'd* by Tshaka but not *caused to marry (ganisela'd)*.

Dingana was, like Tshaka, found fault with for killing people. Ngqojana ka Senzangakona was killed by Dingana.

Tshaka seems to have been liberal as regards giving food, but refused to allow (forbade) girls to *soma*.

Tshaka once wanted to see if *izangoma* were infallible in the discovery of truth. He sprinkled a lot of blood in the *isigodhlo* himself. Only Maxibi *of the eLangeni people* was correct in saying how the blood had got to be where it was. [To my astonishment Dhlozi informs me that our old servant Sotemela (September) is a son of this man.] Those *izangoma* who failed were put to death. Tshaka's action on this occasion was not disapproved, seeing that the ordinary people had just cause for complaint themselves against the doctors for they often smelt them out wrongly. The king's action seemed to check a growing abuse.

Cetshwayo, when he became king, discountenanced the system under which, after reference to *izangoma*, men were allowed to be killed off. He referred a matter, that formerly meant an order to kill, to the *izinduna* of that district in which the accused lived, who were instructed to make a thorough inquiry and then report. I rather think this change must have been brought about by the insistence by the European Government, at the time of Cetshwayo's coronation, on cessation of shedding of blood without trial. The ultimatum contained a demand on the same point.

[Here followed a talk on questions concerning European government of the Natives, European influences etc. which will be found in the proper notebook.]⁹⁸

2.1.1902. Silverton Road, Berea, Durban.

File 71, pp. 63-5.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 3, pp. 17-19 – eds.>

63 Conversation with Socwatsha ka Papu in the presence of Dhlozi and Ndukwana ka Mbengwana, 2.1.1902.

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The great thing we are thankful for to British Government is that the country is in a state of peace. We can now *sleep well (lal' ubutongo)*, which in former days could not be. There are other advantages derived but I go on to the complaints we have against the system.

Our grievances are:

- (1) The having to pay hut-tax twice over, viz. living on farms.
- (2) The having to pay taxes at all in these hard times when all our cattle have been carried off by rinderpest.
- 64 (3) Being disallowed to marry a daughter off to a suitable man who has cattle in accordance with old custom. The girl is not to go where she does not wish to go, nor may she go where her father disapproves or has not given his consent. Girls' lovers are frequently idle, useless fellows. Girls are our 'bank', source of profit, our 'income'; who has a girl knows he has cattle. Among those complaints which the 27 chiefs from Zululand (not including Mehlokazulu who was ordered by Mr Saunders to go back) were going to lay before the Duke of Cornwall in Pietermaritzburg, this, in respect to their daughters, was the principal one.⁹⁹ The chiefs however were not permitted to speak, were told so beforehand and they felt it very much. How ever does the Government come to be concerned in what is after all a purely domestic, parental matter? The children were borne by us alone in our huts, the children are like *izimpahl' emsamo*, our own personal property; whence, then, this interference of the Government? Our daughters engage themselves to *amaruzwana*, loafers and idlers, who *fill them up with medicines (gcingca them nge miti)* and we are powerless.
- (4) Everybody nowadays seems to be or can be a doctor. This is a source of annoyance and is a danger to public health. In consequence of ill-qualified practitioners, many people are not properly attended. Among these doctors are strangers like Amanhlwenga, abaTshweki, abeSutu, and amaTshangana who bring with them all kinds of drugs. There is no room for upstarts in matters of this sort, i.e. those who neither their fathers nor grandfathers were doctors. A profession of this kind is followed for generations in one family.
- (5) Divorce - a woman leaving a man to go and *marry* another. *In the Zulu country*, only when her husband had driven her away could she marry someone else.
- (6) *aba Meli* - lawyers. *A case is based on lies (icala li tetwa ngamanga)*. And even when a case is over and a man has failed, he will be required to pay heavy costs.
- (7) Magistrates unable to speak Zulu. It is a very great handicap if a man has to be interpreted for, which is called *kwitizaing*.¹⁰⁰ How can the Magistrate or Judge come to know the truth of anything?
- (8) Quarrels as regards land. Chiefs quarrel with one another and yet if only inquiry would be made the natives would willingly go into the whole question, giving it in all its bearings.

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65 Chiefs are being separated and created all over the country. They are independent instead of being all under one head like Dinuzulu. This division is a source of weakness; if all are united they are likely to forget that they are weak. If *they formed a single ingxuku* under Dinuzulu there might be danger of disturbance.¹⁰¹

People appreciate British justice under which the 2 who have quarrelled are summoned and a case is heard at length and the matter decided. The strict inquiry that follows death under suspicious circumstances is very satisfactory and pleasing. And it is a great relief when, in times of scarcity, waggons laden with grain are brought into the country for the benefit of the people.

Socwatscha himself does not *bula* now; this is simply because he has lost all faith in *izangoma* which occurred on the occasion of a young step-mother of his dying suddenly. He then took 10s. with him and proceeded to 10 different doctors, those who *bula'd* and those who threw bones (not however to *imilozi*),¹⁰² and each one spoke differently from the others, leaving him in the end as much at sea as ever.

There are now many schools in Nkandhla District. The Zulus quickly become *kolwas*, are ready converts, and those who have *kolwa'd ku se nga bantu*.¹⁰³ *Kolwas* have many things, many debts etc.

Nkambula is a young man who is a clerk at Eshowe - storekeeper - and belongs to kwa Tshange (Yamela) people. Came into the service in Sir M. Clarke's time.¹⁰⁴

Kolwas are smart in putting by food in anticipation of a dry season; they exercise prevision like white people; they have *learnt*.

<2.1.1902>

File 60, nbk. 3, pp. 19-22.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

19 *Nziba (Nzibe?) ka Senzangakona followed Mpande in age. Mbuyazi was a son of Tshaka (Mbuyazi was ka Tshaka); Mpande said so. The country is Tshaka's. He pointed to Cetshwayo when he was among the Boers, 'when I was an ordinary person, a member of an ibuto, but now I am king the chief son is Mbuyazi'.*

20 Mpande said Tshonkwani was a son of Dingana (ka Dingana). Hamu replied, '*Mbuyazi is a son of Nziba, from the drinking-pot of a chiefship (udiwo lobukosi) at the First Fruits when the king broke the gourd and sucked medicine from the fingertips (finishing ceremony).*'

Mpande called Mbuyazi, said, '*Let him suck medicine from the fingertips.*' He did so.

Mpande then picked a beast, killed and gave right side (*sesidhlelo*) to Cetshwayo, and left side with the *inxeba* given to Mbuyazi - this left side with wound, *the side from which the shield is made*, is the one of honour, the greater one.¹⁰⁵ This is the ongoing difference which led up at once to Ndongakusuka.

Mbuyazi tall, no *umzimba*, called Nqulu in a song because of bones at thigh joints. *Idungamizi (Mpande)*.¹⁰⁶

'*Here is the chief, Mbuyazi; he is of Tshaka; the whole country is Tshaka's.*' Pointed out Cetshwayo to the Boers in Natal when '*the rope broke*'.¹⁰⁷ Mbuyazi at

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that time had also *crossed over*. The Boers cut C.'s left ear at top so as to know him again. C. and Mbuyazi, also Tshonkwani, are *Amapela* - but called Tulwana.

- 21 *Nkwebane are youths who are klezaing at the amakanda before being joined together in one place.*¹⁰⁸

They did not kleza in the Amapela; they kleza'd in the Inkupulane - boy name for Tulwana.

Inyati - boy name for Dhlokwe.

Imsebeyelanga - Indhlondhlo.

Imbube - Dududu

Uhlwayi - Mxapo

Amazwayi - Ngobamakosi

- Kandempemvu

- Amapela

- Uve

- Falaza

- Nokenke

- Izingulube

Insewane - Imdhlenevu

This regiment was Insewane *under Dingana* but Mpande called it Dhlambedhlu, alias Mdhlenevu.

Ndabakawombe.

(D. called them Kokoti but M. said Ndabakawombe.) Nodwengu made of *amalgamation (inhlanganisela)* of *Dingana's amabuto* - not a single new *ibuto*. Mdumezulu *built* by Mpande. *He joined all the Izimpohlo together.*

- 22 Zulu tribe is Abenguni.

First site of Nodwengu was Enhlungwane.

Second site of Nodwengu near Siklebeni in view of Mtonjaneni.

The Izigqoza were his people (aba kwa bo) from Ntengweni. Mbuyazi named them thus just as C. called his Usutu.¹⁰⁹

Heavy rain (usihlambisinye) - name of a great rain, *thundered* a little, *shook a little*, rained 4 days, *hillsides slid* down, just before Ndondakusuka.

Mbuyazi said, '*We smell out his people; we will not hold a smelling-out.*'

We went and *konza'd* to Mbuyazi.

Mdumba was with Mbuyazi and Mantantashiya (*followed Mbuyazi in age*).

Mdumba was *followed in age* by Mkungo. Mkungo much too young to be at Ndondakusuka.¹¹⁰

3.1.1902¹¹¹

File 60, nbk. 3, pp. 23-4.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana?

- 23 Dinuzulu. Spirits, shirt to sleep, not *ngcedi*,¹¹² but beer is *brewed* - does not kill off. Mlonyeni informant. Sends for cases to store.

Can whip people.

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*A son of Dabulamanzi committed adultery (pinga'd) with Dinuzulu's wife, a daughter of Ntuzwa of the Mdhlalose people.*¹¹³ Ntuzwa is a brother of Seketwayo.

Cut off woman's ear, and drew a number of front teeth.

Saunders only reprimanded.

Relations between Zibebu and Dinuzulu.

Prestige (itunzi) defeats another, he breaks; is a chief in his own right, cannot come but will send messengers. He does send messengers. N. and Tsh. object.¹¹⁴ D. says never mind their objections.

A grudge lives on (umlandu uhlezi) - saw this when Dinuzulu insisted on his coming to attend the hearing of a case concerning 100 heifers which built the umuzi, Abatweni, of Mapita and given by him to Hayiyana. Zibebu said Hayiyana took it
24 himself, not given. No quarrelling with C.¹¹⁵

When he *crossed the sea* he said, 'Zulu, here are my children - they are to be protected and my property and Zibebu.' Dinuzulu went to Banganomo.¹¹⁶

When chiefs being appointed - all to *give up the cattle of Cetshwayo* and bring them to Malimate.¹¹⁷ Zibebu gave up Cetshwayo's. He was told to give up guns - he did so and took to Sir M.O. at Nhlazatshe. Cattle were sold by public auction in Pietermaritzburg. It was then said Zibebu *sided with the English*. Mmango *asked for people* from all *leading men (amaduna)*, from Uzibebu and others, to go to Kimberley.¹¹⁸ On return from Kimberley, *Zibebu's people* were killed at Mahu's ka Tokotoko ka Sojisa. (Mahu is living and became Usutu).

3.1.1902

File 60, nbk. 4, pp. 1-8.

1 3.1.1902 (continued). After this the disturbances broke out. Hayiyana and Mahu said to Ndabuko, 'We must fight with Zibebu because he took cattle and gave to Europeans and he will *rise up* in their eyes.' Others, however, did *give up Cetshwayo's cattle*. All these 13 caused mischief in Zululand. Cetshwayo never met with them on his return.

The 13 were:

1. Siyunguza ka Silwana *of the Mpungose people*
2. Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana *of the Biyela people*
3. Myandeya ka Mbiya *of the Mtetwa people*
4. Somkele ka Mayanda¹¹⁹
5. Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini *of the Zungu people*
6. Ntshingwayo ka Marole *of the Koza people*
7. Zibebu ka Mapita *of the Zulu people*
8. Mgojana ka Somapunga ka Zwide ka Langa¹²⁰
9. Hamu ka Mpande *of the Zulu people*
- 2 10. Seketwayo ka Nhlaka *of the Mdhlalose people*
11. Faku ka Ziningo ka Zwana *of the Ntombela people* (all on other side of Mhlatuze)
12. John Dunn (Englishman)
13. Hlube ka Mbunda (Basuto)

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John Dunn's *amaduna*:

1. Majiya ka Tshandu *of the Nzuza people*
2. Sigwelegcwele ka Mhlekehleke *of the Emangadini people*
3. Njakaba ka Sopane *of the Qwabe people*. Could raise about 2 *amaviyo*.¹²¹
4. Zimema ka Sigodo *of the Manzimeleni people*
5. Palane ka Mdinwa (Many people - more than other *izinduna*; Majiya and Zimema would follow.)
6. Manyonyo ka Siqukazi *of the Maqungebeni people*
7. Manyonyo ka Njongolo *of the Mdhletshehi people*
8. Habana ka Nzwakele *of the Dube people* (and other small *izinduna*, including *amanhlwenga - amapini*)¹²²
9. Makoba ka Gaozi *of the Mpungose people*

3 The Qwabe people *crossed over (wela'd)*.

Siyunguza, Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana and Mavumengwana¹²³ - *the favourites (izintandokazi) of Malimate*, but he preferred Siyunguza to them all. Siyunguza was *an inceku of the place of Cetshwayo*.

Sibebu, J. Dunn, Hamu, Hlube - these 4 gave the cattle up.

Why do you count those absent and leave those present out - Siyunguza and Mgitshwa? For when absent we are counted as having given up cattle.

Sidindi ka Mnqunelwa was *envoy (inxusa)* to Pietermaritzburg for Cetshwayo and is one of Siyunguza's men.

Siyunguza *acted for (patela'd)* Mbango when still young - brother of Gaozi - and uncle of the Makoba above named. Siyunguza is Amatshitshi (Isangqu) regiment, older than Amamboza.

4 Mpungose *konza'd at the place of the Zulu* long ago. Mpungose are possibly Amantungwa but long ago arrived in Zululand. Fought for Cetshwayo at Ndondakusuka. (Mngcangca ka Fabase chief at Pietermaritzburg, blind, escaped, lost his eyes, this happened about 4 or 5 years ago.)¹²⁴

Izincku of Cetshwayo: Siyunguza, Bejane ka Nomagaye, Sambela ka Nkuku, Jikajika ka Nxozana, Nkabaneni ka Mbopa, Mkungo ka Manqondo *of the Magwaza people*, brother of Qetuka.

British Government prevented Mpande from going out to fight outside Zululand.

Bejane said, '*Weh, Somsewu,*' when Gallwey went with Somsewu, and C. approved this, thought B. was *a hero (qawe)*.¹²⁵ Siyunguza *objected to* this. 'Why B.,

5 who *called out to the chief of other nations (inkosi ye zizwe)*, is he not taken to task?' Siyunguza saw in this incident that war was imminent.

*Cetshwayo's praise: 'Imbobo ya mapoyisa', i.e. guns.*¹²⁶

Dinuzulu was called, refused, refused and then came. All *ambuka* to go out.¹²⁷ All Zulus to come in, even *ordinary people (abafokazana)*, so that the *abafokazana* could tell others.

The Government said, 'What did you want in the Boers?' '*I asked for a blanket to cover myself with; I asked for a shield to protect myself with.*'

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*'You made salutation to the flag (iduku); the calf is calling; it is calling for its mother; you are calling for isikonkane; you will leap over it.'*¹²⁸

I was present when D. was spoken to.

Men who came to Government in Pietermaritzburg: Pakade ka Ngonela; Siziba ka Dhlozolo sent to P.

- 6 D.'s *envoys (amanxusa)* complained of being given *a country of thorns (izwe la meva)*. 'Are we to eat thorns?' The *izwe la mafuta* was given the open country (*izinkangala*).¹²⁹

'Were not *amakanda* built in the *Emahlabatini* country, in the thorn country?'

D. was fined 50 cattle and N. was fined 50 cattle too for leaving Z. without permission and going to say what they did to Boers. Sir M.O. had already fined D. 30 head for not coming when called. These cattle were not paid and had to be taken by force.

Siyunguza, Qetuka (*ikilikici le qili, ipengu*)¹³⁰

... <Linguistic note omitted – eds.>

Mnjunju ka Sijube - chief: Majiya.

Mpumela ka Ndhlela now Ngwenya at Ntuli tribe

- 7 Mavumengwana - *induna at the place of Mnyamana, at his home*. He tasted food for the king to see which was the best.

Zibebu

Somkele

Sokwetskata

Old things not spoken of in Zululand for fear of being killed, but not for speaking of old customs.

Izinganekwana - same still told, many of them, all of same age - fear of telling tales because of having horns; only *old women* and children *relate (zeka)* them.

- [3.1.1902. I have noticed that every man has *izibongo*; these seem to me of very great importance, especially as throwing light on past history. These *izibongo* are indeed the national record - every kraal *bonga's* their ancestors. I think therefore this is a greater and a more reliable field for exploration and to it I want to devote special attention. The chief characteristics of individuals are often clearly brought out. *Izinganekwana* may be enlightening but *izibongo* are infinitely more so.

I have noticed that in my inquiries into old history and customs frequent reference is made to *izibongo* as something which is fixed and true.]

4.1.1902

File 60, nbk. 4, pp. 8-16.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

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

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- 10 Tangayi ka Hlati ka Ntopo, the *inkosikazi* of Qetuka, *carries her shield (irawu) and bonga's; she is like Mkabayi who carried a shield*,¹³¹ is a cousin of Socwatsha. S. will converse with her and others, especially men who know back history. *Her umkaba is large* (woman). Said of Tangayi.¹³²

... <Praises of Phakathwayo kaKhondlo, Dingiswayo and Maphitha omitted – eds.>

- 12 Mpande, sons and daughters of
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| Mbuyazi | Ziwedu | Dabulamanzi |
| Tshonkweni | Maranana | |
| Somklawana | Tshingana | |
| Mantantashiya | Siteku | |
| Dabulesinye | Mgidhlana | |
| Mdumba | Sukani | |
| Sikota | Msutu | |
| Mkungo | Magwendu | |
| Mtonga | Cetshwayo | |
| Hamu | Silwane | |
| Nunu | Ndabuko | |

Younger (*follows in age*) brother of Mtonga was killed by Cetshwayo; name not known.¹³³

Batonyile - *married among the Mtetwa*.

Nomabunu - *married Mgojana ka Somapunga ka Zwide*.

Mbixabixa - *married Mgojana* also; had a girl who, if boy, would have been *chief of the Ndwandwe*.

Two married *a son of Matshana*, viz. Miso; one married Matshana ka Mondisa.

Popoza - *married Mfokazi ka Sikonyana*, brother of Ntshingwayo.

- 13 Mpande's daughters - one married Mtshekula ka Nogwaza. Mtabayi (sister of Hamu, *follows him in age*) married Bantubensumo ka Klwana ka Ngqengelele. One married to Ndwandwe ka Lundiyane ka Mpazima; don't know *his people (uhlobo)*. One married to Ndwandwe ka Mdlaka *of the kwa Langa people at Esikaleneni se Bomvu (which is dug up)*,¹³⁴ near Itala mountain. One married to Muntuwapansi ka Nobiya ka Sotobe ka Mpangalala *of the kwa Gazo people*. One married to *a son of Tondolozu ka Nhlaka ka Dikane of the Mdhlalose people*. One married *a son of Mtakati (of eBaqulisini)*. And others.

- 14 Afternoon, 4.1.1902.

Nzobo, alias Dambuza-mtabate, ka Sobadhli (ka Dhlukula) was the man sent to the Boers to bring Mpande back, but Mpande said this is the very man who caused Piet's death.

Europeans who first came to Nkandhla to build office - Landelisa (Pretorius), at Ebatsho river (Nqutu), started Nkandhla after building Nqutu one.

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Socwatsha got to Zululand before building of Nqutu office. S. went to Zululand when C. returned from England. Godhloza *konza'd* Sir M.O. and S. followed him.¹³⁵

- John Dunn, Ladamu, Momoyi (Samuelson), Mankankanana (Hanise, at Ntumeni, Norwegian missionary, dead, only <illegible>, Nzimela (dead - Robertson), Tikli (at eKombe, at eQudeni), Mondli (Oftebro), Matshayinnyoni, uDotela (Dr Oftebro),
15 Zombeyana (dead), Johannisi (Colenbrander), Mgcogcoma (*son of Letsheni*, near Marshall Campbell's) at John Dunn's, Lasini (Larsen), Mfundisi (dead), Sir M. Osborn (Malimate), Magququka, Smiti (Webber), Faya (Faye), Bebedhlana.¹³⁶

Bovungane, Mapoloba, Dube, and Tondoloz ka Tayi, different chiefs, *joined* in Ngcobo.

People came whilst eating was going on, food given to one although others are present; even *abanumzana* did. Now when food is given the others present are offered it and he is watched. Mavumengwana found fault with him for giving *beer* to Mtshayeni, *an old man (an isilomo of his place who was not an induna)*.

- 16 *Women* never went to where *beer* was being taken, *and men did not go* where women drink; cannot leave his place. A woman never *passed* a house door, and went on tip-toe, *so that her skirt (isidwaba) would not make a sound*.

We (Natal natives) began breaking the customs and others followed.

Women become disrespectful from contact with Natal. *Ingqutu* never given, *in some places*, occur here and there.¹³⁷ *For omulisaing girls*.¹³⁸ Is an old Zulu custom but not general. Only wealthy people gave it.

Ezinkehleleni - *an ibuto allowed to marry (juba'd)* by Mpande.

The unozungeza beast which went round (zungeza) the hut of the wife's mother, while the calf was tied up inside - last beast. No *nozungeza* in Natal.

6.1.1902, Monday - <evidence given 5.1.1902>

File 70, p. 26.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga, Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 26 [My last talk with Socwatsha was last evening, in the presence of Dhlozi and Ndukwana, when I merely revised Cetshwayo's, Zwide's and Mzilikazi's *izibongo* and asked a few simple questions. I gave him a good blanket, a coat, coloured handkerchiefs, and a small axe, as well as 10s. for his return journey. I have still a good deal more to enter up, I mean of notes of conversations with him in Ndukwana's presence. N. did not always agree with S. but this only occurred once or twice.]

24.1.1904

File 61, nbk. 35, pp. 1-16.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga

- 1 Socwatsha and Dhlozi. Cattle in Zulu life.

Dhlozi: Kill one another for cattle.

Belongs to *notable warrior (iqawe)* - he gets from the king.

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Fights with the enemy.

Izinduna report what *iqawe* has done.

Not *conacona* (given about indiscriminately) to all people.

His relations, *old women*, come to give cries of joy (*halalisa*) when he is given cattle by the king (*xotshiswa'd inkosi*).

A big man's dependant will report being engaged, i.e. wants cattle. Big man gives 3 or 4 cattle. When he fathers a child, he makes a presentation (*etulas*),¹³⁹ returning cattle given by his 'father'.

King gave cattle to big men, not *etula*, king send for and go into *isigodhlo* - will be *lobola'd* with many cattle.¹⁴⁰

- 2 A man's brother married is *lobola'd* for. This brother will return a child - *etula* - for the service rendered.

Socwatsha: I agree with Dhlozi.

Is a *greatly valued thing (igugu)* - like a woman, and child and food. Many purposes served. *Iqawe* given beasts, *builds umuzi*. People in misfortune (*izihlupeki*) will come to him; *they see that he has lit a fire*.

People get money in order to buy cattle. At first no money, cattle were money.

Person ill - sent to *innyanga*, is treated (*elapa*), when recovers the doctor is paid a beast.

When ill - illness due to *amadhlozi* - *amadhlozi call for a beast*. One will then be slaughtered by direction of doctor.

'*I want such-and-such a beast,*' giving even its colour - a dream.

- 3 The doctor too would give the colour of the beast required. When killed, person will recover, but if *false words (amanga)* the person will die. The *false words* spoken by doctor. What is wanted and frequently happens is for sick person to partake of beast killed.

A person who has *been tried (tola'd icala)* at the king's pays a fine of a beast (*hlawulas nge nkomo*). No case is held - merely seized (*idhliwa*).

In Senzangakona's and T.'s reigns, *lobola'd* with 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 cattle.

King claimed 100 cattle from his *isigodhlo* girls.

Dhlozi: A man who marries *isigodhlo* girl is helped by all his tribe to raise the 100 head, for an *inkosikazi* is being installed. They will not demand the return of such cattle. No one gives more than one.

- 4 Socwatsha: When *food is scarce (indhlala)* a man takes a *beast* and buys (*tenga's*) food - a hole pointed out with 10 or more sacks.

Dhlozi: Large *iziqabeto baskets as measures* - measure the mealies. *Amanqina are amaqomo* - filled till *spills on the ground*.¹⁴¹

Socwatsha: 4, 5 and 6 sacks were obtained for one beast.

Formerly one got a holeful for a *pregnant* beast. Nowadays such a hole, say 7 ft. in diameter by 6 ft. 6 in. deep, would be bought with several beasts.

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A cow has *curds (amasi)* and *amafuta* (butter). *The hides are scraped for skin skirts - izidwaba* (a person who has no *isidwaba* is a dog). The fat of a beast killed is used to *smear on the head, body, izidwaba*, especially *izidwaba, the skin cloak (isipuku) for sleeping* (of calf-skin). *The fat causes softening. A gourd* (large one) 15 in. high is equal to a *heifer; an upiso pot or ingcazi pot* full of fat also equal to a cow.¹⁴²

A man who has no cattle is an *umfokazana*.¹⁴³

A man who has cattle will *marry*.

Now cattle are killed off we are nothing - for when one goes to buy mealies you *ncama with amasi of a cow*.¹⁴⁴

Hunger (indhlala) kills us now - seeing no cattle.

A very young child is given *amasi* - begins on *amasi* of cattle before eats mother's milk, or on goat's milk if no cattle.

A boy *suckles* after 8 days.

A girl *suckles* after 6 or 4 days.

6 *'Bellow, beast; you who will never go from this place'* (*Kala nkomo wen' o nga so ze waya ndawo*). Not said nowadays in Zululand. <It was> said because <they had> not been *defeated; they were ruled* by their king; could not see what could *defeat* them, did not even dream of defeat.

Among the Zulus only might ruled since the days of Tshaka.

In old days kings if caught were *ransomed (hlengwa'd)* with beasts. Zwide however killed them. Dingiswayo did not kill *amakosi*.

Boys *herd* cattle.

King's cattle *were herded* by men at first, latterly *inkwebane*,¹⁴⁵ but even then men enquired into illness of beasts. Dhlozi *kleza'd* at Emlambongwenya and herded cattle there.

7 Girls wore *imitsha loin-covers* to *herd cattle - the custom when drawing out disease (umkuhlane)*. (Nomdede alias Nomkubulwana).¹⁴⁶

Separate the cattle, *grind grain to cook isitubi (porridge with milk)* for girls to eat - not cooked with *water*.

After eating will go out with cattle; have *brothers' imitsha* on, old and young girls.

Return *when it was getting dark* - sunset.

This done only on one day.

8 Spit in girl's presence, accuse her of living immorally - will go and call others - not tell the older people - keep quiet. Steal an assegai, go to the cattle of the man who *insulted* them - *cut open the stomach*, all *wash with umswani*,¹⁴⁷ not eat it, leave *at the river* - go and wash in river. Boys will go and *raise the alarm at home*. Kill any beast, even belonging to another man.

Horns. For *smoking-horn (igudu)*, put on top of principal hut (*inkosikazi*), (so that it can be seen that *people are eating*). For *giving an enema (cataing)*, for *making izigqobela snuffboxes*, for *making amatshungu snuffboxes*. For keeping doctor's medicines. *They lumeka*, i.e. cut flesh, put horn on and suck, if sore, or swollen, or snake bite; blood sucked out and <the person> *recovers*. Calf's horn taken for this. If

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a warrior has killed, he is entitled to wear *amavenge*.¹⁴⁸ These made of heifer or calf horns - some *pierced* both sides, some sharpened.

Umsipa (sinew) - for a woman's buckskin blanket (*isidwenga*), made from the skin of a duiker; *izindondo* beads are sewn on.¹⁴⁹

- 9 *Usinga* fibres.¹⁵⁰ For sewing women's skirts (*izidwaba*). Is our cotton. Sew *imitsha*, *loin-covers*, *izinjobo*, and strings to hold *isinene*; all things sewn and worn are sewed with *usinga*, girls' beads are *threaded* with *usinga*; *headrings* are sewn with it.¹⁵¹ Stronger than *uzi*.¹⁵² *Uzi* used for weaving *sleeping-mats* (*amacansi*), *stitches* (*amaqondo*) to put into *izidwenga*, *izifociya* belts or *isibamba*.¹⁵³

The ox-tail (*itshoba*). *Izinduna* killed one another over an *itshoba*. Why did you cut it, seeing it is mine? They make *imklezo*, the great dress for the *umkosi* ceremonies.¹⁵⁴ The white tails are the best, worn in front of chest and behind. Are *twisted* and *slit* - made like *riems*.

When *dancing* (*sinaing*) at a marriage men *put on amatshoba*, and they are worn on the forearm.

- 10 *Yoyosa* - limp; *isiboto* - a man who wears boots. He is laughed at at home by girls. 'He likes *isiboto*' - equivalent to 'coward'.¹⁵⁵

Hide (*isikumba*). *Izidwaba* - all are made of goat skins; shields (*amarawu*, *izihlangu*), *cloaks* (*izipuku*); *uqoto*, *izingoto*;¹⁵⁶ *amabetshu* (calves); *sandals* (*amanyatelo*).

Gall bladder (*inyongo*) - for the owner of the beast; he puts it on his arm. Poured on the sick person, who also wears it. Owner may *put it on* his child or mother.

Meat. *Insonyama* goes to the *umnumzana*; brothers will *present it* to the head, the head to the king. If brothers have many cattle, the head will eat all and not pass on, only take on his own cattle's *insonyama*.¹⁵⁷

- 11 Will give an ox to *izikulu*, not take the meat to bigger men, the ox to stand as *insonyama*. A man who does this may kill many beasts, not send *insonyama* meat, and send an ox to make up for all his omissions.

Insonyama not given to king, is beer. The king will not be *jealous* (*rawukela*) of the food of the people.

A man *konzaing* would *pick out an ox of good colouring* - *enombala* (nice one).

No cattle - milk - necessary to grind mealies like flour for baby's consumption, then *kama* (sieve), come out like flour; mealies hard; *gets old* quickly, will have to be cooked, *gather firewood* more than before.

Meal *goes off* and becomes bitter; no dishes to keep it - necessary always to *grind*. With cattle no trouble - drink milk.

It is sick; it has amasi of the breast - lumps.

Released (*kulula*) when first menstruation.

Suckles till he can walk.

Addison says take away soon.¹⁵⁸

- 12 All the country keeps 8 days for a boy and 5 or 6 for girl.

Kolwas now allow children to suck at once. I believe in this [says S.], no *problems*. We learnt from Europeans.

Amalaza - milk of cows not milked for a day or more. Children drinking milk after 8 days said to be drinking *amalaza*.

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Mfusi, *induna of Mavumengwana*, suggested going to office, *with hands behind head (twal' izandhla)* and *crying out*, say we are in mourning because of death of cattle from rinderpest - general devastation.¹⁵⁹

Amanqina put around neck by warriors, i.e. *the hooves* - the bones sharpened into snuff-scrapers (*izintshengula*) and face-scrapers (*isikwece*) for mature men and old men, for scraping off sweat.

- 13 *Amanqina* are eaten last, on the 3rd day, custom; also *rump (isinge)* eaten by the owner and his children. No one will come and ask for it. There are only two days for asking for a beast. A man who comes third day is given meat but is *insulted (tuka'd)* - disgrace. *It is asked for* on day of killing and next day. People who *ask* will eat as much as possible.

<In the original of the notes which follow, Stuart gives first the masculine form or forms, then the feminine (denoted in most cases by the suffix '-kazi') - eds.>

Colours of cattle¹⁶⁰

- red (ibomvu)* - *inhlamvukazi* (not *bomvukazi*)
black (imnyama), *inzim' emnyama* - *nzimakazi* (not *mnyamakazi*)
light brown (impofu) - *mpofukazi*
white (mhlophe), (*mwasa* - woman's word) - *mhlopekazi*
nkone - *nkonekazi*, *nkonazana*
lunga - *lungakazi*
incu, *inco* - *ncokazi*
rwanqa - *rwanqakazi*, *rwanqazana*
mavovo - *emavovokazi*
waba (*was*a - woman's word) - *wasakazi*
ntusi - *ntusikazi*
mpemvu - *mpemvukazi*
the red uhlakuva or *the red inala*
the black uhlakuva or *the black inala*
14 *nsasa* (small white and black spots) - *nsasakazi*
mpunga - *mpungakazi*
ngwevu - *ngwevukazi*
nsundu - *nsundukazi*
hemu - *ihemukazi*
nala (*lu hlakuva*) - *nakazi* (*hlakuvazi*)
mdubu - *mdubukazi*
iqola - *iqolakazi*
mtsheko (stripes) - *mtshekokazi*
nzota (white and dark-brown (*nsundu*), large patches) - *nzotakazi*
maqandakahwayiba
maqandakaboloba
ntenjane - *ntenjanekazi*
cubu - *cubukazi*
mzondo (white and dark-brown (*nsundu*) spots) - *mzondokazi*
mdaka - *mdakakazi*

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nyaluti - nyalutikazi
mtuku (Natal)
red inkone (iqwagi) - iqwagikazi
black inkone (inkone which is luhlaza) - inkone eluhlazakazi¹⁶¹
lufipa - ufipakazi
mqungu (Natal), ibidi (rungqu) - bidikazi (rungqakazi)
irwanqa which is like the stones at oNgoye (eli nga matsh'oNgoye)¹⁶² -
irwanqakazi etc.
irwanqa eli zikala ze 'miti¹⁶³ - irwanqakazi etc.
kozi (as if ash has been poured on the muzzle and sides) - kozikazi
nhlekwane - nhlekwanekezi
mkolwana - mkolwanekezi
kolo (brown - mpofu, nsundu, like hammerhead bird) - ukolokazi

[See next page but one.]

15 Horns etc.¹⁶⁴

nsizwa, ingudulu - nsizwakazi, ingudulu
isihleza - isihlezakazi
igodhla - igodhlakazi



mdhlovu - mdhlovukazi
'manqindi - amanqindikazi
ingxibongo (straight, long, sloping forwards) - ingxibongokazi
mjwaqu (lean) - mjwaqukazi
magomboqo (horns curving inwards) - magomboqokazi, magomboqwana
cengezi (outwards horizontally) - cengezikazi

siqongo (protuberance on head but no horns) - siqongokazi
mgele (horns sloping backwards) - mgelekazi
siqengqe (horns sloping backwards but not so much, not so long) - siqengqekazi

indonya (star on forehead)
as big as an elephant (very large ox)
ihlabamvula - young ox with straight upright mkupulangwenya horns
ixope nge tshoba, ijoli nge tshoba - black or red with white tail
mqini - no tail
imfambele - teats don't give milk
insengwakazi - large udder, good milker
isigqala - little milk giver

16 *iklilati (white under neck, red or black) - iklilatikazi*
umgqupane (stripes, red or black, passing by eyes) - mgqupanekezi
ilunga, iwaba, inco - best shields
imbungu - shields (amarawu) white all over, not carried by boys, only men.

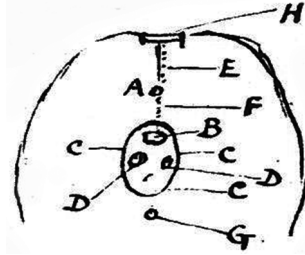
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24.1.1904

File 73, pp. 22-3.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga

- 22 A strange superstition may here be set forth: Look at the rough sketch of part of the inside of a hut here given.



- It is against custom for anyone to sit or place himself or herself between the *post* (*insika*) marked A and the *iseko* or stone support (for *imbiza* or pot) marked B. Nor will anyone sit between A and the door of the hut H, though it is not so important not to sit there as between A and B. The reason is this: There are as a rule 3 stones in the fire-place C; of these, that standing at B is *never* taken away, although it may temporarily be placed on the edge of the fire-place or elsewhere in or near fire-place
- 23 whilst the ashes are being removed. Stones DD may, on the other hand, be taken outside the hut. With the stone B is associated the idea of immoveableness, unchangingness etc., and so comes about the notion that any young man or girl who sits at the space between A and B will never be married, the girl will grow into an old maid at home, sought after by no man, whilst the man will be refused by every girl he seeks to make his wife. The hearts of those who sit opposite the *iseko* will become as immoveable as that fateful stone; they will *donda* or hold back, with the result already stated.

The dotted (imaginary) line from A or B to H (door) is known as *emgulugulwini* or *emqangwini*, also *emnqweni*. The spot F is known as *emlindaziko*.

So powerful is the superstition that people will not lean against post A or the *iziko* or fire-place.

The custom is still observed in Zululand and Natal; in the latter country, however, some young folks are beginning to ignore it on the ground that it is a mere relic of bygone days.

The inside space of the hut on either side is spoken of as *esililini*, *ohlangotini*.

[The above from Socwatsha and Dhlozi - inquiry suggested by a question from A. Lassak of P.O. Inhllokozi via High Flats.]

[Qalizwe says something about not sitting at E and turning back on door for fear of being accused by *amadhlozi* of being averse to their coming in.]¹⁶⁵

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24.1.1904, Sunday.

File 70, pp. 101-3.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga

101 Per Socwatsha, Dhlozi present.

Nozitshada ka Maqoboza belonged to the Nzuzu tribe. *Induna* of the Dhlambedhlu regiment under Dingana. Was killed at the battle of Maqongqo by Mpande's forces. Was a *great warrior*; he *hlabana'd* (took an active part in the fighting) as often as he went out. Was *umnumzana* as well as *induna*. Matshekane was his brother; this man died not many years ago. Belonged to iziGqoza; lived at Mtshezi (near Estcourt) with Mkungo.¹⁶⁶ Had many kraals - these kraals now near Kwamagwaza under Chief Ndube.¹⁶⁷ Nozitshada's kraal may have been at eMpapala (Eshowe Dist). He appears to have had no issue.

Tshaka was not married. He was afraid lest he should have children who would grow up and then put him to death. He did not *hlobonga* or *soma* with *isigodhlo* girls but *penetrated them* (*lala'd* them *pakati*). If any of them became pregnant he would cause her to be given *imxukuzo* medicines,¹⁶⁸ in order to bring about an abortion; if she did not have abortion she would be killed, for no girl was permitted to bear a child for him.

He is reported to have *cut open* a pregnant woman (some persons's wife) to see what kind of position a child took up within her womb.

Many of the *izigodhlo* girls were killed on account of becoming pregnant by him.

The *isigodhlo* girls in Cetshwayo's day were known as *amaduka*, these being stationed at Ondini - and were those girls with whom he himself cohabited.¹⁶⁹

102 Tshaka killed his own mother. After her death he caused the whole country to go into mourning. Cattle were not allowed to be milked; where a *gourd* was found full of or with *curds*, all the inmates of the kraal were to be put to death; women were not allowed to become pregnant as no *giving birth* was allowed; hoeing was forbidden; where *young maize plants* were found inmates of kraal to be put to death; nor were *wild vegetables* (*imifino*) to be *gathered*. Tshaka said all have mothers to *gather imifino* for them, but who was to do so for him?

After a while a man Gala ka Nodade ka Mgutshwa ka Mutsha (Muntsha) ka Xoko (Ndaba), of the Biyela tribe, having made up his mind that he would be killed for so doing, went to Tshaka, finding him at his Bulawayo kraal, and acted as follows. He began by *bongaing* Jama, Senzangakona and Tshaka himself and then spoke to the king in these terms:

What are you killing your country for? *Why did the uhlanga come forth? (Ikani ku dabuk uhlanga na?) Why are people dying because your mother died? When your father Senzangakona died, were the things done that you are doing? When your grandfather Jama died, were the things done that you are doing? Nkosi, put a stone in your stomach; we know that you have 'died'. What will there be for you to rule? A chief from other lands will come and take your country, for there is no more planting and your people eat nothing. They do not bear children; cattle are not milked. (To put a stone in the stomach means to pluck up courage, be a man, etc.)*

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Tshaka at once showed his approval of these bold sentiments for giving expression to which Gala had expected to lose his life. He called his *izinduna* Mdhaka and Ngomane and said to them: Give ear to this man. Here is one who fills (inspires) me with courage. What kind of men do you fancy yourselves to be? Mbopa, *take a razor (insingo), shave my head and sew on my headring* (by this time the ring, never dressed, had come to rest almost on his nose). He thereupon took two (2) cattle (oxen) and gave them to Gala to take home, saying, 'You are a man.' After this the whole
103 country experienced relief; the men *shaved their heads and sewed on their headrings* whilst the women and girls *shaved their heads* and did up their hair. But no sooner did this universal mourning come to an end than Tshaka ordered an *ihlambo impi* to go forth to Pondoland and from thence towards Sotshangana.

Gala was afterwards killed by Dingana, for as soon as Gala got back from the Sotshangana *impi*, he expressed regret at Tshaka's death and wanted to know who had been the cause thereof. It was for lamenting Tshaka's death that Dingane had Gala killed.

Amongst stories told of Tshaka is this. As often as an *impi* returned from a campaign, the *war* would be *discussed (xoxwa'd)*, and each time the names of the heroes would be the same as those in the former campaign. Tshaka found fault with these appearing to be his only heroes, accused them of standing before or in front of equally deserving men, and had them all killed to see if, after their death, he could be said to be without heroes.

29.6.1904

File 70, pp. 103-5.

Per Socwatsha. The death of Dingana.

Dingana's troops were away *at the cattle-posts (ematangeni)* when the attack was made on him by the Swazis (*amankengana*). They succeeded only in stabbing him in the left or right upper arm - in front, apparently only one wound. They killed some of the *isigodhlo* but Mkabayi and others escaped. One girl was stabbed over the left eye (princess - was it Tikili, Somkele's mother?). Dingana, after the attack, sent to the *izinduna* for that drug which was taken internally when a person had been wounded, to allay pain in the wound. A drug was mixed up with water and sent to the King to drink. He drank the potion. No sooner did he do this than his colour changed to a deeper hue, a perspiration came over him and in a short time he expired. The troops returned to find their king dead. One of the important men with Dingana, Lukwabiti by name - probably an *isilomo*, not *induna* - asserted that in the night attack he had
104 severely wounded one of the Swazis and was of the opinion the man could not have gone far. Thorough search was made without success. Among the *izinduna* referred to was Ngceba; this man was called on by Mkabayi to take her and others, as well as the stock, to Mapita. This Ngceba did. Mapita seized all the cattle and some of the *isigodhlo* girls, whilst others had their *skirts (izidwaba)* stripped off them. In despair some of them took the wet hides of recently slain beasts and girded them about their loins. It is said a number died because of their having used wet hides and allowed them to dry on their persons.

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It so happened that the king used always to carry about both antidotes and poisons, the latter for purposely putting people to death. Ngceba would have been among the *indunas* who gave the deadly draught. S. does not know if the *izinduna* intended to kill Dingana or whether they made a bona fide mistake.

The Swazis were heard to shout, '*Kade ni si nxanele, nina ba kwa Sikiti* [probably referring to Shaka, whose name this was - J.S.]; *u nganti si bitwe i nina nati a si zo ni qedel' inkosi yenu, i si ni katatile?*' 'Long have you people of Zululand been asking a favour of us; is it then not you who summoned us to come and put an end to your king, a man who has tired you out?' From this statement there appeared reason to think the death of Dingana had been purposely planned.

Ngceba's father was Nodanga, of the Langa tribe. The above story was heard by Socwatsha recently from Ndube ka Manqondo ka Mazwana (Magwaza tribe).

Dingana *tefula'd*.

S. says Mapita was of such high rank that he used to *address* the *ancestors* (*amakosi*) with cattle in the same way that the king did. He, however, used to wear a large kaross made of oxhide sewn together when performing such religious functions. [Cf. my foolscap notebook (pink), 150, where underlined in red.]¹⁷⁰ The king did not wear the kaross but others besides Mapita - men of high rank - also wore it and, like him, *addressed the ancestors*.

- 105 Zulu princesses as well as wives belonging to the Royal House - Dinuzulu's, Somkele's, Sokwetshata's and one or two others - wear the *isidwaba* low down the loins. They *tebisa* it,¹⁷¹ so that the *umnsisila* or *umsisila* is seen, say 2 inches. i.e. the hollow leading from small of the back and dividing the buttocks. The royal house too have shorter skirts than the common people; they do not reach as far as the knees and, when seated, part of the legs above the knees is visible. Anyone looking would be asked what he was looking at.

*A man who has suffered a serious wound (inkubele) is known as isingqekle.*¹⁷² This term may only have arisen during the time of the Zulu war for it was associated with soldiers (European); at the same time it may be an old word. It might be applied to a man who has lost a leg or arm in wartime. When a man is wounded and escapes, the phrase is *they have wounded (kubaza) So-and-so.*¹⁷³

<18.4.1905>

File 61, nbk. 60, p. 24.

Also present: Mkhehlengana kaZulu, Dinya kaZokozwayo, two others

<The evidence which follows should be read in conjunction with that of Mkhehlengana in the James Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 211 – eds.>

- 24 Of <Nobanda ka Sogatshase>, Socwatsha [who arrived this evening, 18.4.1905] tells the following story. Complaints were made to Tshaka about this man's extraordinary appetite, owing to which they had but little to eat. Tshaka thereupon

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caused some hides to be laid out on the ground. On to them were emptied a number of *gourds* with *curds* in them, also those which had been set aside with cream in (to make into fat). Some of these latter had maggots in them. Well, all these too were emptied into the hides. Tshaka now called Nobanda and told him to *bamba* (set to). N. did so, *going down* on his knees to get at *the curds*. He ate here, he ate there until he could eat no more. He got up from the ground (for he had knelt down to get at *the curds*) with assistance of a stick. He did this with greatest difficulty, ... <continued below – eds.>

18.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 61, p. 1.

Also present: Mkhehlengana kaZulu, Dinya kaZokozwayo, two others.

1 <continued from above – eds.> ... his stick nearly broke under him. He moved off slowly in the direction of the stream nearby. They thought he was going to *vomit*. A watch was set on him. He found his way into the water. So great a sweat had he fallen into that he continued for some time to sweat in the water. It seemed as if he was going to die. Presently he belched and then again. The perspiration ceased. Eventually he got out and moved off homewards. Tshaka ascertained he had not brought up anything and was satisfied with the performance. Much to the surprise of all, Nobanda, finding the young men eating meat, joined them and proceeded to eat what came to hand. Tshaka, seeing this, gave in; he could do no more, the glutton had completely beaten and baffled him.

<18.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 5-6.

Also present: Mkhehlengana kaZulu, Dinya kaZokozwayo, two others

5 Zanzika, Socwatsha says, <was> of Sikunyana's people. He ran away from his own tribe (Ndwandwe) to Tshaka, then on his way to attack Sikunyana.¹⁷⁴ T. asked him which *impi* he thought would get the best of it. Z. said that of Sikunyana would. T. increased the number of his forces and still Zanzika held to his opinion. Again
6 augmenting took place. Tshaka then *giya'd* and whilst doing so his feather left his head, ascended a little, and fell to the ground, not however on to its side. It stood erect! That, T. said, was a sign that he should defeat Sikunyana. He now caused Z. to be put to death for trying to instil fear into his troops. T. then fought S. and conquered.

<19.4.1905, evening.>

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 10-12.

Also present: Mkhehlengana kaZulu, Mkhothana kaZulu, two others

<The evidence which follows should be read in conjunction with that of Mkhehlengana in the [Stuart Archive](#), vol. 3, p. 213 – eds.>

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- 10 Socwatsha uses the following proverbial expression: *So-and-so is up to no good; he has been caused to change by the soil; is he an usehwa gourd? (Uban' ugangile, upendulwa umhlabati, u usehwa ini?)* [Entered, Book of Proverbs.] It is a well known thing that the *usehwa*, if planted with the seeds of a fine, large marrow, brings forth small and insignificant marrows and vice versa - a freak of nature. This often happens, so a man who changes by leading an irregular life is asked whether he is not a man but a plant.

Socwatsha says the Dube tribe living at the mouth of Mhlatuze is probably a section of Qwabe [doubtful]. They live close to the reeds on the river where crops of
11 mealies are procurable all the year round. Crops are also so obtained on the Mlalazi, and the Mhlatuze mouth is known as *ohlangueni*, i.e. the reedy district about there. Compare this with the legend of *originating (dabukaing) ohlangueni* and that of food having come from *emhlangeni*.¹⁷⁵ The fact of food in such a district being procurable all the year round is to my mind extremely significant.

Among the foods obtained from the white people at Delagoa Bay are *inyeza* - a kind of *sweet-potato (ubatata)* - *umoba* (sugar cane), *ukova* (banana), and *umyaloti* (millet).

Tshaka caused sugar cane (*umoba*) to be planted in Mtetwa territory near *the Izimfolozi rivers*. In the *umoba* gardens no one could work who had *had a nocturnal emission (tshaywa'd izibuko)*. He might not carry, hoe or weed, cut down or in any way deal with the cane. Any cane dealt with by persons so affected was consumed by the *isigodhlo*. The same rule applied as regards milking - any who had had a wet
12 dream would refrain from milking. Then again, as regards the smelting of iron, Socwatsha points out that the amaCube people are the great ironsmiths. They still do a large amount of iron work, getting their iron to a large extent from Europeans. The custom of not working at smelting iron when one has had a wet dream is observed among them as among other tribes of Zululand. A man too who has *hlobonga'd* is disqualified.

A smith is *isitando (esitandweni)*. A practice of the amaCube, if the iron will not properly weld together, is to secure some very dark-coloured stranger - must be dark - and use his *umhlwehlwe* fat (covering paunch) to mix with his iron stone etc., when the defect will be corrected.

<22.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 63, pp. 12-14.

Also present: Maziwana kaMahlabeni, Nodwengu

- 13 Maziwana and Socwatsha. Nodwengu present.

Socwatsha says regarding the word '*izimema*' [in Isaacs' *praises*]:¹⁷⁶ this word arises when a hunting party is out and one of their number succeeds in killing a buck; he would shout out, e.g. '*Mamo, amaqandelo!*' (name of S.'s elder brother Godhloza, who inherited it from his father Papu).¹⁷⁷ Those hunting would then all shout in reply, '*Mam' amaqandelo!*', i.e. echoing what the successful hunter has said. This hunter

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would always use this form, even though he had only slightly stabbed the buck and it had run off, and he would always shout the name of his own principal kraal, but that of the principal relative, as Socwatsha does to Godhloza.¹⁷⁸ This shouting back is known as an *isimema*. And if any of the party should be at a distance and hears the *isimema* he, if he belongs to the same party, shouts out too as the others did. A party in the course of a morning may shout out 4 or 5 *izimema*, and so two parties hunting might compare by the numbers of *izimema* shouted. And so *isimema* is an echo or reverberation and applies to shouting among cliffs.

Izaacs <sic> might have shouted, 'Mam', *Isihlenga!*' (name of King's establishment to which he belonged and not to Isinyama - Farewell's).¹⁷⁹

'*Jhi!*' is said by men who hear one of their number shouting, '*Ngadhla!*', meaning he has stabbed one of the enemy. This then becomes the *isimema*.

Isihlenga is a reed contrivance for crossing people over a river - 2 going at a time. Crocodiles, says Nodwengu, never attack people on *isihlenga* although they float with their legs etc. as far as waist under water. No one who has *bad medicine, who kills*
14 *people or who has a child or relation who has died*, is wise in using an *isihlenga* as he might meet with an accident. This is a superstition.

<23.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 64, p. 5.

Also present: Maziwana ka Mahlabeni, Nodwengu

<The evidence which follows should be read in conjunction with that of Maziwana in the James Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 274 – eds.>

5 [Notes. *Kip' itshanatane*, i.e. to cut as Pondos do, refers to bringing out the 'badness' (*ububi*) that he is born with, i.e. the bad blood (*igazi elibi*), so that it should come out of a person - not unlike the cutting of little finger by amaBomvu, amaTuli, amaNdelu, amaXolo.]

Socwatsha says that among his Ngcobo tribe children are still cut in little finger of left hand; he himself was cut but no mark now showing - simply at tip of finger - one cut, inside of tip and middle of it, length of cut ½ in. or thereabouts. *Li 'cwatile, lite'cwe* - perfectly clear, cloudless sky: this is when the cutting takes place, at dawn, just as the sun comes out. A person goes out early in the ordinary course and, finding the sky absolutely cloudless, says the child must come into the *cattle enclosure* as the sky is clear. *The child will be cut with the mark of its people (ku yo hlatshwa umntwan' uhlanga)*. This is spoken of as *ingalati of our people*, i.e. *upawu*, should anyone question what the operation is.¹⁸⁰ The child may be held by its mother or near relation and be cut by some other woman of the kraal. A man not only does not cut the child but is not even present when the operation takes place. There will be a number of children present. The operator calls on the children to sing just as she is about to cut. They then start a song (*umcayo or umvetsho - hlabelela*) any kind of song will do.¹⁸¹ This singing goes on only for a minute or two. The cut is done with a knife. Formerly the little joint was cut off and the blood of child mixed with that of a man or

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other grown-up person whose finger was already cut. This person would only be slightly scratched to draw blood from the little finger whose little joint had been cut from. Males and females cut the little joints. Nowadays males and females still cut but the little joint is no longer removed; the cutting is only as above stated. Cutting takes place when child 2, 3 or 4 months old and before *it crawls*.

Maziyana's joint of little finger, left hand, has been removed.

S. says a child who has not *had upawu cut* will ease himself inside the hut, even though he is big enough to *go out herding*. This is the result of failure to comply with custom. Others will remonstrate and he will be cut.

<24.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 61, p. 23.

Also present: Maziyana kaMahlabeni? Nodwengu?

- 23 *The king has qunga'd* (when he had taken *medicines*).¹⁸²
To wipe the hoe (sul' isikuba). Mpande was born at *kwa Mahambehhlala, the umsizi hut* where Senzangakona '*wiped the hoe*' after being doctored.¹⁸³ Per Socwatsha, 24.4.1905.

<25.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 14, 15.

Also present: Maziyana kaMahlabeni?

<The notes that follow are written in the top margins of two pages on which evidence given by Maziyana is recorded: see [Stuart Archive](#), vol. 2, pp. 292-3 – eds.>

- 14 *Impi* of Lutshutshutshu (*iduna in the Zulu country* - do not know father, says Socwatsha).¹⁸⁴ Mpande wanted to kill him. Fortress built at Fort Buckingham. Natal thought Zulus intended invading. This was about 1864.
- 15 *Umqubula of Matingwane (of the Dhlambedhlu of Dingana)*. S. saw this - made of *genet* and *blue-monkey* skins - like Tshaka's. (This *umqubula* was made at oZwatini when *the umkosi was held by Manzini ka Magalela of the emaNgangeni people*. Present chief Lokotwayo, pays tax Umlazi Division. Uzwati (hill) - uMdhloti rises there, also Tongati, Mona (enters Tongati), Insuze and Mqeku (enters Mngeni). Socwatsha *grew up at oZwatini* and married there. I went to Zululand to build just after Cetshwayo's death, but had previously to it been a policeman under Sir M. Osborn at Inhlazatshe, having gone there because I thought as Yamela was *induna* I should be able to settle on land that would probably <be> given to Yamela. We first built at Kwa Magwaza, at eNsuze, where our old chiefs' graves are. We are still at the same place. We are *in the bush country* above Insuze, close to where it enters Tukela and opposite Ntunjambili.

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<25.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 21-4.

Also present: Maziyana kaMahlabeni

<The evidence which follows should be read in conjunction with that given by Maziyana in the Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 294-5 – eds.>

- 21 Socwatsha goes on here: Matingwane was *of the emaNgangeni people*, son of Ndingiyana ka Mjila ka Samela, of Dhlambedhlu regiment. Was an *inceku* of Tshaka's. He was actually present at Tshaka's assassination. He had just been called by T. for some purpose <which he> did not have an opportunity of telling him about. He found amaMpondo talking with Tshaka. Presently Mbopa came out of Tshaka's huts (Nyakamubi), carrying a number (*itala*) of Tshaka's own assegais. He also had a stick. With this stick he went up to and struck one of the amaMpondo a blow. Tshaka said, '*Mbopa, when did you begin to do this, to hit people as I am talking to them?*' Mbopa said nothing, passed behind Tshaka at a short distance, and as he passed,
- 22 allowing sufficient time for the Pondos to escape, he *dabula'd umkonto* (*kok' umkonto* - draw an assegai), and *stabbed T. with it*, throwing it. Mhlangana and Dingana rushed up and also threw, stabbing him. T. fell, a number of assegais sticking in him. He said, '*Are you killing me, children of my father? What have I done?*' They left him lying. One asked what should be done next. A black ox belonging to T. and the Nyakamubi kraal was fetched and killed. It was *cut open*; they *took out the stomach-contents (umswani) and smeared themselves with it and sucked it; they squeezed it out and spat it out*. The *gall* had been previously sprinkled over the *stomach-contents*. Another black ox was got for the purpose of providing a skin for T. to be tied up in. At first Mhlangana suggested tying T. with strings and dragging the corpse to the Mbozamo where it would be thrown into a *deep pool* and be eaten by the alligators there. D. objected to this and said as he was *inkosi* he must be buried as
- 23 such. It was then the ox was got, killed and T.'s body done up in it according to custom, after the assegais still sticking in the corpse had been extracted by the Nyakamubi people. The corpse was then removed to a hut in the kraal and as is usual was tied to a post, in a sitting position. The hut at night was occupied by relatives, including women but not those who *sucked children*. The funeral rites were performed by the Nyakamubi people. D. insisted he should be buried in a way that became his rank, as had been done to Senzangakona, Jama etc. I do not know if a hole was dug for him. [Maziyana says he was buried in an *amabele* hole in the *cattle enclosure*.] Ten of *izinceku* were *buried (lahlwa'd)* with him. One suggested that Matingwane should be killed but Dingane said it was no use killing a *child* before he had even become a *body-servant (insila) of the king, one who carried things to the*
- 24 *king, brought water, gathered firewood* etc. Matingwane said he was then still a lad. He was one of Dingane's first regiment. He could not understand what was being done when he saw T. stabbed. T. was seated on a chair when stabbed. D. sent men to *fetch all Tshaka's goods (izimpahla) from the amakanda* in Zululand, for he had *headbands, shields, girdles, cows' tails, imiqubula, feathers* etc. which he had worn - all these were burnt at kwa Dukuza.

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After T.'s death Matingwane became Dingana's *inceku*. He died about 2 years ago.

The body remained unburied until the things referred to had been got from Zululand.

Socwatsha says: M. said Mbopa was the first to stab Tshaka, not Mhlangana. Maziyana agrees with this statement, thereby contradicting Fynn.¹⁸⁵

25.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, p. 1.

Also present: Maziyana kaMahlabeni

1 Maziyana and Socwatsha.

Socwatsha says Matingwane never saw his father. He soon lost his mother and escaped from tribe to tribe till he was captured by one of Tshaka's *izinceku*. This *inceku* changed his name, but on Tshaka one day asking Matingwane what his name was and his saying Matingwane, the *inceku* directed that the boy was henceforth to be called Matingwane for fear of Tshaka's displeasure.

When Mbopa *shaved Tshaka's head a basket (imbenge)* was got to catch the hair as it fell, to be immediately covered over by a second one so that none should escape. And as often as during the tonsorial operations the king spoke, the barber would dart off to some little distance until the king had finished speaking, when he would resume his work.

27.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, p. 14.

- 14 [Socwatsha leaves early. Goes to Zibebu's during next moon on own affairs. To get selected 2 good men on Zulu tribal affairs and bring by train. Will refund fares. Bring an extra boy. Will give S. £2 on his delivering them here.]

4.12.1906

File 44, item 22, p. 5.

Also present: Dlozi kaLanga

<The statements that follow should be read in conjunction with Nkantolo's testimony in the Stuart Archive, vol. 5, pp.133-4, and Tomu's testimony in the present volume – eds.>

5 Causes of rebellion. Socwatsha.

When Bambata came there had long been previous talk. When poll tax proclaimed people became like wasps and said, '*Let us die once (asife kanye).*'

The dividing up of land in Zululand is another cause. We used to be told the Zulu country *belongs to Cape Town (e lase Kiptawini)*. Object to private lands and high rents, especially men with many huts. Kolwa says, '*They found us already*

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established here (ba fike sakile). This is where we were born and grew up. They have long coveted our land (nxanela).'

The poll tax is the *nomtebe*; this is the *inkosi* word; others are only *izinduna*. *You are separating us from our children; they will no longer pay hut tax for us. They will not come back, for they abandoned their homes (ruzuka) long ago.*¹⁸⁶

We heard that Igobizembe is fighting.¹⁸⁷

We then heard that we must *make ready our weapons*.

'Must we go and stab our own people, when they say this is a very great matter that we have agreed to, even though we do not like it?' This said by Nyamana ka Matanda (chief: Mfungelwa). <He> said to Mfungelwa. He took to Eshowe, where Boast tried and gave him 2 years.¹⁸⁸ Nyamana was arrested with Ngqala ka Mbandamana ka Ndhlela. *'You, Mfungelwa, take up arms; for our part, we will not go there. When you said that we should not pay it, you spoke the truth.'*

'We won't arrest Bambata for he is helping us for refusing to pay poll tax.' All the *districts (izifunda)* turned round in favour of Bambata.

Talking (ukukuluma) should not be *bought (tengwa'd)* - lawyers appearing in native cases.

Dhlozi: *We are already in great distress (hlupeka ka ngaka);* now we must pay tax for our children who furnish money for hut tax of their mothers and the children. When they pay it will give independence; they will say, *'We too are paying tax,' and we will then be as nothing (elubala).*

This is the main reason and all of us said this: *the white people are causing trouble (a ba lungu ba ya hlupa).*

23.8.1907

File 66, item 9, pp. 1-2.

1 Notes on the recent rebellion.

Per Socwatsha.

I know nothing of the *impi*. Long have Natives been speaking of fighting. I looked on them as *having had enough (suti), and simply speaking among themselves*. As regards Bambata, people threw in their lot with him because *the beer had been boiling for a long while; it had not been strained*, i.e. they had long been in a discontented, surly frame of mind. Bambata arrived on the scenes when this beer had long been boiling, he came with a *strainer (ikama)* and *strained* it; it [*ba*, not *bwa*] *was then drunk*.

I used to think people were simply speaking amongst themselves when they spoke discontentedly, not because they had anything specially in view. For they *had no plan* how to begin, whereupon Bambata arrived with a *strainer* and they *sizakala* (gratified their desire). *All people, especially the young people (abatsha), and old people, and women, were talking*. The beginning of this talk arose several years after Dinuzulu's return from St Helena and after the cattle had died off from rinderpest.¹⁸⁹

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- The talk became specially marked when the land in Zululand was cut up; after the cutting up of the farms the Poll Tax act was proclaimed, whereupon the talk increased (*qina*). People began sending to Dinuzulu. Fighting almost began at the proclamation of the Poll Tax, for all over the country people demurred at having to pay. There are 16 chiefs in Nkandhla Division. These all agreed to refuse to pay and were prepared to be imprisoned in a body. They had *sworn (funga'd)* to one another that they would refuse. When the time came it was found that only 6 had failed to bring up their 'papers' [Hut Tax receipts], but the other 10, without informing the 6, had brought their papers, which fact indicated willingness to comply. The six were sent to
- 2 Saunders at Eshowe. The Hut Tax receipts had been called up to ascertain how many young men were in each kraal and what persons were to be exempted. Others, in the meantime, had sent off *messengers* to *umntwana* to say, 'It is said we must pay Poll Tax on account of our children, but our children have to find money for our Hut Tax. We don't agree to this, seeing that we also have to pay Dog Tax'. Dinuzulu then said, '*I have paid. Pay the poll tax (imali ya makanda); there is no fault (ka kuko cala).* Should anything occur it will come about of its own accord. *Whatever happens will happen of itself. Thank you for telling me.* Keep on doing so; keep me informed of what comes about, what you object to'. After this all the country paid. All the chiefs of Zululand were unanimous in refusing to pay but when Dinuzulu paid they all concurred. The six had not heard of D.'s paying, but when they got to Eshowe they agreed to pay and were sent back. [These were Mmiso ka Matshana, Mapoyisa ka Mbuzo, Mlokotwa ka Mpumela, Ndabaningi ka Sigananda, Macwaneka ka Ndube, Tulwana ka Nozaza.]¹⁹⁰

25.8.1907

File 66, item 9, pp. 2-10.

- 2 Before the Nkandhla fighting began, but after Bambata had actually entered the forest, Sigananda and Bambata sent 3 men to Meseni.¹⁹¹ After being informed, Meseni *cita'd* (sent in all directions) his own men about Natal. Had not the Bobe fight occurred when it did, the *impi* in the forest would have *assembled* and become numerous. The messengers went about to people about the Colony who were already predisposed to fighting (against Europeans). Many, in Natal and Zululand, used to send messengers to Dinuzulu. Others sat on the fence in order to see if the saying was true that bullets would not enter. [*Qubile* - 'sat on the fence'.]¹⁹²
- Bambata began by seizing cattle at Esitilo (hill in Mfungelwa's ward, Eshowe District). These cattle belonged to Ndube and his Magwaza people, i.e. those who *deserted (ambuka'd)* and went off to the Government at Eshowe. Bambata also *pillaged all the stores (amavinkili)*, viz. at Esibudeni, Ntingwe, Mfongosi, Tugela
- 3 (Ndondondwana drift - Newmarch's), Ezilozini (Ntshebe). These are the stores I heard of.
- The Esibudeni store was looted by B. prior to our running away but after we had ceased to *be in a settled state (zinza)* and were prepared to move off at any minute.
- We, people of Ndube's tribe, before B. arrived in the Nkandhla forest, knew that the Native people in general were demurring greatly at having to pay the poll tax. We

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first heard the cannon in Natal in Mapumulo. A man arrived who told us that Ngobizembe was angry and was fighting because he was averse to paying the poll tax. He said they had entered the *bush country* (*ihlanze*). This man was a member of Ngcolosi tribe *at the place of the people of Hlangabeza*. He said an *impi* had been *armed* (*hlomisa'd*) by Government - Mpezeni's and Nyakana - but the other chiefs are angry.¹⁹³ This man said, however, that Mpezeni's and Nyakana's people said they had thrown in their lot with the Government as a ruse so that they might be given guns, and when so given they would turn on the Government and kill the Europeans. The action of Mpezeni and Nyakana was, in consequence of this, generally approved by the Natives. I was with Nolala when this man spoke thus. We asked him what the Ngcolosi people said to this. He said, 'We too are angry, very angry.' Presently another man arrived from Tshange tribe and said that Mfungelwa's people were arming. This had been done by Saunders' orders and, besides Mfungelwa, the following had been told to arm: Mtonga, Mgandeni, Sikonyane, Ntshingwayo, Lokotwayo.¹⁹⁴ These had been ordered to cross into Natal and fight against Ngobizembe and assist the Government. Mfungelwa armed his men, but Nyamana ka Matanda, Ngane ka Manepu, Ngqala ka Mbandamana, Mahlatini ka Sotshangana, Mtinzima ka Ngqokwana and *their men* (*amadoda*) said, '*Never will we stab our own people.*' Mfungelwa then ran off and reported *to the magistrate's office* that his people *refused*. All these were thereupon arrested. Mfungelwa was directed to fine

4 them as he saw fit. He fined them very heavily: each man (commoner) had to pay a beast; the headmen named were each fined 6 head, and so over 100 head were got - nearly 200. We then heard that *there was more fighting at Richmond* (*Lishmana*). It was this fact which caused people to be angry and eager to fight, i.e. the hearing that hostilities were breaking out in various directions.

The stories that arrived were often nonsense (*amanga*). For as regards the Richmond *impi* it was said *the police* (*oNongqayi*) went to demand the Poll Tax, the Native Chief, however, *concealed his impi* and he himself *went into hiding*, leaving only a few at home. The Europeans came, with a Sergeant, whereupon those at home *began the fight*, for it was the plan that the few at home should begin, and then a numerous body which was hiding came out of hiding and clashed with the Europeans and polished the lot off. The only one who escaped went and told the authorities in Pietermaritzburg what had happened. Then the European forces *armed* and went. The Embo people and the Kolwas were said to have slept at the edge of a forest, and others where the road emerges. Those at the entrance kept concealed, and refrained from attacking for those in front to do so. This took place, whereupon all were wiped out. This was done in the Richmond District.

When people heard these things they *rejoiced* but I used to say *it was nonsense*.

At Eshowe, Sikonyana's (ka Luhleko) people also refused to go and fight. [Saunders' old man.] Sikonyana merely *arrested* (*bopa'd*) Fokoti - he took him to Eshowe where he was tried and sentenced to six months. [Nyamana.] When Sikonyana collected his people and told them to arm, Fokoti said, 'What do you mean by telling us to go across into Natal? You do not know how to *talk of war* (*xoxa impi*). Why not tell us to go and lie in wait at Gingindhlovu and when Saunders runs off to Durban let us attack and kill him off?' Sikonyana had F. arrested. He was given

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5 by the magistrate 6 months and 25 lashes. His headring was cut off and no sooner was he allowed out of gaol than he died. Fokoti had expressed surprise at being arrested, especially as others had been let off. S. said the reason for arresting him and not the others, who were ordinary Zulus, was because Fokoti was *inqelebane* (an *inceku of the chief, one liked by the chief* - the favourite *inceku* - Saunders). I spoke to Fokoti after he had been charged but before his trial. I asked him if he had said this; he said he had and he had done so because the *Zulu people (uZulu)* was all angry, and the Europeans were troubling us. He asked me if I was not in trouble. I said No, I am not living on a farm. I do not have to pay poll tax. *I am living well enough (ngi ya busa nje)*. Your father Mantingwane died. You got your influence in Zululand by reason of Saunders' help; your father Mantingwane was not known by the Zulus.

Mantingwane, *of the kwa Hlope people, of the eMangangeni*. He belonged to Esinyameni kraal (Ogle's, Wohlo) and was an *induna*. He was a *hunter (ipisi)*; he killed elephants, *buffalo*, eland etc. with a gun lent him by his master.

I heard that Bambata refused to pay Poll Tax, that he would not come in when called to do so by the authorities, that he would fight and then run away to take refuge in Zululand. The amaNgcolosi (Hlangabeza) wanted very much to fight against the Europeans. It was from them that I heard of Bambata's intention to run into Zululand. There are some of Ngcolosi people under my chief Ndube; these used to visit their friends in Natal and tell us what they heard. Some of them joined Bambata, also Makabelas - there is no chief from whose tribe people did not break away and join Bambata.

I heard the cannon at eNgome. [This was on Saturday 7th April - J.S.] On the 6 Sunday, *while it was still dark*, very early, Ndube *proclaimed (memeza'd)* that *his men should arm*. I was close by and went at once to Ndube. I then saw Mshudulwana ka Godide ka Ndhlela, a policeman of Colenbrander,¹⁹⁵ who said Ndube was to *arm his impi* and go and arrest Bambata who was at eKotongweni; he has killed 2 Europeans in Mpanza and one wounded. The cannon you hear in Mpanza is because Europeans are fighting with him. Manqanda told me, this man said, to arrive here on Saturday but I was afraid of going through this country at night.

We *armed* the same day and went to eKotongweni. When it got to eTulwana (stream - flowing from Macala) the sun went down. I did not accompany it. They heard that Bambata had *crossed at eKotongweni, and was in the Nkandhla* - those who were in front (of Ndube's people) and at Manyane stream heard that Bambata was not at eKotongweni but in Nkandhla. They then all came back home, getting back at dusk.

I had been sent off by Ndube to *go up the Insuze* and listen to anything I could hear. A woman told me [where?] that Bambata was in the Nkandhla;¹⁹⁶ *he was at the place of Mmangwana ka Faku* (on Sunday), and Nombika ka Mfelafuti was also there. [It was on this Sunday that Nombika saw the gun which Dinuzulu had given Bambata. Nombika afterwards told me this, i.e. that he spoke to Bambata and B. told him about the gun. Nombika is still living.] After this I went to Nombika to try and see if what I had heard was true. [Where?] When I got to Nombika, on this same Monday, I told him I was going about listening to *affairs of the country*. I told him of

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our *impi* having gone to arrest Bambata at Kotongweni. I then asked him to inform
7 me of anything he knew. He then *denied knowing anything (landula'd)*, saying he
knew absolutely nothing. He *was really concealing something. I then pressed him*
(*gudhla*), but he persisted in refusing. I kept on and then presently asked a very
pertinent question, showing I knew something. He then told me, as I was an *older*
man (indoda, ndodana). 'Early yesterday morning, Zinqume, a man of Ndube's tribe
who had gone to *court the girls at the place of Mpumela at the Manyane* (he was not
in our *impi* - as away at time it was called out). Zinqume said he had slept at Jobiza's,
of the Xulu people (at Macala, east side). [How far Jobiza's from Mangati's where
Bambata slept?]¹⁹⁷ Whilst asleep, *a man called out* who said, "*Arm! Head for*
Kotongweni." [Where did *calling-out* go on at?] It was still dark. A youth went out
and said, "*What has happened?*" The answer was, "*The cattle are finished. They*
have been eaten by a lion." Question: "*Where does it come from?*" Answer: "*We*
too do not know." Question: "What are we to do with it?" "Why don't you go to
Manqanda and the Europeans who have guns, who will fire on it and *spill out its*
brains?" All this time they believed it was a real lion. As a matter of fact it was a lie.
Bambata himself was at the kraal where the shouting came from and he is the one
who had directed this order to be called out. The magistrate's order had been sent by
this time to Mpumela,¹⁹⁸ for Mshudulwana told us he had been there. But the
magistrate's order had probably not reached Jobiza's at that time. Zinqume was then
left sleeping and the other *youths* went to where the order had come from. The *youths*
had told him to remain where he was, as he belonged to another tribe. It was very
early, about *mpondozankomo* time.¹⁹⁹ One *youth* came back and said, '*Is the man of*
8 *the Magwaza people still here?*' He said, 'Yes'. He said, '*Come here. Hurry.*' He
still had on his blanket. He said, 'You see the *impi* there, coming down the hill; there
are 2 *companies (vivos)* of them. '*Where is it from?*' Zinqume asked. He said it was
Bambata's and had come from Esilungweni.

Zinqume then went off home and on his way called at Nombika's. Nombika then
asked, 'What ridge did he come down? He said, '*He came down the eNsimbini*'
(name of Mmangwana ka Faku's kraal, *the ancestral one* - *wo ku zalwa* - *of the*
Emacubeni people). Nombika then went to Mmangwana's. When he got there he
found Bambata's *impi* bivouac'd at the gate of the kraal, with fires burning, and
eating the meat of the beast killed for them by Tshelela ka Godide at the drift opposite
Kotongweni.

He found Bambata with his people. He, however, passed and went straight to
Mmangwana's hut. As soon as he got in Mmangwana said, 'I am glad you have come
(*u col' ufike*). *A strange event (umhlola) has taken place; come and explain it to*
me.' He said that Bambata had arrived at his kraal from Mpanza where he had fought
with Europeans and was wearing *their beards in his izincweba bags*.

Nombika would have gone in any case to Mmangwana's as they live close to one
another and there was beer on that day. M. was busy *sweeping* the hut; he said he did
so as he was about to call Bambata in.

Bambata then came in with his *izinduna* Mgombana and Mkamangana. Nombika
9 said, '*What is it, Zondi?*' Bambata said, '*The poll tax!*' (*Imali ya makanda!*) D.
went on to tell him that the cannon they had heard was directed at him but he had long

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escaped and was at Kotongweni when he heard it. The Europeans were simply firing at the forest.

Bambata then said the cause of all this was the Poll Tax. He said, *'I crossed the river and went to Dinuzulu.'* D. had asked him if he had *courage (isibindi)*. B. said, *'Nkosi, I have courage indeed.'* He then said, *'Here, take this gun, a magazine rifle (umagazini).'* He also gave him Cakijana and an Msutu, a doctor who had medicine to cause bullets not to enter.²⁰⁰ This Msutu was a teacher (*umfundisi*). D. said, *'Go and set on the impi; kill and cut them open (hlinza), and don't remain there whatever you do, but run into the Nkandhla forest to Sigananda my grandfather, who will show you Dhlaba's stronghold (inqaba). I too am coming; we shall meet there. I am coming with my impi.'*

Bambata then pointed out that not one of his people had been killed, whereas he had succeeded in killing the Europeans, whereupon he pointed at the *beards* he had *sewn* on to his *izincweba*.²⁰¹

He then called his people who had been scratched by the thorns, during the flight, etc., and pointed to the marks, saying the bullets had caused them but had been unable to enter. The *medicine* given him by the king's doctor was *medicine indeed*.

They then took their beer and then left. Bambata then left with his *impi*, *went up the Nsuze river*, and went to Simoyi ka Mbango *of the Emacubeni chiefly house (wo ku zalwa)*, and who lived at eMome.

Mmangwana and Nombika *sent* to Sihlonono ka Matambo and Simoyi to say that this man's arrival should be reported to Sigananda, for Dinuzulu had entrusted him to
10 Sigananda. Mntumuni ka Matambo ka Dhlaba was then sent by Mmangwana <and> Nombika to Sigananda.

I then went home to Ndube. I got back on the Monday and told Ndube. I returned before all our *impi* had got back.

On Tuesday [10th April], very early, Fulatelicala, one of Colenbrander's police, came to Ndube to say the *impi* must return and go to Nkandhla where B. now was. On Tuesday [10th] N.'s *impi armed*, a larger *impi* than before; it *armed* about lunch time. Ndube said I and Mzanywa were not to go with *impi* as he wanted to *send us with a message*.

Mzanywa and I were told to go to Colenbrander to say the *impi* had *armed* and to say where it was. Our *impi encamped at the Nkunzane* and *kept to the Bobe ridge*. We slept with our *impi*. When I got to the magistracy I found it being prepared for defence. Saunders then sent for me immediately. [Saunders arrived 9th.]²⁰² I gave Ndube's message.

Saunders said we were to go back after we told him Ndube's *impi* was 5 *companies (vivos)* strong. He said the *impi* was to stay there and not to come into Sigananda's ward until Mansel the *umqati* came.²⁰³

I told Saunders then that Bambata was in the Mome. Saunders said Sigananda had told him Bambata was not there but had gone on to Dinuzulu.

I went home. On the Friday [13th], at night, I heard from members of our *impi* that Bambata had emerged from the forest.

The Government order was that Sigananda's tribe, as well as Ndube's (Magwaza), were to arm and catch Bambata. Sigananda then said the *impi* was to

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form a semi-circle and be sprinkled with intelezi medicine. His and Ndube's then made a *semi-circle*, then Bambata *approached* with 2 *viyos*, the other *impi* opened the gate and he *entered*. This was evidently a plan - kept secret among the *older men (amadoda)*. Bambata then *burnt a little of his medicine*. A big smoke came and *went up into the sky*.

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File 66, item 9, pp. 11-14.

- 11 Muntumuni ka Matambo ka Dhlaba, *of the amaCubeni people*, was sent to tell Sigananda Bambata had arrived. Muntumuni went to S. to say B. had arrived, that he was to be shown Dhlaba's *stronghold* and that Dinuzulu was coming. Muntumuni also said to S., *'It should not be that you do not report Bambata to the authorities, so that he may be tried.'* S. said, 'How is it, Muntumuni, that after being sent to me by the *amadoda* to report B.'s arrival, he being *a man of Dinuzulu's*, yet you go and advise me to report (i.e. send me somewhere else or to do something else) his arrival to the Government authorities. Go and do so yourself.' M. agreed to go but said he would first go to the men who had sent him. He went back to the men, and returned to the *umnumzana* Sigananda and asked him to give him a man to go off to the Court House. S. gave him a son (*a mature man - kehla*) of Nongogo ka Mnteli. They then went off to Colenbrander. Muntumuni reported to C. as above. C. said go and tell Sigananda to arrest Bambata and bring him in. M. said, 'I know Bambata; I was once a policeman at Greytown. B. is simply *a madman (uhlanya)*, who goes about *stealing the cattle of white people, escapes, is imprisoned, comes out, and does it again.'* M. was given assegais and a *coat* at the Court House. He then went off to bring B. in. He went to Sigananda. He then told S. what C. had directed. But S. *blamed* himself for having sent Muntumuni to the Court House. He said to M., 'I know nothing of Bambata; I have never seen him. You suggested going to the Court House to report; it is all your affair; you'll have to produce Bambata and give him to the authorities, as you reported having seen him. You saw B., told me, and then went off and reported to the authorities, although I had never even seen you. It's all your affair entirely.' Muntumuni was then placed in an awful dilemma. The amaCube *gathered because of him and made a plan about him*. After M. had gone off to the
- 12 magistrate, the amaCube *spread the talk (relelana'd)* amongst themselves; they repeated what Bambata had told them, namely that he had come from Dinuzulu who had given him medicine to prevent bullets from penetrating into their bodies. They felt they had *found the opportunity (ibaxa) for fighting with the white people*. For Bambata arrived among them *when the beer had been boiling for a long time*, and so B.'s coming gave them the very occasion for beginning to fight for which they had for long been on the look-out.

Muntumuni went back again to the Court House *with failing strength*, for the amaCube had *met him with contemptuous words*, saying, 'Who told you to go and report?' When he said that the *umnumzane* (S.) had sent him, S. said, 'I never sent you.' M. then went to the magistracy, taking back the *coat* and assegais. 'Where is Bambata?' *'It is not known.'* 'But you came here to report he had been seen, didn't

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you.’ ‘Yes,’ replied M. ‘Did you not see him?’ ‘Yes, I did.’ ‘When S. sent you to come and report B. had arrived, was not B. with S.?’ ‘No.’ ‘Where was he, then?’ ‘I saw him when he arrived; he was then on his way into the Mome. It was then I was sent to report to S. his coming; I was sent by the men.’

Colenbrander then sent police to Siganda. Muntumuni was detained for some time. S. said, ‘I know nothing.’ He *said he was at the Nsuze, near the Mome*. The European *impi* was then *called to arms (hlomisa’d)*, and Ndube’s and Siganda were *hlomisa’d*.

When Bambata was still at Kotongweni, Ndube’s and Mpumela’s men - not Siganda’s - were armed and told to go after him. Mbuzo’s may also have been armed.

Muntumuni then returned to his kraal. Nkonya, Nguna and Mgqibelo were sent to
13 Siganda. Saunders was then at Nkandhla.

Saunders said to S., ‘*We have now heard the word of Muntumuni. Who was it who told Bambata about the stronghold of Dhlaba?*’

Muntumuni went back to his own people, joined them, and with them joined Bambata. *He became worn out from the hard words which were said to him.*

Ndube complained of the mistake made by Colenbrander in calling his men to arms and sending them after Bambata. If they had not been called up then, and had waited till European forces came, there would not have been so many rebels in his tribe. For what happened was that they saw Bambata and, instead of opposing him, threw in their lot with him and so increased his power.

This talk about fighting the Europeans has long been indulged in, including in places like Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In Durban there was even talk to the effect that each boy should kill his own master. The various white people who are in touch with Natives in the Borough will admit having heard this. Many of the Borough Native police were killed as rebels in the Insuze battle, as well as at the Mome.

The people all felt that Dinuzulu himself would really join in the fighting; their *war cry (isiga)* was ‘*Usutu*’ and their *chants (amarubo)* are *those of the Zulu*. The *isiga ‘Usutu’* belonged to Dinuzulu, no one else. As for instance Ndube’s people - the Magwaza ones - *were the first to cry, ‘Usutu’*; their natural one was ‘*uRwebede! Ubisi lu ya yeya impupu*’ - always keep wet.²⁰⁴

AmaCube people said, ‘*uPindo*’; they used ‘*Usutu*’ for first time. The Ntuli people say, ‘*uDidi! Mababase!*’ *Usutu* for first time.

14 The Natives in general all felt that the whole of them would rise. They never anticipated any would throw in their lot with the Europeans. Now they blame themselves, finding trouble come on them whilst others simply *live well (busa)*.

All the country used to *talk (xoxa)* about fighting. *Things moved backwards (ba hlehla muva nje)*. The Maqadi *umuzi* - so I heard from Tulumana - *was nearly destroyed, like that of the Nyuswa. It was saved by Jemuse, a Kolwa (Jim Dube), well educated. He has a newspaper, where boxes are made. This Kolwa showed Mandhlakayise, and he took it to Mqawe.*²⁰⁵ Mqawe threw it away, not knowing anything of *writing*. All he knew was what he heard - from Dinuzulu.

People of Zululand became apprehensive when Saunders was laying off farms. They then sent to Dinuzulu.

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Muntumuni was afterwards shot whilst running away in the Mome valley. He was not in the Mome fight. He was ascending the mountain when fired at by the Europeans. Many shots were fired but he still went on. Presently a European took Mfungelwa's gun, fired, and Muntumuni fell. He rolled down and down, bounding as he fell, until he reached the bottom. When examined it was found he had no less than seven wounds!

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File 66, item 9, p. 14.

- 14 I find the boys in Zululand all calling themselves by the names of Dinuzulu's regiments. The practice has sprung up spontaneously.

Usutu. Gence, Manzolwandhle, Mnqandi.²⁰⁶

6.9.1907

File 66, item 9, p. 15.

- 15 I forgot Msweli ka Ngoni and Ncwadi ka Siganda who, after Muntumuni's visit to Nkandhla, also went there to say Bambata was in the forest and was being hidden away in the Mome by Siganda. Siganda thereupon heard they had been to make this statement, whereupon he sent and had Msweli's cattle seized. Ncwadi had no cattle, he being S.'s own son. Msweli's cattle were numerous and were *black izinkonekazi*. Msweli followed after them and arrived after Bambata had come out of the forest and had effected a junction with Siganda, Ndube, Mpumela and Mbuzo's people who had been ordered by Mr Saunders to arrest Bambata (only Siganda and Ndube were at first so ordered but some people of the others joined without orders and threw in their lot with Bambata). When Msweli got to the Cube people and had come to fetch his stock they reproved him with having gone to Saunders to report, adding that Bambata had been sent by Dinuzulu and that Dinuzulu had supplied drugs which made it impossible for the bullets to enter. He, Msweli, thereupon turned rebel and joined them, whereupon his cattle were given back to him, one however being killed because the stock had *trodden on the place of the king* (Cetshwayo). Bambata's *temporary shelters* were erected in the vicinity of Cetshwayo's grave.

A number of others had their stock seized so as to make them join; this stock was returned on their taking up arms and joining the rebels. Mapulangwe and Beje, members of Ndube's tribe, each had their stock seized but killed a huge ox and a cow among Mapulangwe's and a large ox among Beje's.

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File 35, item 9, pp. 1-11.

Also present: Qalizwe kaDlozi?

- 1 *War*. Narrative taken verbatim from Socwatsha ka Papu (Ngcobo).

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When the king is going to make war (*hlasela*), the *impi* is summoned, with the call, 'To arms! (*Kayi hlome!*)' A man calls out from the hills, saying, 'The order is "To arms!"' When the people hear they take up their war-shields (*izihlangu*). When the man calls out, 'The *impi* must be complete by tomorrow,' they proceed to eat for the journey and to grind up snuff. But the important men, those who are in charge of valleys (*imifula*), the great *izinduna*, are told at their homes. Messengers (*amanxusa*) arrive to tell them that the king says they must call up the *impi*, so that it is complete by a certain day. Some go off to the king's *inyanga* who sprinkles the *impi* with *intelezi* medicines. They are not called out to from the hills, for the *abanumzana* are told at their homes; it is they who are told to take up arms.

- The *impi* then takes up arms. The *izinduna* come and report on it to the king.
- 2 They do so as soon as they arrive with it. They come up valley by valley; the men from each valley arrive together. They arrive singing (*ruba*), and proceed to *giya*. They salute (*kulekela*) the *impi*. They cry, 'Is it war, *Nkosi*?' The king replies, 'I have said! I have said! I have said! (*Ngati! Ngati! Ngati!*)', so even a small child knows that *wau!* it is war indeed! The king then apports them cattle to slaughter. He then asks the great *izinduna*, 'Is the *impi* now complete?' They reply, 'It is complete, *Nkosi*.' He then orders it to divide up into its *amabuto*. It proceeds to do so. The *inyanga* then pounds up *izintelezi* medicines, and sprinkles the men. Then a beast is slaughtered, a bull for doctoring (*nqwambisa*) the *impi*. It is not killed with an *assegai*; it is caught and killed by hand. It is then cut up into long strips of meat
- 3 (*imbengo*). These are smeared with medicines and roasted. The *amabuto* then come up in their sections (*izigaba*), there in the king's cattle enclosure. Strips of meat are taken and thrown among the men of the *iviyo*; this is done for all the *amaviyo*. As the throwing takes place, men seize the strips from one another; each takes a bite, and another seizes it. He bites off a piece but does not swallow it. He chews it once and then spits it out without swallowing. Everywhere the men are catching at the meat. As soon as one catches a piece he takes a bite and throws it to another man, until all have done so. The strips of meat are many.

- At dawn the next day they go to vomit (*palaza*) with *intelezi* medicine. At dawn the day after, they go to *palaza* at the river. The chewing of the meat takes place on a single day; the *ukupalaza* takes places over several days. It is said that their
- 4 sleeping-mats are removed by this *intelezi* medicine, for some of them are married. And those who are not married have been chosen (*qonyiwe*) by girls.

The king then inspects (*linganisa*) the *impi*; he assembles it in the cattle enclosure at his home. He says, 'Let the *impi* discuss war; let the men challenge one another (*qomana*).' And so this is done.

- The *ukuqomana* went like this. A man would say, 'I challenge you, *So-and-so*.' For instance, I might challenge this man *Qalizwe*. I would say, 'The day we meet the enemy, *Qalizwe*, I will surpass you in fighting.' Then *Qalizwe* would go forward and *giya*, and say, 'So, *Socwatsha*, you will surpass me? The day we meet the enemy, it will be I who surpass you.' Then he would say, 'Look *Socwatsha*, since you say you will surpass me, I put forward (*beka*) my part of my father's house (*umuzi ka baba wa kwetu*). You can take it all; it will be yours.' I would reply, 'What are
- 5 you saying? Are you saying that I am discussing fighting with you? Truly, *Qalizwe*, I

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will surpass you when we meet the enemy.' If I do not have my own umuzi, if I have older brothers in my house, then I put forward my own self (isidumbu sami). I say, 'If you surpass me in fighting, you can take me as your menial (umfokazana); I will be the man who closes the gate at your umuzi.' Then I too will go out and giya.

All the men would challenge one another in this way. A man who was a chief son would put forward the umuzi of his father. One who was head of the left-hand house (ikohlo) would put forward his side of his father's umuzi. One who had no umuzi would put himself forward.

When the whole impi had assembled, the izinduna would report this. The impi would then be sent out to form a circle (umkumbi). The circle would be like this.



6 A small opening would be left where the two horns of the circle met, i.e. for the commander (umnikaziyo), whether the induna or the king.²⁰⁷ The induna would say, 'Here is the impi; I give it to you. I shall hear, assemblies of the king! Here is a love-charm (intando), for you have long been saying that the king is refusing you. Today the king is showing his love for you. Here are great imizi, for a warrior who fights well will have a great umuzi built for him. Who do you suppose could overcome you?' (The man they were going against would be named.) 'I shall hear, assemblies of the king.' Then he would give praise to the former kings of their place, the amadhlozi. 'I shall hear, assemblies of the king.' He would give praise to each one, saying, 'He ate up So-and-so.' He would give the names of the other kings whom he had killed.

7 There was no giyaing there; they had giya'd while they were challenging one another. While the praising was taking place, while he was declaiming praises before the impi, the old women of the place, those who no longer bore children, would come forth with brooms.

Then he ordered an opening to be made in the circle, in the chest (esikoxeni, esifubeni), where the two main sections (izibaya ezikulu), the main section of the uhlangoti, and the main section of the isibaya esikulu came together. The isibaya esikulu section is on the right hand; the uhlangoti section is on the left hand. The uhlangoti section is of the ikohlo.²⁰⁸

8 He ordered an opening to be made where the two izibaya ezikulu joined. He then began with the horns, first with the horn of the uhlangoti of the left-hand side. Now he was ordering it out to war. He called out, 'Let the So-and-so go out!' and those companies (amaviyo) would go out in a long column. He called, 'I shall hear, assemblies of the king. Here is the impi which I am giving you.' They went out through the opening and then returned, passing close by the king and shouting out, 'War! Nkosi, we salute war (si kulukel' impi).' Then they started off, going through the opening and shouting, 'Ngati! Ngati! Ngati!'

He then returned and told off more men from the uhlangoti (for those who had gone out first were the vanguard - ikala). And so it went on, with all the sections (izigaba) being called out by name. He would come back and call out, 'Let the So-

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and-so go off,' and off they would go. This went on until he came to the isibaya esikulu of the uhlangoti. This was after all the men from the right-hand side, together with its horn, had gone off. After he had sent off the horn of the isibaya esikulu, he sent off the isibaya esikulu of the uhlangoti. He sent it off in its izigaba,
9 *all in a long column. The sound of their footsteps was so loud that a man could hear that they were setting off; even if he was in a hut, and could not see them, he could hear them, for they were running. No sooner had the king called out, 'Let the So-and-so go off' - the Ngobamakosi, say - than the Ngobamakosi would be off. They would sound their cry, 'Hoho! Mbani we zulu!²⁰⁹ Hoho! Mbungela!' They went off at a run. They finished by shouting, 'It is war, Nkosi! Ngati! Ngati! Ngati!' Some of them stared the king in the face, close up to him, and cried, 'Nkosi, you too will hear of it when we have gone to battle!'*

10 *This went on until the isibaya esikulu was completely finished. This was the ugcinilitshone ucibigoje [noted in Bryant, Dictionary] of all the kings.²¹⁰ There is no king who does not have the ucibigoje. Even the king against whom the impi is going has it. He too sends out (paka) his impi as we do here. They too discuss war and challenge one another. His impi too is sprinkled with izintelezi medicines by his izinyanga.*

Then cattle are apportioned for the impi to drive with it. Some were for eating. But these cattle would not be finished, the ones which they would slaughter and eat on the road while they were advancing. They were called Ugibiqolo; they would come back. A sharp watch was kept to make sure that the ones in front were eaten, and that when the men returned the cattle had not all been finished. They did not dare to slaughter all the cattle which went out with them. The order was, 'These are
11 *the cattle which will eat up the cattle of the enemy, the amankengana.' They called the people whom they were attacking 'amankengana' and 'izita'.²¹¹ They too said the same; both sides said the same.*

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File 35, item 9, pp. 11-23.

They too would drive other cattle like the ones mentioned.

When the impi was sent out to attack a certain king, he would not know of it. It would take him by surprise. It would say, 'Let us surprise them, while they are unaware. They will get a shock from our arrival. We will seize their king, kill him, and eat up his cattle. His impi, instead of being angry and strong, will lose heart (dumala) when it hears people say, "The enemy (abafo) have killed our king." It will be demoralised (jaba) and lose hope.'

12 *For among black people enemy forces do not tell one another that they are now coming. They fight by surprising one another.*

If one king heard that he was going to be attacked, he would summon his own impi at once, in haste, before the arrival of the impi that was coming to destroy his country. His impi would arrive with its weapons, and he would warn it, 'The impi of another king, So-and-so, is coming to attack our place. He is coming to eat up our cattle.'

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They would keep watch for it, for they had heard it was coming. By the time it arrived they had already sounded the alarm to one another, saying, 'To arms!' The people would run away, driving their cattle out of the way, all the cattle of the area (isifunda).

- 13 *All the men had taken up arms and had come together; they came together at the umuzi of their king. They were told, 'There is an impi coming.' They too would hold a council of war (xox' impi), and would issue challenges to one another in order to work one another up (tukutelisa). They too would wager with one another (bekelana). They would wager their imizi, calling, 'I challenge you, So-and-so; I will surpass you in fighting when the time comes. I will stab many men, more than you, and surpass you. If you surpass me, you may take my umuzi.' He would include even his sisters, two or three or four of them. 'You may take them as yours if you surpass me in fighting.' This 'sharpened' the men and made them angry. They would be provoked. While the impi was still assembled, and challenges were taking*
- 14 *place, they would say, 'Ha! There is my umuzi. I wagered it with So-and-so when we were challenging each other in the assembly, in the cattle enclosure. I said that if I do not fight well, he will take it as his. And he has made the same wager. He will have to give up his life (a zi del' amatambo) before he can take the umuzi of my people.'*

- Each of the two would be strongly concerned about what the other was doing, because they did not fight in one place but in different places. Each would hope that*
- 15 *after the fighting, if he survived, he would have witnesses from among his people. For in both places some people would be killed in the fighting, while others would survive. The survivors would look out for one another. They would say, 'Ha! So you are really here.' They would ask about others, and look for them. A man might see someone whom he knew, perhaps a relative, or his brothers. He would ask, 'Have you seen So-and-so?' The other man might reply, 'O! I have seen him. He is dead; they stabbed him. But So-and-so is alive.' They would find out about one another, about who was dead and who was alive. Those men of the impi who had survived would then assemble. They would discuss the fighting. A man would come forward and say, 'As for me, we fought at such-and-such a place.' Then warriors would come forward and say, 'As for me, I was in the start of the fighting (umhlanganiso).'*

- 16 *He would then number the men whom he had stabbed. He would number them by their shields (izihlangu). These izihlangu had various colours, like the colours of cattle. He would say, 'I came up to an umfokazana who had an isihlangu esinco and stabbed him and left him on the ground' (to say 'umfokazana' is the same as saying 'inkengana'). 'I came up to an umfokazana who had an isihlangu esihemu and stabbed him and left him on the ground. I did the same to a man who had isihlangu esiwaba, and to another who had isihlangu esibomvu, esintusi, and to another who had an isihlangu esilunga and who was wearing an umqubula.'²¹²*

- 17 *Then So-and-so and So-and-so came up (men of his people whom he had seen; he mentioned them because he had seen them; there were many of them). He said, 'But there are others that I don't know about. The men fighting were all mingled together; there was great confusion. I could only see what was going on in front of me for I was busy protecting my head. The fighting ended when I had stabbed a*

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man with isihlangu e si lunga. Then the izinduna would ask, 'When you were driving the enemy back, when they were retreating, which of the people of your place did you see?' He would reply, 'I saw So-and-so,' and would proceed to name them. But he would miss out some who had been there. Then others, those whom he had named, would testify to what they had seen. Then others still, whom he had not
18 seen, would testify. The fact that he had not seen them was caused by the fighting, for when the battle started the impi of our people and the impi of the enemy became mixed up. A man could not see all the people of his place; he could see some on this side and some on that side, but not all of them. For his eyes were mainly on the enemy in front who were trying to stab him; although he constantly darted looks to this side and that, it was only for a brief instant. His main attention was to the front. The looking from side to side was done to check that the men of his place were still
19 full of rage and still advancing. If he saw that they were running away he too would turn round and run away. If he saw that they were advancing, he too would advance.

If they prevailed, if they drove back the enemy, they rejoiced greatly; they became 'harder' (qinisa). They also dealt with one who emerged as a coward, one who remained at the back even though at home he had been brave. They would stab him without meeting resistance (gwaza ibece);²¹³ they would stab him from behind, in the back. They would chase the enemy and carry them as far as the Mngeni (from where we are), until they were stopped by the setting of the sun. They would then make camp, and eat, and sleep. Before dawn they would be sent on; they would continue to pursue the enemy and stab them.

20 *It would happen that those who escaped from the fighting would be killed during the pursuit. The pursuers were able to catch up with them for they were in an exhausted state. They were killed, even though they managed to escape from the place where the fighting began.*

*Alternatively, the impi could drive the enemy away from where the fighting started, and then leave them. In the case where the impi pursued them without letting up, they would make a determined search for their king. But the king might have escaped. They would realize that the king had not been present at the fighting; that he had told the izinduna to give the order for the fighting to start. He had sent his izinceku to find out what had happened and had been told by them, 'It is your
21 impi which has run away, which has been overcome. Run away, Nkosi! The enemy are coming here; they are searching for you; they are going to kill you.' For our kind of warfare is not like that of the white people. When they capture a king they imprison him. Among us, the man who first sees the king will shout, 'Here he is!' and stab him to death. His impi will not be there. It will hear by report that 'We have killed So-and-so.' It will ask, 'Is this true? Which section (isigaba) has been killed?' 'It is the isigaba of So-and-so which has been killed.' 'Who was it who stabbed him?' 'He was stabbed by So-and-so.' (The one who had stabbed the king was referred to by name.) Those who had seen him do it were summoned. They came forward and said, 'We saw it. He is really dead.' 'Is it true that he was stabbed by So-and-so?' 'Yes, Nkosi.' Then cattle would be apportioned to him and
22 an umuzi would be built for him, for he was a great warrior.*

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The impi then ate up the cattle of the king who had been defeated, all the cattle of that country. Then it seized people, including children and women. We warriors would seize children for ourselves, but the cattle were for the king. Goats were said to be isangcobe or upata (like amabele which are poured into a pit and become mouldy and rotten.). Cattle were 'umtata' (when it is sown).²¹⁴ Those cattle were the king's.

*Then the whole impi would assemble and the war would be discussed, as on the day when the impi had assembled and the men had challenged one another and wagered their imizi and their sisters. Now witnesses came forward to say, 'I saw So-and-so fighting fiercely at such-and-such a place.' Another man might come
23 forward and say, 'I fought fiercely,' but not have any witnesses to what he had done. He would lose his wager ... <continued below – eds.>*

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File 35, item 9, pp. 23-36.

<continued from above –eds.> ... for telling falsehoods, for no one came forward who had clearly seen him fighting fiercely. [Is the lost bet paid?]²¹⁵

*The king would now make presentations of cattle to the great warriors and the izinduna and the abanumzana. Some earned reputations for fighting by telling lies. When they arrived before the king, some of the great men, whose warriors had fought well, would tell lies about the fighting. They would claim for themselves the achievements of ordinary men (abafokazana). They might say, 'I was in the forefront of the fighting, there where the battle began. I stabbed a man with a shield of such-and-such a colour,' referring to the colour of cattle, for there are many
24 colours of cattle. He would say, 'I killed a man of the enemy who had a shield of such-and-such a colour; and, again, I went for another one and left him on the ground. Then we drove them back; we stabbed them as if they were melons; we swept them away, Nkosi.' Then other great men like him came forward and said, 'Yes, Nkosi, So-and-so is speaking the truth. We saw what happened.' In this way they suppressed the achievements of the ordinary men. This was because the king did not know these men; they were at the back of the circle (umkumbi); they were not under the eyes of the king. This was even though they had been in the forefront against the enemy, for when the impi was being prepared for war they had heard the king say, 'I shall set up an umuzi even for an ordinary man who distinguishes himself in the fighting. His name will become known and rise up; his fame will spread; it will resound; for he came to the fore in the fighting.' Some men, then,
25 were held down by their own fathers. Another might be more fortunate (u ne dhlozi); they would make his deeds in battle famous. The king would hear that he was a great warrior; they would make him famous, as the king had said. He said, 'Here is a sign of favour(intando). You said that I would refuse you. I shall set up an umuzi for you.' He too would become great; he would be the equal (funyanisa) of those great ones who had cast him down.*

An unnumzana who suppressed the achievements of his people was able to do so because the king was not there in the battle; he did not see what went on; he was

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told by those who were there. While some were winning fame, other ordinary men remained timid; they showed too much respect for their fathers, thinking, 'It will be he who brings me to the attention of the king.' He said, 'I shall be brought forward to the king by him.'

Others were not shy, when they heard their feats being hidden, to come forward
26 and giya before the king, speaking out and crying tears. Such a man would come forward from the rear, cut through the great men, and appear directly in front of the king. He would say to him, 'I did thus, at such-and-such a place. I attacked one of the enemy, who had a shield of such-and-such a colour, and left him on the ground; then I attacked another and left him on the ground.' The izinduna there would try to keep him back; they would beat him and drive him back to the rear. But the king had heard his words. He would call off those who were beating the man and telling him to go back because they wanted to 'bury' his deeds. He would say to the izinceku, 'Call him; let him come forward.' The izinduna might still be beating him but he would refuse to go back, and the king would see that this man of his was a
27 brave one. The man would say to the izinduna, 'You are driving us back when we want to come to the king. What did you say when we were in the forefront against the enemy?' Then he would tell the king everything that he had done in the fighting. He would give the names of the people of his place whom he had seen while he was fighting, and others whom he had seen fighting. He would say, 'At such-and-such a place did I not see So-and-so, and So-and-so, and So-and-so? Did I not stab So-and-so at such-and-such a place? Did not So-and-so finish off a wounded man at such-and-such a place?' All remained completely silent as they listened to him. Then the men he had named were called forward. They told the same story as he had done; they agreed emphatically with what he had said. Then the king said, 'So
28 you are burying the deeds of my warriors?' He called out the man's praises, and said, 'Dance (dhlala), So-and-so. I have heard of your deeds in battle; they will resound.'

Others were afraid to do this. Their feats would remain hidden, even though they had fought fiercely. Their feats had been 'eaten up' and snatched away by others, as when a man is the first to stab a buck and it is then killed by others, who deny that he was the first and claim it for themselves. When he points to the blood on his assegai they say, 'It was another one that you stabbed. It has run away; go and find it. This one is ours'. And that is the end of it.

After the king has heard all the reports on the fighting, he makes presentations of cattle to the men of the impi, and sets up imizi for them. This setting up of imizi
29 means to present them with cattle. For the cattle will increase in number, so that when he marries he will take many wives. For in those days one did not lobola with many cattle, and a man would still set up a large umuzi.

The next day the impi might go out again. Again he would fight fiercely, and again he would receive cattle. He would then set up a large umuzi. When he was telling the story he would say, 'I got this great umuzi of mine in battle (ngesihlangu), through fighting for the king. The king saw that I was a fierce fighter.'

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- In the country where the the king made war the impi seized many people. They seized the women of the place, together with the girls, and the children, including boys. Only those who had hidden escaped. A man would seize people for himself; they would be his; he had got them for himself; they were not for the king. What*
- 30 *went to the king was the isigodhlo. The man would take as wives the women that he wanted; the others he might marry off to his poorer brothers. He would also take wives from among the girls whose mothers he did not marry. He would marry others off to various men and they would lobola them with cattle. These cattle would be his, for the women were his by right of war (be si hlangu), by right of force (amandhla). Some of the women would be ransomed with cattle by their relatives, one woman with one beast. For it is the custom (umteto) among us that when people are seized in war their relatives can ransom them with cattle. In addition, when the women whom he marries off to his poorer brothers bear*
- 31 *children, they will be his; they will be his people by right of war. The same would happen when another impi went out. For it might happen that a king of another people (uhlobo), one who did not belong to the people of the king who had been defeated, might rise and overcome and kill the victorious king. For even though he had been victorious, there were others who were stronger than he. For among black people war was fought with cunning and through surprising the enemy. Whenever the impi encamped, there would be scouts (izinsaba) in advance. They would cross one another's paths; some would be returning while others would be going forward. As soon as they sighted the impi of the enemy they were going to fight, the scouts (izinsaba - another name for izinhloli) would return to inform their king.*
- 32 *It might be that a king did not go out to war; his impi would be commanded by izinduna. It was only Tshaka who made war in person. Other kings handed over the impi to izinduna. Tshaka saw who the cowards were, and who the warriors were, for he saw for himself on the spot. Since black people originated (dabuka) from the sprouting of their shields, there was no chief who would overcome others and tear them to pieces. One would defeat another, and in turn would be defeated by this other one. For among us black people war is not declared; izimpi seek to surprise one another, to hide from one another, and to surround one another. When the enemy has been seen by the spies, the commander of the impi would order his men to eat; they would then advance during the night and take up position so they could*
- 33 *encircle the enemy at dawn, at the time when the fowls begin to stir. They would take the enemy by surprise, but perhaps find that they resisted fiercely. They would fight at close quarters; their shields would clash together and their heads would strike together. The men of both sides would charge forward. A man who stabbed many might in turn be killed by others. It was like this on both sides; men fought with assegais at close quarters; their shields rubbed against one another. Men of one side might retreat, then men of the other side, with many being killed; the number of dead was equal. But those who were running away were killed in*
- 34 *numbers, for the others stabbed them in the back while they were running away. Then they shouted, 'We have driven them away.' At some places warriors who had fought successfully the day before might be killed; some would survive; some would be killed.*

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Others would besiege the enemy in a stronghold, in a bad place. Those who were coming up might not know the stronghold well; it was the stronghold of strangers. The occupants knew all the entrances and blocked them, and pushed the attackers down bad places. They stabbed them and completely finished them off. At another place the occupants of the stronghold might be killed. A wise king would say to his izinduna, 'My men are up against the enemy (amankengane) in a stronghold. Do not go against it; it is a bad place; you will all be killed. Go against
35 *them when they are in the open and not in their stronghold.' Some might not obey, and would go against the stronghold. Others would set a trap with cattle. They would conceal their men, with only a few visible, and drive the cattle into the open. The enemy would be attracted by the cattle, and would go out to capture them. Meanwhile the commanders had placed their impi in a good position, and when the enemy were rounding up the cattle it would rise up and attack them. It would seize the cattle and scatter the enemy. Another impi, with wise izinduna, might be told, 'Do not be lured by cattle; cattle carry danger.'*

The amaSwazi resisted (ukutiya) the Zulu people in strongholds, until the coming of the English. Even Tshaka was never able to enter the stronghold of Sobuza; nor were Dingana and Mpande able to do so.
36 *Hamu ka Mpande resisted in his stronghold at eNgoje; he resisted the Usutu of Cetshwayo.*

<28.8.1909 - evidence given 27.8.1909>

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 34-7.

34 Socwatsha speaks [see also p. 42].²¹⁶ [Cf. with Mtshapi ka Noradu's version, pp. 25, 26 of his nbk., 3.4.1918.]²¹⁷

The rectum of Ndhlela (umdididi ka Ndhlela). This name of a particular group of people arose in this way. After the Boers had defeated Dingane he fled north with his forces, whilst Mpande crossed over into Natal with a large section of the nation (*ukudabuka kwe goda*)²¹⁸ and gave his allegiance to the Boers. By way of testing his loyalty, the Boers directed Mpande to go forward and attack Dingane. This M. agreed to do, the Boer forces following. Mpande's forces came upon Dingane's at Maqongqo (Magudu). Those of Dingane were commanded by Ndhlela ka Sompisi. Dingane gave Ndhlela orders that when attacking Mpande, for whom D. entertained utter contempt, he was to send forward the whole to the attack. Instead of doing this, Ndhlela held back a large section, directing only a portion, including the Dhlambedhlu, to attack right and left. One of the horns repulsed that part of Mpande's army opposed to it, whilst the other horn was overcome and driven back, resulting in a doubtful issue.
35 This enraged Dingane, for he felt Mpande was no match whatever for him. He accordingly accused Ndhlela of *spoiling (onaing)* his impi as being partial to Mpande whom he was desirous of seeing made king, for Ndhlela had in the past favoured Mpande, as Dingane now called to mind. Dingane gave the order for Ndhlela's death there and then; needless to say, it was carried out.

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Finding that Mpande was prepared to be loyal, the Boers now took command, and Dingane, who had rallied his men, again sought to engage what he thought were Mpande's men, but discovering that they were now commanded by those who carried *guns (isitunyisa)*, he retreated on to the uBombo, where he subsequently died.

36 Mpande, now master of the situation and a protégé of the Boers, assumed the government of the country. He began at once to seize the cattle belonging to those who had joined Dingane, for they had not removed their families. Many of the fathers of members of Dingane's forces had remained with their families, stock etc. In consequence of these tactics, those being attacked in this way broke away and fled into Natal where they were called *umdididi ka Ndhlela* by residents of Natal, notwithstanding that Ndhlela was dead. [But see Mtshapi ka Noradu's version, of 3.4.1918.] The name arose out of their being adherents of Ndhlela who was Dingane's great and powerful *induna* and who had been the means, when he was in power, of harassing others (then in Natal) to flee for their lives. The opprobrious epithet, therefore, was applied to them by people who had several years previously been injured by the very man who, being dead, was unable to protect his well-known adherents. [This account will have to be checked, having been written from memory, 28.8.1909. (See p. 42).]

Mali (an old man from Mr. Speirs, near Howick), at present here, *aet.* about 88, Dhlambedhlu (Mpande's), was one of the *umdididi ka Ndhlela*.

37 Zulu Regiments.

Zodhliwa of Nzuza tribe

<In the original, Stuart does not make clear whether the testimony which he recorded in File 59, notebook 32, p. 37 was given by Socwatsha or by an otherwise unidentified informant named Zodliwa. The testimony appears in a sequence of pages of testimony given by Socwatsha: we have therefore placed it under his name – eds.>

Dinuzulu's	Mavalana Hayelwengwenya Dakwaukwesuta Felapakati - Ngubokakundhlase Mbokodwebomvu
Cetshwayo's	Falaza - mat carriers during Zulu War Uve
Mpande's	Ngobamakosi Kandempemvu - Umcijo Indhlyengwe Nokenke Mbonambi

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Mxapo

Dududu - '*inkunz' emavave*' (*the bull with sharp, pointed horns, the bull of Tshaka*)

Dhloko

Indhlondhlo

Tulwana

Mzwangwenya, e.g. Mpumela

Amatshitshi

Zingulube

Mdhlenevu

Ndabakawombe

Bongoza ka Mefu *of the Ngcobo people*.²¹⁹ [Lunguza says Cebekulu, *vide* p. 32.]²²⁰
Ndhlela was killed at Emagudu - *a shower (itala) of assegais* [see p. 42.]
uNozokozwayo - dog.

Among those of Dingane's *impi* killed at eMaqongqo: Nozitshada ka Maqoboza, Sonsukwana ka Gqwatshaza, Mngwazi ka Makobosi, Nonguba ka Makobosi (uDhlambedhlu), Mvemve *o si yoto*.²²¹

Matunjana ka Sibaxa *of the Emankwanyaneni people* and Ncagwana.

Came along the ridge to Mpande.

100 heifers - Mgungundhlovu burnt then.

Madungela - *a ridge at the Mamba*, long ridge stretching to Tugela.

Maqonga - Mfanefile's store.

Udhl' umhlanganiso - the first to stab in battle.

29.8.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 38-43.

- 38 Socwatsha says [written up after conversation; compare with Sivivi's statement, 27.2.1907 (see small pocket book),²²² also Mtshapi ka Noradu's account, 3.4.1918]: Dingana was desirous of killing Mpande so he directed Ndhlela to send messengers to him with 100 heifers as a present. On getting a present from that king, Mpande would naturally come and *bonga*, when the opportunity for killing him would be seized. The messengers selected for the purpose were Matunjana ka Sibaxa *of the eMankwanyaneni people* and Ncagwana. Ndhlela, however, did not want to see Mpande killed, so he saw Matunjana privately and told him to go off immediately and give him a scratch with his *fangernail*, warning him not to come and *bonga* for the coming heifers but to flee, as the intention was to kill him. The messengers drove off the cattle from the Mahlabatini district in the direction of Madungela ridge, running from near Fort Yolland (Mfanefile's store) down to the waggon-drift, Tugela, on
- 39 which ridge Mpande was then living.²²³ When a short distance from Mpande's, Matunjana told Ncagwana that he wanted to pay his sweetheart a visit so he went off during the night, not to his sweetheart, but to Mpande, to whom he at once gave the

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warning. As soon as Mpande got the warning he prepared to go. [4.9.1909.]²²⁴

Matunjana returned the same night to rejoin his companion, whereupon the two drove on the cattle, but when they came in sight of Mpande's district they saw people making off with their property, stock etc. towards Natal. Matunjana asked Ncagwana what this meant, seeing they were just about to deliver the cattle. Ncagwana could not of course explain. The only thing to do was to go back and report what had happened, viz. that Mpande had crossed over into Natal. Dingane decided to send after him.

- 40 Now it so happened that Nzobo, alias Dambuza, had been in the habit of issuing orders for the destruction of people and reporting his action to Ndhlela. Ndhlela asked him why he did not report to the king. Nzobo said, 'You are *inkosi*,' the king is the *izulu*. This seems to have got to Dingane's ears.²²⁵ On the occasion in question, as a man of importance had to be sent to interview the Boers in Natal, Dingane directed Nzobo to go. Nzobo thought the mission of such importance that Ndhlela himself should undertake it, but Dingane pointed out that, according to Nzobo's own showing, he was the *induna*, for Ndhlela was an *inkosi*! Nzobo very reluctantly eventually yielded. When he got to the Boers he was recognized by Mpande's people as one who was in the habit of killing off others, whereupon information was secretly given to the Boers to the effect that he was the real cause of Piet Retief's party having been
- 41 massacred shortly before. The Boers then took and bound the man to a waggon wheel and, setting the wheel in motion, he was crushed to atoms.

As regards Matunjana, when he got back with Ncagwana, he went on at once to Ndhlela and told what he had done. Ndhlela then designed that Ncagwana be charged with having given Mpande warning that Dingane had it in mind to kill him. It was accordingly intimated to this effect to the king, whereupon Ncagwana was forthwith put to death.

In after years Matunjana was much beloved by Mpande, who gave him many presents of cattle as a token of gratitude for having saved his life.

The foregoing incident is the true origin of Mpande's flight into Natal and what is historically known by Zulus as *ukudabuka kwe goda*.

- 42 Ndhlela's death (per Socwatsha). [See p. 34.]

This man was put to death by order of Dingane. This took place at Magudu. The reasons were: When the battle of Maqongqo was about to take place, Dingane directed Ndhlela to allow the whole force to attack Mpande instead of divisions thereof going forward at different times. Ndhlela contravened Dingane's instructions by keeping back a large division, with the result that the issue was doubtful when it could have been decisive. Dingane accused Ndhlela of having done this by way of favouring Mpande, for whom he had long shown feelings of partiality, especially when Dingane thought of killing him and Ndhlela advised the king to leave him on the ground that he was an idiot. Dingane thought Ndhlela's object was that D. should be defeated in order that Mpande might succeed to the throne. The order was that

- 43 Ndhlela was to be stabbed in such a way that he did not fall, and that was done by hundreds of assegais being simultaneously hurled at him and these stuck in and about him in such a way that he did not fall flat to the ground as men do. He may have been sitting at the time; if so, he died in the same posture.

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17.12.1909

File 66, item 8, pp. 1-5.

1 [Sent Tanner large part of these notes 17.12.1909.]

Zulu regiments (per Socwatsha).

One *induna* is appointed for 2 or even 3 companies. Sometimes one *induna* for a company (*iviyo*).

*The ipini of the induna: each induna has ipini.*²²⁶

An isilomo who is not an induna eats with indunas and he will afterwards be appointed induna.

I want to appoint *izinduna* - the big *izinduna* come together. I want smart, observant boys, and get angry (brave). The *indunas* will then recommend and nominate the said *izilomo*. For the king does not know them and must depend on the *izinduna*. King says call them for me to see. They are called. The king sees them. They go back. Then it is said, '*Let them take up arms.*' They *take up arms* - enters the cattle enclosure *iviyo* by *iviyo* and all get in. They *form a semi-circle (umkumbi)*. They all this time are *singing and chanting*. They may be *stamping on the ground and dancing (sinaing)*. The king keeps looking out, observes those nominated by *izinduna*. The king is seated with a batch of *izinduna*. The *induna* is told to *quieten* them. They then stand up shields and *peta* - be at attention. Be absolutely silent.

Only one *induna*, one voice (*pimbo*), will speak - who has *words that penetrate (abukali)*, who does not go off the point (*pambuka*). He has a loud voice. All are silent. The *induna* says, '*The king is going to appoint the son of So-and-so,*' and then mentions his name. '*He is appointed to such-and-such a section (isigaba).*'

2 When this is done they are from their various *amakanda*. They are appointed with reference to the various *amakanda*. '*You, So-and-so, are the induna of the place of So-and-so, in the house*' (referring to an *induna* who was superior to him in rank - regimental procedure, not only for cadets), even though, as a matter of fact, he has his own *company of men (ixiba)*.

These new appointments vary, some great, some small, and others appointed to succeed just like our officers and non-commissioned officers. They advance by smartness and eventually become *induna of the umuzi*.

Some were appointed because of high rank, some because of mere smartness. If any man of rank not smart, the smart one might be appointed.

No *iviyo* used to be exercised separately. If anything to do, the whole regiment would go to *cut branches*. A pole, a bush, a wattle - one each of these; say two *wattles*. Where they *lay them down* equal to a load of many waggons. They all throw down and pass on.

They would cry, 'Rejoice, brother-in-law (umlamu) of the induna. We are returning there.' His '*brothers-in-law*' plead, i.e. let off his favourites who said they had *diarrhoea (huda'd)* or were ill or disinclined.

They were greedy and disputed over food - snatched from one another; even that one had succeeded in carrying off would be snatched from him. The *izinduna* *intervened* by severely assaulting the boys.

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Whilst skinning, men would be appointed on guard with sticks - no knives - to strike any greediness. Some would be rendered unconscious.

The throwing of assegais (cibaing) learnt by buck hunting. No special training in this.

Will enter to take part in the dancing (*sinaing*), for girls have come with food. They want to be *looked at*. *They push one another about* - pushed this way and that when trying to get a place. 'I have *put on my finery (vunula 'd)*; why should I be behind?'

- 3 No *restraining (kuzaing)* of *amabuto* - merely *sent out (paka 'd) impi* to fight. No training in military exercise, only the beating they got when *fighting over food*.

Whilst *klezaing* they are *dispersed among the imizi*. When grown up they have a kraal built for them specially.

They were known as Ingobamakosi of kwa Gqikazi and of eMangweni and of ekuBazeni and of eSiklebeni. But they all belong to Undi and spoken of as such although stationed at different kraals.

Mbonambi had <its> own kraal, Mdumezulu, i.e. *at kwa Mbonambi, at the place of the people of Mtonga*. Gqikazi, Mbelebeleni, eMangweni.

Ngobamakosi had kwa Ndhlangubo kraal of their own.

Some *izinduna* are older than the regiment, some younger (only when succeeding fathers), some as old. An *induna* younger than regiment may be appointed as successor to his aged father who is *induna*, but only a smart son would be chosen, not necessarily the oldest or heir.

Ifa ini? - ivelo - i.e. a man is chosen by merit.²²⁷ A man <is> not elected to *induna* merely because of high birth, but for smartness.

He has bongela 'd, i.e. shot up, grown up quickly, quicker than others, i.e. *butwa 'd* with mere boys, has remained behind to be *buta 'd* with those younger than himself.

- 4 *The reviving (vusa) of old imizi which were diminishing in size*, i.e. Tshaka's kraals. Mpande etc. *revived* old kraals, dying out. Cetshwayo especially said he wanted Tshaka's died-out kraals to *rise again (vuka)*.

C. said the *country (izwe) had died* in Tshaka's day through wars, so that people *became mingled together (xubana 'd)*. The Pietermaritzburg man went to Durban and vice versa. C. said all were to go back to their own homes.

C. would ask who the former occupants of the old, dying-out kraals of his, C.'s, father were, and then tell them to *gather themselves together (qoqana)* and go back there to *revive* the kraal. This is done to *rule (busa)* by raising up Tshaka's kraals to the same extent that Tshaka had <illegible>.

They begin as youngsters to fight - learn fighting. At *klezaing* they *hit one another, are organized by age*, and these have their *izinduna*. *Work will be set*, and 2 regiments go out to work, *to cut trees, to hoe* (with *shoulder-blades* and *ribs* of cattle - few *metal hoes*). *The amabuto are always quarrelling over seniority in age*. The older ones say to the others, 'You are boys.' The latter say, 'We are not boys; we are as good as you are; we could beat you in fighting.' *The izinduna also urge (cija) them on*. Each would say to his boys, 'Will the boys of such-and-such a place ever overcome you? You would be cowards if they overcame you.' They would say they would never be *beaten*. 'We would *beat* them and catch So-and-so' (giving name of

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their great *induna*). The *induna* will say, 'They too say to one another that they could chase you all off and catch me.' They would then start bragging as to what they could do.

5 These are the ways.

War is also *xoxwa'd*. When war imminent, all regiments are called *in order of age* (*ngo kwelama kwawo*) and told to *xox' impi*. *Xoxaing* is to *challenge one another* (*qomana*), i.e. one regiment says, 'We will fight them and drive them back.' Others come forward and say, 'We will fight better than you.' All this is education. The *xoxaing* lasts a day. But not *xoxa'd at the same time* for many regiments. Too many regiments may be called up to finish *challenging one another* on the one day, for many *challenges* (*izinkani*) may be *contested* by the first lots.

A bad *commotion* (*utuli*) arises in *xoxaing* - like civil war; *mediation needed*.

The Ngobamakosi and Tulwana *showed disrespect* (*eyisa'd*). C. *liked the Ngobamakosi*; called it *imbenge yami yamafundo*. *Ku ya hlafuna ku zinkobe na?*²²⁸ When with their wives.

'If you can *surpass me in fighting*, I will be your *underling* (*umfokazana*), the one who *closes the gate at your umuzi*. I bet (*beka*) a girl of my house (*intombazana ya kwetu*).' If he is betting with an *inkosana* he puts *his whole house forward*. This *angering* anyone.

The great warriors were xotshisa'd by the king - given food; others get nothing. Those looking on, they form a firm resolve to improve. *The group* (*isitebe*) of *izilomo* - all called together.

One man *fought very fiercely*; he was an *igagu*.²²⁹ But he is 'eaten up' - although brave in war is poor self-advertiser. One 'eats' *the fighting* of another, i.e. claims he fought it.

He claimed to be in the umhlanganiso, i.e. the first man to stab one of the enemy. He is a very great warrior.

Qakuzana - fencing.²³⁰

They stab ibece melons (*ba gwaz' ibece*), i.e. in retreat. *IbECE* - bare backs.

I 'ate up' that country (*Ngadhla lowombuso*) - a man does it through his own strength.

21.2.1910

File 30, item 17, pp. 6-11.

<The statements that follow should be read in conjunction with those of Ntazini published in the James Stuart Archive, vol. 5, pp. 188-90, and those of Zwayi published in the present volume, pp. 405-8 – eds.>

6 <Superstitions.>

Socwatsha, 21.1.1910.

Most kill the *spider* (*ulembu*), poisonous, enter ear.

Hammerhead with the tuft, bird which turns the doors; the umtakati of important matters, who reports good and then reports evil. If goes over kraal, shouting 'Ke!

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Ke!' a girl will marry at the kraal or a boy will be *chosen as a husband*. If sits on hut or on *post of the fence of the cattle enclosure*, that is a *bad omen (umhlola)*; means some person will die at kraal. They, knowing this, go to doctor and then *break off izintelezi medicines*, and *sprinkle them about*.

The hammerhead is sent by an *umtakati*; must be *warded off (punga'd)*;²³¹ *sprinkled at doors of huts, beneath the fence*.

Broom; one carries a *pot with intelezi*; *sprinkles on the huts and on the ground in the yard*, outside the main gate along path for some way. *Do the sprinkling at 5 or 6 p.m.*, about sunset, or very early before sun rises, two only engaged in business.

Udekane, idhlula (so as to *dhlula*) grows *on the cliffs*.²³² I have *idhlula* at home. *Mpunyu, so that it will punyuka (in bush country)*. *Mpindamshaye, to go back and beat the umtakati who sent it (in forests, like the imzungulu)*.²³³

Brooms - those for domestic use, but again used, not thrown away.

Umabope which *ties up (bopela) imihlola (a praise-name)* - for war, *bad omens* and other purposes; found *in forests and on cliffs*.²³⁴

Izindiyandiya (ndiyazeka, i.e. be at a loss as to where to enter).²³⁵ *Umaqunda (i.e. to prevent - qunda - the sickness from entering)*.

All these are *izintelezi*.

Branches and roots are used of the *izintelezi*.

Idhlula leaves used, roots etc.

Ugqamamaweni - another *intelezi*, also *unkungwini, insulansula, i.e. dither (sulaza)*, i.e. not to *go straight*.²³⁶

The *brooms* got from all huts, each hut having one. If kraal big, doctor uses two in one hand and 2 in another, others left in the *intelezi pot*.

Doctor will first be given *ugxa*.²³⁷ When *doctoring*, a beast will be *slaughtered*, meat belonging to doctor. When proved evil omen gone by will be given a beast.

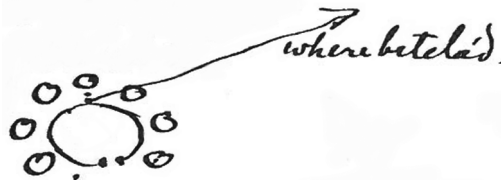
Ugxa - 10s. in Zululand, £1 in Natal.

6(a) This *driving away of evil omens (pungaing umhlola)* goes on freely.

Doctor cuts *umbinda* sticks,²³⁸ cut up into 8 in. pegs, many of them, only one long stick about 12-15 ft long. All *smear*d with black *medicines, mixed with fat of wild animals (izilwane)*.

Umhlangwe, which is nkone in colour - very bad snake to enter house.²³⁹

Driven in (betelwa'd) in the knot (ifindo) of the hut, in doorway 1 in. above ground, and in the crown of the hut (esicongweni), then the long stick.



'There is no rain. Who has been putting in *izikonkwane*?' Hence reluctance to put in pegs as it has tendency to keep off rains.

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If rains come down, they won't *consult (kulumisa)* him.

Izikonkwane pegs to be *pulled out* and put in the water. They say, 'You will later on be able to put them back as we have no desire to expose you to unnecessary danger.'

Tied *into a small bundle (izixa)* by doctor i.e. pegs, and *put into the water* whilst holes of the pegs will be filled up with water so as to bring on the rain. The rain will then come on whereupon he will put the pegs back. He could do this without assistance of doctor.

Even though pegged the whole kraal might be killed off, whilst others escape.

I saw at oZwatini *in the Nyuswa country* - I crossed into Zululand with Sir M. Osborn.

I used to be with many doctors.

All I say is done in Zululand.

The hammerhead has very large house; has various doors according to winds.

7 One *punga's* with *intelezi*. One *puts in pegs (betela's)* with *izikonkwane*, not *punga's*.

Rain (izulu) medicines - *are zila'd until potulaing has taken place.*²⁴⁰

Huts all *smear'd with cowdung (sindwa'd)* and all inmates go and wash.

Treated with medicines today, and possibly following day; 3rd day *potulaing* takes place.

Medicine is got to *vomit with (palaza)* so as to *remove the amazembe which he had sucked from the fingertips (ncinda) the day before.*²⁴¹

Izembe - izinsizi, like *umswani*, *squeezed* into a *potsherd*, mixed with medicines, *ncinda* and *zaula*; *cut shields.*²⁴²

Black cow or male animal (iduna), or black sheep, but not goat. This is the animal *slaughtered for people to ncinda its umswani*.

When *ncinda'ing*, one spits out to begin with, then swallows, when going on *ncindaing*. This goes on 3 or 4 minutes.

The *potsherd* is red hot.

The *potsherd* for men is separate from that of women.

The boys *ncinda* at men's *potsherd* after they have finished, whilst girls *ncinda* after the women.

Ncindaing and *zaulaing* is done in connection with all *bad omens (imihlola)* and lightning, also when people sick. For *bad omens* and *lightning*, all in the kraal *ncinda*, but in sickness only the sick man *ncinda's*.

If a man sleeps at kraal and does not *nukisa* children, all will get ill and some perhaps die. It is meat, taken from near the heart; it is fatty. *Isikwehlela* is name of that meat. Children must be *nukisa'd.*²⁴³ [See below.]

8 All animals are got, skin, meat, bones, snakes, *monitor lizard (uxamu)*, frogs, dogs, also *amakubalo* cut up,²⁴⁴ all put into *potsherd*, now red hot, and when smoke of burning things rises the children are made to *nukisa*, mouths open. The sick person is also put over the *potsherd*, covered over with blanket, and smells it till he gets into a perspiration. When all have done, the various drugs etc. are taken out and allowed to cool. Then the *ncindaing* begins.

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Ncinda - this is the regular medicine of a patient. He also *zaula's*, *has an enema (cata's)*, and *vomiting (palazaing)*. These all take place, but for *lightning* or a *bad omen* all at house merely *ncinda* once and *zaula* and then go and *potula*.

Pungaing is to *cela* only.

Ncinda means something else than *punga*.

Punga umhlola or *betel' umhlola* is the general term for the whole practice, though *punga* used alone applies only to *celaing*.

Lightning, *utekwane* sitting on hut or on fence, *hornbills (izinsingizi)*, *umhlangwe* (snake), as well as all other animals unaccustomed to entering kraal, i.e. not *kept domestically (fuyiswa'd)*, e.g. *duiker (impunzi)*. Everything entering a kraal is called *umhlola*; it is spoken of as having been sent by *abatakati*. They are spoken of as having *sent* them by *means of medicines*. If *baboon* enters kraal, *pungaing is done*; it is called *umhlola*. *Puffadder*, *mamba*, *nightadder* not *punga'd*. *Lions* not *punga'd*, for come to eat call <sic>; also *leopard*, *eland*, *crocodile*, *impaka*. *Impaka* said to *zaula* a person asleep, *cuts hair* and takes to his 'father', i.e. *umtakati*.²⁴⁵

Isilili sendhlu - *sides of house* - *izinhlangoti*.²⁴⁶

Bateleur eagle (ingqungulu) - if it *excretes on a person*, he becomes sick or dies, is *umhlola*.

The ucakide mongoose, bad luck, you will go all day without food. *You will be looked on with disfavour*, i.e. *you will be rejected*, e.g. one not *chosen as a husband* - *he finds disfavour*. Should you see *ucakide* when out courting you may as well return for you won't see any girls.

9 Good omens.

Utekwane, when going to *court the girls*, a *monitor lizard* runs across his path he will have luck and find girls. *Mousebirds (izindhlazi)*, if a flock flies in front of you if you do not find girls you will meet with a plentiful supply of food.

Inqomfi lark if goes off and says *kwe! kwe - twe!* and stretches out wings.

... <Praises of *inqomfi* lark omitted – eds.>

This bird brings the greatest luck. You would never pass by two kraals without finding the most abundant food.

Imbiba mouse - if seen running along path, you will find meat where you are going; *a beast has been slaughtered*.

Foot - if you strike the underpart of your foot against a stone and not the toes it means you will get food.

Isivivane - take stone up with foot, then by hand, *mix up with bits of grass*, and *spit on it* and throw on.²⁴⁷ I saw one beyond Bishopstowe, this side of Umgeni, yesterday. I found food.

10 *Lion* - if seen having killed a *buck*, a man *bonga's the ancestors*, whereupon the lion will leave the buck and go off, letting the person *bongaing cut it up*.

Python (imfundamo, inhlwati) - if seen, knows he will see a girl or get food, or if out hunting and he sees *inhlwati* he will have luck in bucks.

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Hair - not *hidden* but *preserved* (*londoloza'd*). Hidden for fear *abatakati* will take his *body-dirt* (*insila*). Others say *wagtail* (*umvemve*) will take and build house with and if this does so all hair will fall off and he will possibly accuse the *abatakati* whereas the *umvemve* did this. When the *umvemve* builds the hair falls off, i.e. until it hatches young; the hair will then begin to grow.

Person cut open - must be cut open or you will *swell up* (*qumba*), you must let out the wind or you will *qumba*.

Imikovu - widely believed in, like fairy tales.²⁴⁸ No one has seen *imikovu*. An *umtakati* raises a dead person, cuts out tongue and such person becomes *umkovu*. If one sees *umkovu* one becomes unconscious and then become an idiot. Friends of a person among *imikovu* will throw stones at him to warn him not to run into danger, but will be unable to articulate anything, having no tongue.

The *umkovu* might be sent to a place where one is ill late at night. It then *cries out* outside, '*Maye babo!*' etc. and *hlolela's* him and says he should die.²⁴⁹ Even if not ill wants him to get ill.

- 11 *Baboons* - get on facing tail which becomes rein; *baboon* shuffles backwards, that is how *abatakati* ride.

Leopard is *trapped in the wilds* and *kept* by *umtakati* and he *takata's* with it.

Izindondo are *imvunulo yamakosi kuqala*, *yabalobokazi* and *amakosikazi* - indicative of rank.²⁵⁰ Two kinds, white and others red. *Umango funa'd* them.²⁵¹ *Izindondo* only for ornament, not connected with birth, so far as I know.

I know nothing of goat being pointed towards sick person, but it is a fact that a goat or cow will have head pointed *up* to top of kraal, as, if the head points downwards, it means *livestock* (*izimpahla*) won't *increase*, will go on dying off, etc. But a buck skin is so pegged out as to *point to bottom end*, so as to give you luck always to get better of them.

Leopard - if killed is brought home and a beast killed, and as the one is skinned so is the other; this is done so as to tame the leopard as a beast is tame so that in the future when other leopards are hunted those hunting will get ascendancy over it. The *leopard* is also eaten along with the beast, but eaten sparingly. The skin pegged out looking downwards.

The *leopard*, before skinning, is taken to *the chief* who *leaps over it in the cattle enclosure*. He *qonela's*, for the chief is another *leopard*, so as to get the better of it.²⁵² The person who stabbed *the leopard* first [is] given a beast for his pains. On getting home he gets a goat and gives to the one who *stabbed it second* (*hlomula'd*).

27.2.1910

File 30, item 17, pp. 27-33.

Also present: Gedle

- 27 Socwatsha and Gedhle.
S. I know not about breaking the web of a spider to hasten arrival as Gedhle says.
S. *Upatelanjalo* or *utshomu* - the carrier of *izidwedwe*.²⁵³

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Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. A beast was killed, with nice coloured hide - ox, cut into 2 shields. The *heir (inkosana)* carries the shield on the *inxeba* side. The *son of the left-hand house (ikohlo)* carries the shield on the *indhlelo* side, i.e. the side on which a beast eats grass. (The calf in a cow is on the *inxeba* side). Cetshwayo always got *inxeba* shield, Mbuyazi got the other until Mpande *changed* and gave the *inxeba* shield to Mbuyazi and gave C. the *indlelo* shield. C. then *became angry (kukumala'd)* in his heart. 'Why does father cut me the *indhlelo* shield and Mbuyazi the *inxeba* one? He is evidently *appointing* Mbuyazi and ousting me.' The *izinduna* came together and whispered about what Mpande had done. The shields were kept in a storage hut (*umnyango*); there was only one *umnyango* for the princes' shields. There were many sons of Mpande who were Amamboza. Mbuyazi shield got lost, lost in the *umnyango* where all his brothers' shields were kept. C. had taken it; *he went and washed on it with medicines of his diviners, for he was asserting his supremacy (qonela) over him; he was 'breaking' him. After this he gave the shield to his mother Ngqumbazi as her shield for sitting on. The shield was searched for everywhere.* After Ngqumbazi had sat the time which the doctor had prescribed she should do, it was taken and put in its place. 'Hau! Where does it come from, as it has been looked for here, in the *umnyango* of the shields?' Some said, 'It should be taken away and burnt. The *umntwana* Mbuyazi agrees that it should be burnt.' The men said, 'Why should the shield be burnt, seeing the prince is not dead?' Some of the men said it should be given to an *inceku*.

At this time the *dispute* was growing; they were confronting each other; the *Izigqoza* too were discussing war. They made shields to get ready in case of war. They *hafted assegais*. The Usutu did likewise and *hafted assegais*. The *fight*, Ndongakusuka, then *broke out*.²⁵⁴ Mpande then said to *induna* Ntobolongwana ka Matshwayibana. He told him he was to go round to all the *izikulu* of the Zulu country and tell Mpande's secret, viz. that he, Mpande, *favoured* Mbuyazi and that their forces should go onto *Izigqoza* side. Ntobolongwana however did not go and arm them as directed. The big *induna* Masipula ka Mamba prevented him. He said he wanted *all the Zulu people* to go on to C.'s side and Mbuyazi to be killed. 'The King is mistaken; he is *ixoki*.'²⁵⁵

The Boers asked who Mpande's chief son was and he pointed out Cetshwayo and the Boers *cut a mark (upawu)* in C.'s ear (very small piece cut out of right ear) and then the Boers put clothes on him.²⁵⁶ 'We do not agree. *Let all the Zulu people arm and join Cetshwayo.*' Mbuyazi had by this gone out with his *impi*.

Mbuyazi was defeated - due to the shield having been treated as above stated by C. He defeated him because he washed on the shield. He *qonela'd* him.

Idhlozi.

Get grave *earth*. Gedhle agrees, so does the *induna* Mbokode. Get *ubulawu* from doctor, to *turn the idhlozi* around, so as to *face the home* and not go to there *backwards (nyovane)*.²⁵⁷

29 The *inyanga* comes with *ubulawu* dug up - various drugs dug on the hills, tied up in his *inkondhlwane*, i.e. *his mat (isihlandhla)* for *tying things up in*. He (doctor) says go and get water from waterfall or where water *plashes (hlokoma's)*, and to get

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it in an *uselwa gourd* - to be fetched by a *good-tempered girl (etumekayo)*, a willing girl, *one who has not reached the age of puberty*, or a *good-tempered boy* may be sent - before he *reaches the age of puberty*.

The doctor calls for a white, spotless goat. It is *slaughtered*. A large *pot* is got into which the pounded *ubulawu* will be put. All *the descendants (uzalo)* of that *idhlozi* will be called together. If anyone is absent, the *illness* will go on to him. The goat is *cut up*. As it is *cut up*, the *medicine* is *pounded in the pot*. Then the cold water fetched is poured in. A *forked stick* is then taken and *the medicine is stirred up*. A big white *foam* is worked up. The *gall of the goat* is *poured in* there. If old men and women there, those dead are all *praised* by the *praises* of them whilst still living. They are spoken to as if they were within hearing of what is said, beginning with the great *idhlozi*. '*Hau, So-and-so*' - by his name - '*We ask that you turn your face to us. Look at your umuzi.*' Then he was *praised* by his *izibongo* at length. Then go on to another *idhlozi* thus: '*You too, So-and-so.*' The *amakosikazi* are also *praised*. '*Woman of such-and-such a place (ntombi yasekutini). You are silent. What are you looking at? We ask that you should look at your people. We ask that we may find*
30 *good service (inkonz' enhle) among the white people, and get cattle. We ask that we should be chosen by the girls; that all our people should marry, and that the umuzi should increase in numbers. We ask for progeny; we ask that our children who are ill should recover from their sickness, and that women who have not become pregnant should do so. We ask for amabele, Nkosi; we ask that our crops will be plentiful.*'

They then vomit with the ubulawu. The *inkosana* begins and he washes with it; others follow suit. Others only rub hands wet with *ubulawu on the head*, only the *inkosana* washes. The cattle now come back when a big ox is killed, *and the ancestors are addressed and praised*. The same kind of prayers as before will be said. One man will come out and say, '*Here is your food*', etc. The cattle are taken to top end of kraal, near *the calf pen*. The man *addressing the ancestors* walks about as *he does so*. The ox is *slaughtered* and eaten and finished.

Sometimes the ceremony is followed by success. The *idhlozi turns about* and the kraal increases in prosperity. On other occasions there is failure.

We see from this failure that it was not due to the *idhlozi* having become '*spoiled*' (*onakele*) but because *abatakati* had *brought about misfortune (swaza'd ngo mswazi)* in a way that the doctors could not detect or discover.²⁵⁸ This proves that the doctor simply guessed what he thought the evil was due to and, in saying it was *because the idhlozi had become 'spoiled'* and then himself *turning the idhlozi about* and the evil still continuing to exist, shows he was lying.

Some will say (after finding no success), '*Reject what the doctors say; it is not due to amadhlozi at all. The doctors are wrong.*'

31 S. continues: When my hair is cut I collect it and either bury it in mud, or put it in the water or tuck it into *long grass* so that it will be burnt when the grass burns. I do not burn hair because *it will be smelt*.

*Izintelezi - umpikayiboni, umnyawempunzi, umpishimpishi, isidondi, umatshwilitshwili, umatshikitshiki.*²⁵⁹ These are for *all omens, and for war*.

Abatakati are ordinary people. He is like a thief or adulterer. They have kraals etc.

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Some *takata* particular people, those they hate. He kills one of his father's own children, i.e. brother.

Ubulawu [° = girls, * = both *idhlozi* and girls]:²⁶⁰ *ibeka**, *isidala**, *uvuma**, *itshinga*°, *inhlanhla**, *umusa**, *umpendulo**, *ugukukile** (*uguqu*), *ipengulula**, *izaza**, *umoyomnandi*°, *umfanezacile*°, *umdumowazo**, *ugwayiwazo** (girls), *ubane**, *usikisiki** (girls; this was not twisted by anyone except the chief), *umwuluki**, *ibuta**, *isitati**, *intwalabombo** (Gedhle says: *intabombo*),²⁶¹ *umkoka**, *isengama*°, *isiwisa*°, *ihlali*°, *iguleni*°, *impepotshani**, *umtunyelelwa*° (*umatunyw'* *avume onjeng' empaka itunywa uyise umtakati*),²⁶² *umwelela*° (*kwelipetsheya*),²⁶³ *umtolo**, *umhlwazimamba**, *umondi*°.

Used for *idhlozi*: *uguqu*, *umpendula*, *ubane*, *uvuma*, *umhlwazimamba*, *umwuluka*, *umdumo* (*umdumowazo*), *isidala*, *impepotshani*.

Izincweba - *iziyaya*, *amambata*, *izambato*.²⁶⁴

Not all have these things. Only those who *stabbed in battle* (*gwaza'd impi*). A warrior (*iqawe*) carries and licks at the start of the year (*ngoku twasa ngo nyaka*). There are *izinsizi* inside. This *licking* is done to *strengthen* (*qinisa*) one, to prevent his becoming *isipukupuku* or *uhlanya*. He may be *possessed by an iquingo*, i.e. become transformed, become differently constituted to what he was.

- 32 *Inswelaboya* i.e. a man for whom he *swela's uboya*.²⁶⁵ This is medicine, e.g. *I am selling inswelaboya* (*igubandhlela*, *idhlaligwavuma*, i.e. *speak whilst eating*), i.e. *fat* or *flesh*. *The flesh of the one who comes out standing up for the doors are high*, i.e. white people.

Wild beast (isilo) which kills people, but this *beast*, because human, is *inswelaboya*.

To act like an inswelaboya, i.e. to kill in order to get the flesh of that creature, i.e. human being.

Inswelaboya really meant the flesh and fat of a human being got by an *umtakati*, but later on it came to be transferred to the persons who went about killing people to get that flesh and fat.

Tokolotshe - *tikolotshe* [per Gedhle]. Socwatsha: *It lives in the water, in deep pools* - is a human being, but very short, *strong* (*qinile*). Never saw one. White people once caught one in a net, it is said. Goes about at night. Sleeps with women. Very long penis. Fat of it sold, hands and feet like a person's, *ejaculates* (*tundela*) *in a woman*, but she does not *give birth*. This animal known for generations.

Isidawana - has a *basket* (*iqoma*) on its head, eats *brains*, kills a person and throws in *iqoma*, *sucks at nostrils* violently and draw all down, then leaves him, something like man, no *hair on body*, has *loose hairs* (*izindosi*).

Gedhle says: *Isigwili* or *impisi* (*idelabutongo*) carries off people who may be seated at *the hearth*.²⁶⁶

Socwatsha: *Emgulugulwini* or *emlindaziko*.²⁶⁷

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33 *Wives who enter the cattle enclosure - they must be permitted to do so by the head (umnikazi) of the umuzi. The cause of their being allowed to enter, after bearing 2, 3 or 4 children, is because their children refuse to go and get her grain (amabele) in the pit, or badly cover over pit and allow water to get in. The umnumzana then directs chief wife to allow her in and let her attend to her own amabele, her own food.*

If a woman has someone who can satisfactorily *cover up* the pit she may not enter until she has had as many as 4 children, for there is no necessity for her to enter.

This not going into kraal is due to *hlonipa*, for a newly arrived wife (*umlandakazana*) will remain covered up;²⁶⁸ it will be said that she *hlonipa's* the fence of the cattle kraal; the kraal belongs to the *amadhlozi*. But if a man's wedding party (*iketo*) has come to dance and enters kraal, all, even those who do not as a rule enter, go in. They *hlonipa*, for a new wife does not scold or beat a child; she will give a child food when she is eating, even though it comes from another hut. After a year, how quick-tempered she becomes! And these children she formerly gave food to she discriminates between and gives only to those of her own house.

The *idhlozi* is at the upper end of the *umuzi*. People who *bonga* face the upper end, for the great house (*indhlunkulu*) is at the upper end. An *idhlozi* which comes from far away rests there in the great house, it is said. New wives *hlonipa* the great house very greatly.

Young wives cover their heads with a cloak (*ingubo*, *isipuku*) as they come in sight of grave of husband's father, even though at very old vacated kraal <site>. The old women don't *hlonipa* as young wives do.

28.2.1910

File 42, item 36, p. 1.

1 Socwatsha.

Put into the snuff, put into the smoking-horn, put poison in beer - all takataing acts.

Black water (amanz' amnyama) - black ubulawu - for girls.

White goat is killed, not black. Disagrees with Gedhle.

White goat is killed at the upper end of the enclosure or in the great hut or in sick person's hut - anyone may stab.

Goat is fed (funza), smeared with foam of the ubulawu and smeared up face.

Your beast (inkomo) of the water; we say, 'Let the water shine, let the amadhlozi be white' - bring good luck.

If a beast for girl getting married has to be stabbed twice, must pay a forfeit, say assegai or 1s., but a *dhlozi* beast, though properly stabbed, should not die too quickly. Goat killed about 2 p.m., beast killed soon after. Goat flesh is put in main hut all night, also meat of ox. The ox killed must be one belonging to *indhlunkulu*, although it may be borrowed from one of the other huts.

Ubulawu belongs to the upper end of the umuzi.

Impepo.²⁶⁹ Umhlwehlwe (fat), pierce, and other fats (amanoni)²⁷⁰ - before beast chopped up, for amadhlozi must start it - roasted at the back of the hut (umsamo) - put impepo on first, impepo fresh or dry, the door is closed so as to cause darkness

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(*isitunzi*) so that *amadhlozi* will eat - whisper goes on at beast whilst *impepo* - an old woman, a young man, *umnumzane of the home* burn it, no speaking.

19.3.1910

File 40, item 22, pp.1, 3-4.

1 Socwatsha.

Qwabe chiefs.

Pakatwayo buried at Hlokohloko, east thereof.

Kondhlo - spring on road opposite Nkanini (Yamela's kraal).

Mncinci - near where Inwakwu stream joins Matikulu.

Lufuta buried at Matigulu.

Qwabe *came from (dabuka'd)* Babanango, where Umhlatuze springs from that mountain. I heard this from Qwabe and Zulu old men.

Malandela may have come from Babanango.

*A song (igama, isigekle)*²⁷¹ of *Nosisila*, policeman of Malimati's at Nhlazatshe.

Composed when comet appeared at Nhlazatshe, after it had been said Cetshwayo was returning to Zululand, but had not actually arrived. It ran:

I sing of a star, the new moon has appeared! (men)

Heyi, the star has a tail, the amakosi are quarrelling! (women)²⁷²

Isigekle was in quick time and accompanied by *ihlombe*, i.e. clapping of hands. *Irubo* was a bass chant.²⁷³

Ukuhlonza (men) - bass.

Inkwaza, inklwaza - vuma (women) - soprano.

Dokoza - talk in a bass voice; *indokondoko* - bass voice.²⁷⁴

War and hunger (indhala) will come when comet appears. [E.g. Halley's comet.]

When we (Europeans) fought in Boer war, 1900 or so, a comet appeared; forget whether it appeared after or before beginning of war.

Don't pitch out the water (out of an *ikamba - pot*); you will cause the sky to thunder - a superstition.²⁷⁵

... <Linguistic note omitted – eds.>

'I swear by the name of Nandi at the Mateku' - proof positive that she died in Zululand and not in Natal. Mateku is a stream, enters Mhlatuze near Ongoye. The grave is known. Mpuhlana ka Ndosi pointed it out to me.

'I swear by the name of Dingana at kwa Nyawo' - commonly said.

'I swear by the name of Dingana at the uBombo' - rarely said.

'I swear by the name of Tshaka at kwa Dukuza.'

'I swear by the name of the king at kwa Nyakamubi.'

'I swear by the name of the king at kwa Nodwengu.'

'I swear by the name of Cetshwayo at the Nkandhla.'

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'I swear by the name of my father at the Ncome, who was not buried but was eaten by wild animals.'

... <Linguistic notes in margins omitted – eds.>

3 Per Socwatsha, 19.3.1910.

Qetuka ka Manqondo ka Mazwana.

Noradu ka Mazwana *of the kwa Magwaza people (the kwa Magwaza people were of the house of the eLangeni people; they were dabula'd by Makedama)* told me about 5 or 6 years ago that he was an *inceku* of Tshaka's *at kwa Bulawayo*. One day, he said, he took *the king's mealies (cobs still attached to the cut stalks)* and, taking it to *the girls of the king in the isigodhlo*, gave the mealies to the girls who cooked for and *carried food for the king*. Noradu thought T. was still *in the assembly*, whereas he was with the girls. As he was giving the mealies to the girls, *the king appeared* and said, *'Here, son of Mazwana, who was it who carried the mealies I had yesterday? Do you izinceku actually wash your hands? I ate the mealies, and then vomited and vomited and vomited and vomited.'* *'Nkosi, we do wash our hands, for one of us carries a gourd of water. And a boy who goes out to urinate takes the gourd of water from the boy, and washes his hands.'* Noradu, hearing this added (or increasing) emphasis on *'vomited'*, got nervous and terrified but said nothing. He expected T. would end by saying, *'Aren't you taking him away?'* but this was not said.

N. then went to his huts and told the other *izinceku* what had taken place. The next day early all the *izinceku* rose and went to the river to wash, saying *they had had nocturnal emissions (zi tshaywe izibuko), when in fact it was not so. They were afraid of the king, for they had heard what he had said to Noradu, asking, 'Do you wash? No sooner had I eaten the food than I vomited.'* When N. saw that the *izinceku* intended that he should return to T., he who had escaped on the preceding day, he said, *'Then, children of my father, I will certainly die today.'* N. saw that he would be killed if, as he had not *had a nocturnal emission*, he were to refrain from carrying in the food. He decided to go in with the food to T. and take his chance. N. then went with another *inceku*, whilst a third carried *water in a gourd* in order that they may wash. They got to T., whereupon the *madman (uhlanya)* said, *'Here, son of Mazwana! You must wash, you must wash when you bring my food.'* N. said, *'We do so, Nkosi!'* T. said, *'What then is the reason why I should vomit after eating food? I think that you do not wash.'* He added, *'O! You have been let off (wa sinda).'* N. then
4 went back to his hut. He then *made himself ill*, and reported himself to *izinduna* so as to get leave to go home and eat *amakambi*.²⁷⁶ Permission was given. His real reason for going home was to give *thanks to the ancestors by slaughtering a beast, for he had escaped death*.

Nocturnal emissions (ukushayw' izibuko).

'He has spattered his semen on me (u ngi tele nge zibuko lake)' - as one sleeping close to another, under same blanket.

He has been bitten by a crab (u lunywe inkalankala) - he has emitted semen (utshaywe amanzi).

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Nyakamubi - possibly sister of Tshaka.²⁷⁷

Ngqojana. Sopane.

'Why are you killing me, sons of my father? What have I done?'

Emvivane (*deep pool*) - crocodile.

Embozamo.

Lest they overshadow (engama) them, i.e. the insila of the king, those who attended the umufi, the deceased, the one who is no longer there. I.e. were not the izinceku (insila) killed, they would overshadow (engama) the existing king, that is, stand over them as a menace.

Mantingwane told me he was a boy when Tshaka was assassinated. He was seated nearby when Mbopa came carrying a handful of assegais. He began striking the Pondos who were talking to T. T. remonstrated with Mbopa, who thereupon threw an assegai at T., sticking him between shoulders at back. Mhlangana, Dingana, Ngqokwana and Sopane came forward and also threw assegais at T. as he was making towards the gate. He turned and cried out, *'Why are you killing me, sons of my father? What have I done?'* He fell at the gate. Mhlangana suggested he should be dragged down and pitched into the Emvivane (name) pool (full of crocodiles) of Imbozamo stream. Dingana said no, he must be buried in the same way that kings are. Mantingwane was then directed to fetch a black ox from Nyakamubi cattle. This was done. The ox was killed and the assassins sprinkled themselves with *gall* and *cinsa'd* etc. Mantingwane was next sent for a *small herd (iqabi) of oxen* belonging to the Nyakamubi hut (from which S. concludes the name refers to a person, say Tshaka's sister etc.). This *herd* was all killed whilst T.'s body was properly tied up in the black ox's skin and the corpse kept until only bones remained. Numbers of *izinceku* were killed and buried with T., whilst all T.'s personal belongings at Nyakamubi, as well as at Bulawayo and other *amakanda*, were collected and buried with him by order of Dingana. S. knows nothing of his having been buried next day or being buried in a *grain* hole. Mantingwane should have been killed but he got off on account of his youth. Nyakamubi, S. supposes, was some near relative of T.'s, possibly a sister.

20.3.1910

File 40, item 22, p. 2.

2 Per Socwatsha.

Tshaka used to say *that he was poor (mpofu) and had no cattle*. He would say this *to the Zulu people, when all were present*. What was Zulu to eat, as he (T.) had no cattle? Nowadays when a man reckoned to be well off in cattle talks about not having enough, and wanting to come by more, others will liken him to Tshaka who, although universally believed to have boundless wealth, with numberless *amakanda* etc., complained of being poor. *'He is like Tshaka who claimed to be poor.'*

If the *imbungu* (horn) is played out of season, it is said to *cause umkuhlane*.²⁷⁸

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30.1.1912

File 66, item 9, pp. 16-18.

16 Socwatsha, 30.1.1912. I hear Bambata crossed *at the Mtambo Drift, in the eMakabeleni country* - don't know if this is the Dimane drift.

Ofeni lwenyoni at Kotongweni is *a stronghold* which *abatshokobezi* entered; this when they fought with Basutos of Hlubi during Nkandhla *impi* (after C.'s death) - happened at time of his burial. The *abatshokobezi* ate *amambuka's* and Mbuzo's cattle. They *slaughtered* and ate them.²⁷⁹

Ekwanini - *a stronghold of Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe* when he fought against Dingana.²⁸⁰ Sambela ka Gcwabe was killed at Ekwanini with his *impi*; whereas his brother Zihlandhlo was taken off to eDimane south of Tugela and there hidden. Many of the Embo *impi* were killed there.

Isimahla - *the umuzi of Zihlandhlo*.

*An ilunga shield was carried by the great men, the sons of the king.*²⁸¹

Magunyana ka Bovungana ka Mavela - taken to Dingana who killed him.

The izigodhlo were the same size.

Let us let Manzini ka Gcwabe go. Manzini sent and killed by D.

Regiments of Zihlandhlo: iNguqa, uDhliki, imiValo, uTshwele. Dingana called these one regiment and gave one name, Mpiyake. *An ikanda was built for them and an inkosikazi appointed over it*, which is done with all *amakanda*.

Afraid of being killed - two to four months passed.

Manyane was in Zihlandhlo's district.

My father Papu was *of the uBadane of Tshaka* (regiment). My father was married at this time - 4 wives then, and children.

17 Called up - come *aze* - without anything. Deceived. Told to *act as if fighting* - run as if *catching impi*. They did so - told to return at a run to *the king (at Mgungundhlovu)*. Told to *go back down-country* as hard as they could. They did so - for 3 or 4 miles; they ran about 3 miles out and 3 back about 4 times - got tired.

Nzobo said if you see me put hand over mouth and blow and drag blanket - and then break their necks, a *company (viyo)* to each man.²⁸²

One man got up at night and with neck twisted ran to give alarm. *'You see only me. You will never see the others and here too is the impi behind; I bring it on my back; it has finished off two peoples (amazwe).'* They followed (*impi*). *It went to the rock, to the place of our fathers*. Zulus thought could kill off easily, but made great blunder.

These tactics exactly similar to those in regard to Piet Retief.

Our people then all armed and went.

The boundaries of Ndube's ward badly defined in certain parts. Mangati's kraal at Macala fell within Ndube's ward although he was a member of Mpumela's tribe. Ndube did not want to make a row about this. Febana too lived within Ndube's ward, though a member of another tribe.

Boundaries not clearly defined with Matshana ka Mondise as with Mbuzo.

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18 Bambata no sooner arrived in Zululand than he went to Ntshhelela's (ka Godide) kraal *at eKotongweni down below at the Tugela; it cultivates on the Tugela, and gets water from the Tugela*. This kraal is nearer Mfongozi than eHlwane and *near Ofeni lwe nyoni*. He arrived *at sunset, when the cattle were returning*. May be *midday* (return of cattle).

Ntshhelela became *umtshokobezi*. Killed beast. Bambata *ate* it; did not sleep. B. did not sleep there - went *at night* to Mangati on top of Macala, where Mangati *slaughtered a goat for him*.

On Sunday early Bambata went to Mmangwana ka Faku ka Pokwana (*of the Emacubeni people*).

Mmangwana (an *induna*) gave them beer. They came carrying the meat from Ntshhelela's.

They then went on to Simoyi ka Mbango (mouth of Mome). Kraal at base of gun hill (kopje) was Mpangele's. I think Simoyi had 2 kraals at mouth of M.

Bambata arrived *very early* Sunday *at Mmangwana's*. *They found the impi* very numerous (*ite tinya!*).

Europeans chased Bambata as far as Macala. Came from Greytown - others said Boers.

Said that Saunders sent them back, saying, 'I'll catch Bambata. I have plenty of men.' One or two said to have gone as far as Nkandhla.

The Reserves came to Macala on Tuesday - crossed B.'s track. Some crossed, so I heard, *at the Libomvu*; I saw some (about lunch time); *they crossed at Emkalazi* and came down Madungela ridge to Ndongondwana. Might have got to Zululand on the Monday. I saw them on the Tuesday, returning.

Ntshhelela ka Godide reported to Mpumela, who told him to go and report to Colenbrander. He went.

Iwa Kingi!

Precip.

Not *wash* when eating.

Not sleep on mats.

4.6.1912. Pietermaritzburg.

File 66, item 10, pp. 1-5.

1 Native Affairs Dept., Pietermaritzburg. Socwatsha.

The former organization <was> in accordance with *imizi*, not age. The group would be called *those from such and such a place*. They would form their own *companies (amaviyo)*.

Under later system, *viyos* were formed at *amakanda*, those knowing one another entering same *viyo*, but where those of a particular neighbourhood were unable to form *viyo* they might be ordered to amalgamate with another batch but little known to them.

We thus see *viyos* were formed principally on a basis of knowing one another.

Every regiment has an *isibay' esikulu* section, and in this section, which marches at the rear, is the principal commanding officer of the regiment. The Tulwana was also

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isibay' esikulu, but this was because the king was a member of that regiment. Hence the whole regiment was *isibay' esikulu*.

The *isibay' esikulu* occupied left side of kraal facing cattle kraal gate. On the right was the *uhlangoti* section, but there was also *isibay' esikulu* of the *uhlangoti* and in such section was the principal *induna* of the *uhlangoti*. Now the *induna* of *isibay' esikulu* was the principal *induna* of regiment as a whole; the *induna* of the *uhlangoti* was under him.

The commanding officer (*umdidiyeli, o didiyelayo*) is that of *isibay' esikulu*, for he *didiyela's* - *gathers them all together*; he *commands (tshaya's)* all *amaviyo*; the *induna of uhlangoti* is in command only over his own particular section. Should *induna* of the *isibay' esikulu* die, the king may appoint anyone else he likes. The *induna* of *uhlangoti* was not second in command in event of chief *induna* being killed etc.

Ikala, isisu, isicamelo [or *umqamelo*, from *isiqamelo (isicamelo)* - head-rest], *isibay' esikulu*. There is first the nose, then the stomach, the head-rest and the great *isibaya*. The leading section is called *ikala*.

- 2 The *izindunas* would *qinga* (*i.e. imisa*, cause to halt; *gqiba*, get back) *impi* were *isibay' esikulu* to go out first by mistake.

The great *induna* of *isibay' esikulu* has his hut at gate of cattle kraal; so also, on his side, has the *induna* of *uhlangoti*.

Ikala is also known by names *udhlawu* or *upondo*. *They are now doing ibece* *stabbing* - stabbing in the back as running away. *They are still fighting ngezi fuba* - face-to-face action.

Differences in Bambata's *impi* as compared with Zulu military system.

1. The Zulus used to drive a herd of cattle (say 20-40, but nearer 40) along with *impi* (these were taken from the king's cattle), and these would be kept intact until those of enemy had been captured, when the latter would be taken as food and the others driven back to the king's kraal once more. But if food ran short the *induna* was allowed to kill and eat of this herd, but care was taken that *induna* only and his immediate coterie got any of this meat. It was not eaten by anyone.

These cattle were known as *uGibiqolo, the one which will eat up others*. I don't know if any of these cattle were driven along in Zulu war.

This herd of cattle (say 20-40 in all) was not to be found in connection with Bambata *impi*.

I heard of this herd of cattle of very many *older men (amadoda)*. These *cattle which would eat up others*, they went out in days of Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande and Cetshwayo.

2. It never happened, as it did in Bambata's *impi*, for a section of troops to absent themselves on pretext of going off to look after their women and children. I saw this in Bambata's *impi*. Soldiers *took for* their women and children *meat of the impi, of cattle and goats*.

3. It never happened, as occurred in B.'s campaign, for women, children and old men to hide in same forest as the warriors; the two lots went into different forests. An illustration of this was at Mbonje (iTate).

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3 The Reserves that came across from Natal found *abatshokobezi* with men and women etc. who had *encamped* at my kraal. All fled off, Boers opened fire, shot women and children, not being able to distinguish them amidst all those who made off, for it seemed from a distance as if men only were running off.

4. Bambata, at Bobe, directed that Mavalana, Falaza, Hayelwengwenya were all to be *picked out (keteka)*.²⁸³ Macwaneka refused, he being *induna of Ndube*, who had *deserted (hlubuka'd)* with Ndube's people. Macwaneka said they should fight according to their *localities (izifunda)*.

At Mome Bambata wished the same thing, but Mehlokazulu *refused*, saying they must fight according to *localities*, so that they should *become fierce*. Mehlokazulu said *a mixed-up force (impi ye nhlanganiselo) does not become fierce* and that best way is for people who know one another to fight side by side.

5. The methods of fighting were generally same as those of former days. Sigananda's people claimed to be the *isibay'esikulu*. Then all of them, they said, had *armed*, including chief, whereas the chiefs of others who had assembled had simply *abandoned them (ambuka'd)*. The Cubes had their own chief with them, but the chiefs of all the other rebel sections of tribes had *abandoned them* and did not throw in their lot with rebels.

In ordinary war of Zulus there was no *deserting (ambukaing)*. When Macwaneka refused to let the Ndube section of rebels break up into regiments, he was *taken to task (kankata'd)* by Sigananda, who said, 'Who are you, a mere dog that you are? Where is Ndube, your father? *Must I now adopt you?*' (having no father).

6. The doctoring generally was similar to Zulu practice. A boy who carried *the basket (iqoma) of intelezi medicines* (even without *intelezi* in it) would not speak
4 whilst carrying. Were he to speak, *intelezi* would *become spoilt*. There was also a *gourd (isigubu)* carried by Mandisindaba's boy, quite black and also *placed in a net of string* and all quite black because *hung up* and black with *smoke*.

No one is allowed to talk when being *sprinkled* with *intelezi*. The doctor signals to those present, wiping his hand over his mouth to indicate silence. Were talking to go on, the *intelezi* would go wrong.

Dinuzulu knew nothing of *impi*. He sent no one to fight at Nkandhla. Where he went wrong was to harbour Bambata's children and Bambata and co. during rebellion without reporting having done so to the authorities.

Sigananda declared that the *impi* was Dinuzulu's and that Mankulumana comes from nowhere (i.e. not from Dinuzulu) but had been paid money by the hatful to come down to them.²⁸⁴

No messengers were actually sent by Dinuzulu to the *impi*.

He made war by means of secret messages (unyandhla),²⁸⁵ i.e. he issued instructions in a secret or concealed manner - *ukunyandala*, i.e. to *move secretly (nyenya) and not be seen*. This is said by us when D. was being tried, for he gave Bambata a gun.

No one was murdered after Dinuzulu's arrest. *There was medicine for catching Dinuzulu.*

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I believe Dinuzulu *knew about the war through secret messages, and acted stealthily without being seen (wayazi impi ngo nyandhla, utshotsha pansi a nga bonwa muntu, eyi nyelelisa).*

- 5 It is quite likely Dinuzulu was restrained from rebelling for fear of what Tshanibezwe and Mciteki would do.²⁸⁶ He, D., sent to Kambi ka Hamu to say, '*The white people burnt my father's place.*'²⁸⁷ Kambi said, '*When they burnt your father's place, was there not someone who had gone in there whom they were looking for? Did his place not get burnt when they were searching there?*'

Hence Dinuzulu put out a feeler, thinking Kambi would get angry, but he didn't and his supposition as given above was a correct one as a matter of fact.

D. also sent to Maboko ka Masipula to say, '*Here are the white people coming. I ask for boys, beginning with the uFalaza and ending with the uMavalana. Let them carry war-shields, rolled up, and hidden, and if meet Europeans, say they are going to hoe the Mtwana's field at kwa Dalala.*'²⁸⁸

Maboko replied: '*Don't hide from the white people. Go to them, because you don't know what word they have brought with them, or what they will say.*'

16.8.1913

File 54, item 9, pp. 1-7.

- 1 Notes on Sir Theophilus Shepstone

Report by Socwatsha of his visit to various people re Sir T. Shepstone's historical interviews with Mpande and Cetshwayo concerning Monase's children in or about 1857. He (S.) was sent to get information by the late A.J. Shepstone.²⁸⁹

<The notes that follow should be read in conjunction with Stuart's notes of a second interview that he had with Socwatsha on the same topic: see the latter's testimony below, pp. 111-14 – eds.>

The most important informant was Lutoluni ka Zucu, *of the Lamula people* (this tribe apparently originally from Swaziland). I met this man at his kraal near Mdunduzeli Ridge, Nkandhla District, and close to Ndikwe stream just before Mr A. Shepstone's death [October (?) 1912].

I told him I had been sent by the *inkosi*, Mmango,²⁹⁰ to ask him (L.) if he knew of Somsewu's coming to Mahlabatini to fetch *the children of Monase* (mother of Mbuyazi ka Mpande). [Monase was daughter of Mntungwa *of the Nxumalo people*]. He said: Yes, I was present. He asked who sent me to him, I said Mmango, a former magistrate, Nkandhla. He knew Mmango.

L. went on: Somsewu first came to Mpande at Nodwengu. He said: *I have come to mourn, son of Senzangakona, for your sons who died at Ndongakusuka.* Mpande said nothing. Somsewu went on to *report a shortage of food (indhlala).* He said that Monase and the various other wives of Mpande who had crossed into Natal with her (one to marry Mqundane ka Maboyi; another married Mahoyiza ka Mlandu; others died in Natal without remarrying; Monase died at Emtunzini, near Estcourt) - he said

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all these had insufficient food. He asked Mpande to provide food for them, viz cattle, 2 for cattle were very numerous indeed in Zululand, as plentiful as the grass. S. went on: *Your wives (omnkako) are crying; they are crying over their children. Your family members kill one another, and then they make peace. He said: I do not side with anyone, for you are all my people. Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo and you, Mpande, you are all my people. I do not side with anyone.* All these words were very pleasing and acceptable to Mpande. Had Somsewu had only Mpande to deal with, he would have returned with the cattle and the children. (These children had remained behind, being *in the isigodhlo*, when their mothers escaped during the hostilities. The children were Batonyile, who had married Mtateni ka Myandeya; another had married Mmiso ka Matshana ka Sitshakuza). Mpande, however, was afraid of Cetshwayo for he was averse to C.'s succeeding him. Cetshwayo had accused Mpande of having *set on* him and Mbuyazi to fight. He even said of Mpande, *'This old man is full of tricks (amacebo), for first he appointed me as his successor, then, when I quarrelled with Mbuyazi, he appointed Mbuyazi.'* It was for these reasons that Mpande was afraid to accede to Somsewu's request. Shepstone then informed Mpande that he was going on to Cetshwayo to *mourn* for him just as he had been doing to Mpande.

3 S. came accordingly to Cetshwayo, finding him at his kraal, Kwa Gqikazi, *the place of his people (kwabo)*. (I don't think Undi kraal had as then been built.)

S. repeated what he had said to Mpande. He also said: *All of you are my people, those who are dead and those who are living. I do not side with anyone.* I have come to report that *your mothers* have run away to me. *They are dying of hunger. They are crying; they are crying because of their children. People were killing one another, and then making peace.*

Then Ngoza, the induna, came forward. He said: Your mother, Monase, said that I must set my eyes on her children. Monase had directed him to see them with his own eyes. Cetshwayo said: *There they are in the isigodhlo, in a children's hut. Ngoza went off, and entered the isigodhlo; he was taken there by an inceku. He saw them, and spoke to them. He gave them greetings from their mother.* They asked if their mothers *were well*. Ngoza told them their mothers were living alright at the Mngeni, not very far from Bishopstowe and Table Mountain.

Cetshwayo replied: *I shall inform the men*, on hearing what Somsewu had come about. A general meeting of Zulus was thereupon arranged and a large number of men attended.

As regards Ngoza's visit to *isigodhlo*, there were, it should be added, *izinceku* looking on who sided with Mpande and others who sided with Cetshwayo.

When the great meeting had been convened and all were present, Sir T.S. was invited to address the meeting. *'Speak, Somsewu! (Tata, Somsewu!),'* said Cetshwayo. *He repeated what he had said when he arrived. In response, Cetshwayo spoke not to him but to Ngoza. 'Ngoza! What were you fetching from the isigodhlo? I am asking you, what were you fetching from the isigodhlo?'* Ngoza said, *'I went to see the girls.'* Cetshwayo spoke in a rage. He said, *'Stand up, Ngoza!'*, for he had 4 *been sitting down. Ngoza said, 'Have I stolen something? Even though I asked permission, and you gave it?'* Cetshwayo became even more angry. Then Somsewu

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himself replied. 'What wrong did Ngoza do in the isigodhlo? Did he not ask you if he could go and see the girls? Do you think he was wanting the girls of the isigodhlo? Why should he do that when he leaves behind so many in Pietermaritzburg?' [What necessity was there for him to look for girls there with so many at Pmburg?]²⁹¹ Cetshwayo said, 'Be silent, white man! I am not talking to you. I am talking to the people of our house (ba kwetu). You see them there with you; they have come from here.' Somsewu said, 'Nhi! Do you think that you are not one of my people? Let me say that Ngoza and all the others are of my people. You too are of my people.'

Then Hamu and Ziwedu spoke. 'You, Somsewu, have you come to fetch the children of Monase, the children of Mbuyazi's people, when Cetshwayo has taken them by force of arms?' Somsewu said, 'Be quiet, sons of Mpande. To you I have this to say. Tomorrow he will want to kill you in your turn, and you will come running to me to escape' [saying this because of Mkungo, Sikota and others having already run away at time of Ndongakusuka and come to Natal].²⁹²

Again Cetshwayo addressed Ngoza in anger. 'What were you fetching in the isigodhlo from the girls?' Again Somsewu said, 'But Ngoza has told you. He said he was given permission by you to go into the isigodhlo to see Batonyile and the
5 others.' Cetshwayo was now furious. He spat (not, however, at Somsewu),²⁹³ being very angry and insulting and intending to insult Somsewu. Cetshwayo said, 'Quiet, white man! I am not talking to you. I shall die only once.' Somsewu said, 'Hau, my child! You say you will die only once. What is it that will kill you in your own place? Do you mean me, when I am alone here at your place?' He continued, 'O, my child, even the hunter (ipisi) who kills animals, all kinds of animals, including the black hyrax, does not kill the white hyrax. If he kills the white hyrax, his umuzi will never prosper. The white hyrax is not killed. For my part, I am a white hyrax.'

Upon this all the men burst into shouts (hlokoma). Somopo, the induna of Emangweni, said, 'Hau! When the sons of Mpande killed one another at Ndongakusuka, were they not disputing?' Somsewu said, 'On top of that, every one of you is of my people. If Mbuyazi had not died at Ndongakusuka, if he had come to me to ask for help, I would on no account have helped him, for both of you are my people. If you, Cetshwayo, had been defeated and had escaped and come to me, I would on no account have helped you with an impi. I would on no account have
6 taken your side. I have come here on this matter because you are all my people. I say that you are quarrelling and then making peace because you are related to one another.'

That was the end of it; after that, people dispersed. A small herd of cattle was then set aside. Masipula said, 'He has come here to settle this matter; what is he going to eat?' Somsewu was accordingly given the cattle. [Masipula was a great supporter of Cetshwayo.]²⁹⁴

Lutoluni added: After Sir T. S.'s departure, the men at the meeting all went and gathered at Masipula's. They all there exclaimed: 'Hau! Here is a beast (isilwane) with courage. He continued to speak even though so many of the Zulu people had assembled and surrounded him.'

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Somsewu did not cross into Natal by the Dhlokweni drift (just below Singqungu's - Toohey - drift) but by the Ngubevu drift apparently, and crossed into Mabomvini tribe.

Somsewu, when he got back, felt he had narrowly escaped with his life; so with Ngoza, who felt that with the eagle (*ukozi*), i.e. Cetshwayo, ordering him to stand up, he felt his last day had come.

Ngoza was got into trouble by the *izinceku*. Lutoluni did not say what tales they told C., perhaps that he had advised the 'children' to *escape*.

Shortly after this, Cetshwayo, knowing he was disliked by Mpande, caused Nomantshali (Mtonga's mother), *favourite (intandokazi) of Mpande*, to be killed in Mpande's presence, by way of causing him (Mpande) to be inspired with a dread of Cetshwayo.

7 Sigayi (girl) was Mpande's first born - eldest of the whole family.

Lutoluni is of Mdhlenevu regiment. His story was partly confirmed by Mhlahlo ka Bekeleni, near Empandhleni Magistracy, who spoke to Socwatsha on a different occasion.

Lutoluni did make some reference to Somsewu's saying that even though C. killed him, the white people would come to fetch his *bones (itambo)*.

He did not say S. refused to allow Ngoza to speak to C. on the ground that he was a dog. Nor did he refer to Masipula's remonstrating with C. by calling out, '*No! No! Ndhlamvuzo! No! Ndhlamvuzo.*'

[Note: Henrique or someone referred to a beautiful speech Mpande made on hospitality on this famous occasion.]

[C. got into a rage about Ngoza apparently at Shepstone's tents, just before he left for Natal.]

[16 August, 1913, 34 Loop St., P.M.Burg - J.S.]

26.10.1913. <Pietermaritzburg>.

File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 1-26.

1 26 Oct. 1913, 34 Loop Street. Socwatsha speaks.

<Stuart used his notes of the testimony that follows as the basis for the story which he published in 1923 in the first of his Zulu readers, uTulasizwe, pp. 75-9. A four-page manuscript of the published story is attached to the front cover of notebook 23 of File 58 of the Stuart Collection – eds.>

Mantingwana ka Ndingiyana *of the Hlope people* told me the following: He never knew his father, owing to Tshaka's *impi surrounding* and killing them off. His father was killed but mother succeeded in escaping with him. She was *taken in (tolwa'd)* in a certain tribe and a given kraal. The inmates of the kraal decided to go and look for *amabele*. M.'s mother accompanied them and proceeded to the very kraal from which she had fled. When there, *impi* came and killed her and those with her. Those who escaped returned to kraal at which M. had taken refuge to say same *impi* was

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following them up. The *impi* came up, killed some, but M. escaped. He afterwards accidentally parted with those he had run away with. He went on and on, wandering about; he afterwards came upon *Iziyendane of Tshaka*. (*Iziyendane had not put on the headring; they wore their hair in imiyeko, like izangoma, i.e. twist hair and smear with black powder (umsizi).*)²⁹⁵ They then called on M. to carry their hoes (*amegeja*) which they had seized in the fighting. I don't know how many. He put them on his head and walked on. They directed him what path to take. 'You'll go on and on and go out of sight over there.' They then sat down and ate the food which they were carrying. M. was given nothing to eat. He went forward and kept looking back to see them still seated. He went on. When he got to where he was to go out of sight, he looked back and found them still seated. As soon as he got out of sight he put the hoes in the pathway and immediately ran off as hard as he could go. He escaped and hid himself.

When he saw that they did not know where he had got to, he passed on to other places. All of a sudden he came upon a very large kraal. There he stood at the outside gate of the kraal. A married woman (*makoti*) came out to draw water. She passed on to the stream without having said anything to him. The woman returned from stream and entered huts. Presently youths belonging to the kraal (*Mteli's of the Qwabe people*) came out to the boy, finding his mouth quite white with hunger. They said, 'Tell us who your father is.' Before he had done so, the owner of the kraal came through the gate. On coming up he snatched lad by the arm and said, 'Come here, you are one of my people.' The kraal head had heard from the *makoti*. M. was then given food. There he stayed and herded with other boys. He became used to the place. After a short while an *impi* arrived. It killed people off at the kraal, including *Mteli*. The lad was then seized by an *inceku of Tshaka*, the man who used to cut up cattle for *Tshaka to eat (izinkomo zomlomo)*. On the *inceku* getting back to *Tshaka's* kraal, *Dukuza*, he asked the boy's name. M. replied, 'Mantingwane'. The *inceku* then gave him another name. He then directed the people to call him by his new name, so that he would go quite astray from his relatives and they would not be able to find him.

The king's cattle had now to be slaughtered and skinned. He called the lad to help to catch hold of the beast whilst being skinned. He was carrying a pot (*imbiza*) to catch the beast's blood for *ububende*.²⁹⁶ *Tshaka was a restless person (utshangane), always walking about*, so he entered the cattle kraal. T. then said, 'Here, So-and-so,' to the *inceku*. 'Whose boy is this?' 'He is mine, Nkosi.' 'Where did you get him?' 'I got him in the fighting against the *Qwabe*.' The king then turned to the boy and said, 'What is your name, boy?' He said, 'I am Mantingwane.' T. then said to the *inceku* he was to treat the boy well as he was good-looking (yellowish in colour). 'You must look out a nice beast for him to drink milk (*kleza*) from, like other boys.' When the *inceku* got to the hut into which the meat had been carried, he said, 'Look here, men, cease calling the lad by the name I gave him, but go on calling him by his real name, for the king heard that name and not the one I had given.'

Now some months passed. The *amaMpondo impi* went out and returned to go northwards (Delagoa Bay).²⁹⁷ Whilst seated in his hut, Mantingwane was called by the king *Tshaka*. On coming up, M. sat in the manure (*umquba*) near and on lower

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side of Tshaka. He found T. talking to an *old Mpondo man*. M. sat like a girl - *people do not squat (qotshama) in presence of the king*, but bottom is right on ground. Mbopa then *came up close via an opening in the fence*. He proceeded to *hit the Mpondo with a stick*. 'Go away, you *nkengana!*'²⁹⁸ Mbopa was carrying a bundle (*ipande*) of *assegais*. And these very *assegais* he carried belonged to Tshaka himself. T. was surprised. 'Hau! Mbopa! When did you ever do this? You come while I am talking to someone and you then proceed to beat him with a stick!' But Mbopa paid no attention to T.; he made as if he passed by him behind. *He then stabbed him in the shoulders; he hurled the assegai with force, letting go of it*. As soon as this took place, M. was startled but in same moment a batch of *sons of Senzangakona* (brothers of Tshaka) had come into *the enclosure*, each of them carrying a bunch of *assegais*. There were many of them. No further questions were asked. Mhlangana *stabbed* him, and Dingana. As soon as *stabbed*, T. turned and seeing his brothers, said, 'Why are you *stabbing me, sons of my father? What have I done?*' They said, 'Stab the madman from the place of the *Mtewa who is destroying the country; finish him off.*' T. ran towards the gate of the kraal; as he did so, he fell to the ground, within the cattle kraal.

All this time M. remained seated there. T. had not even told him what he wanted him for. Dingana turned and saw Mantingwane seated. He said, 'Come here, boy! Run and fetch a black ox from among those of *kwa Nyakamubi.*'²⁹⁹ When Mantingwane returned with it, they *stabbed it; it fell; they pierced it and cut it open from the chest downwards. They took out the gall bladder and the grass (umswani) in the first stomach. They poured the gall onto the umswani. All the people came up and 'washed the hands (hlamb' izandhla)' and spat out (cinsa) umswani (they held the umswani in the mouth, then spat it out). Then they said, 'Wo! What will be done with Tshaka?' Mhlangana said he should be dragged off and thrown into a pool in the Mbozamo for the crocodiles to eat. Dingana objected, saying, 'This man Tshaka was the son of our father; he was the chief of the uhlanga!*³⁰⁰ He should be buried as a chief of the uhlanga, like all the chiefs of the Zulu people. He should not be buried like an ordinary person. Let all his goods (*impahla*) be gathered up, from all the *amakanda*, and be brought here. You, Mantingwana, call his *izincku* from over there to come and pull out the *assegais.*'

9 The *izincku* were told to carry him to his hut [this taking to hut may have occurred on the following day]. Others were told to fetch black oxen from those of *kwa Nyakamubi*. They were to be slaughtered for his purification ceremony (*umgando*). The skin of one of them should be taken for wrapping him in. The common men (*amadojeyana*) of *kwa Nyakamubi* should keep watch over him, and slaughter black oxen, until all his goods had been fetched from the *amakanda* in the Zulu country. Orders were given that no one should cry out, or shed any tear. Anyone who cried was to be put to death. For the evil-doer (*itshinga*) was dead, the madman from the country of the *Mtewa* who had destroyed the Zulu country and caused it trouble.

10 It was owing to these circumstances that Tshaka was buried at Dukuza and not *Emakosini*, for there were none to carry him - *impi* away and then people were ordered not to mourn for him.

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His *goods* came from all the *amakanda*. The grave was dug for him by his *izinceku*. Some *izinceku* were killed to *endhlalela* him,³⁰¹ i.e. be his *sleeping mat* (*icansi*). Some of the *izinceku* that remained put him into the grave. These were thereupon killed to *cover* him *above*. Dingana then proclaimed that all who had hidden in the bushes on account of T.'s *impis*, also all *sick people* (*iziguli*) were to emerge and come to him. He then *slaughtered cattle* for them and *buta'd* them, calling them uHlomendhlini. The elders he called *the White Hlomendhlini*, and the youths *the Black Hlomendhlini*. He then *strengthened* (*qinisa'd*) them by killing
11 them cattle. He had them all armed, so that when Tshaka's warriors returned they would not make inquiries into or demur at the killing of T. for D. would be ready to defend himself.

Mantingwane died in Ndwedwe district at Umdhloti river in about 1888 (Zululand disturbances). Has sons living: Mtomboti, Lokoza and Pama (same age as myself), Sikova (in Zululand). The first three are at Ndwedwe, also another son Masende. They live in ground occupied by Tshevu, *induna* (headman) of Chief Lokotwayo of Pinetown Office.³⁰²

It was said that Mbopa would be given *imizi, cattle, and people*, indicating a kraal of Tshaka's. 'We will give you all this when you will become as great as Tshaka
12 yourself and an *inkosi*.' No sooner had he done what they wanted than they exclaimed, '*Hau, you kill your own chief; you have courage. Tomorrow you will do this again. We are brothers of Tshaka; when we see you, Mbopa, we are afraid of you.*' He was then put to death, that day or the next.

The question of succession was referred to Mnkabayi.³⁰³ She was summoned either to Dukuza or Bulawayo. She dressed as a man and came into *the semi-circle* (*umkumbi*); had on a *skin skirt* (*isidwaba*), not *covered with black powder* (*umsizi*), like others, but left ruddy and simply covered with scent. Over this she wore *umqubula of genet and blue monkey*. She also had *imiklezo*, i.e. *amatshoba*. When dressed, her identity could not be detected. She had *a band of otter skin on her head*;
13 she had also *amabeqe of monkey skin*. She had also *imnyakanya of the widow-bird*, also long *crane feather*. She had a white shield with black spot, assegais, also an *inhlendhla assegai* which she *used as a staff* (*dondolozela'd*).³⁰⁴

She began by *praising the Zulu chiefs* - i.e. when all Zulu *had come into the semi-circle*, and regiments and all Senzangakona's sons there. She said, '*Yebo, Zulu people, what are you saying, now that the madman from the Mtetwa country is dead? He was not a chief; he became chief through his madman's strength. He killed Sigujwana, the real heir of Senzangakona. As Sigujwana is no longer living, there is the son of Myiyeya*' [referring, of course, to Dingana]. (Mpikase was Dingana's mother.)³⁰⁵ She said that *the Zulu people should not be ruled by means of a red assegai*.

As soon as Dingana heard he had been chosen, he burst forth and *giya'd* and then
14 *entered the inhlambelo* (*enclosure where the king washes*). As he came out he was covered with coloured patches (*imicombocombo*) of different medicines used on him by the doctors, who were *strengthening* him.

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The first thing he did was to *kill Mhlangana*, who claimed to be king on the ground that he had stabbed the tyrant Tshaka.

After this D. killed off all Senzangakona's sons except Mpande. He saw that if he did not kill them all off they would one day rise and kill him.

Burial of kings.

The kings of Zululand are kept for 2 to 4 months before being buried. This is the custom. The fact is hidden that the king is ill; the information is hidden from *outside* 15 *peoples (izizwe)* who might otherwise *attack*. People are informed of the death only when burial is about to occur. For months the king is said to *dunguzela*, i.e. *be ill*. The word *dunguzela* is never used of anyone but *the inkosi*. After the king is dead, but before the information is made public, black oxen, *those for the purification (umgando)*, are slaughtered day by day.

Only the oldest men are selected to watch the king's body. Bones and fat are burnt in the hut to prevent the smell of the corpse from being noticed.

In Swaziland the king was kept for a long time, until all remaining to be buried were the bones.

Cetshwayo's body was kept for 2 months at Eshowe and taken off on the 3rd on the understanding that C. was to be buried at Kiyaza, the name of Dabulamanzu's kraal at Entumeni.³⁰⁶ The corpse was put into a coffin and carried off in Rambangana's 16 (*Kolwa*) waggon. On reaching Entumeni the princes passed on at once to Nkandhla. Their object was evidently to get to a stronghold where they could gradually collect a very large force and fight against *amambuka*, i.e. Hatshi, Mbuzo, Mavumengwana, Siyunguza, Nonzama, Mgitshwa, Yamela etc., after this to attack Zibebu.³⁰⁷ That was the plan. True enough, many Zulus joined them at Nkandhla and fighting occurred.

At Nkandhla the body was kept for another two months. I was sent by Osborn on two occasions with Nozizhina and found burial had not occurred. It was to occur the very day of my second visit. The princes would not see us for they accused the white 17 people of having killed C. They said John Shepstone had bought poison and gave it to Sikota ka Mpande, who handed to Malimade and he poisoned C. with it.³⁰⁸

The *impi* broke out at Nkandhla - they fought against Hatshi, Yamela, Siyunguza Mavumengwana; 20 or 30 of Hatshi's men were killed.

The waggon was broken up and buried or placed on the tomb. The oxen belonging to Hambangana were killed, all, I believe, for they had *carried the king* and killed for that reason. Hambangana was never paid for this. Afterwards killed during 1888 disturbances (*testicles struck*) on ground he was Natal man. Case tried, men convicted. Murder of Tonqe [?] at same time.

Was present when 10-15 of C.'s wives went to Sir M. Osborn's to kill him. They went to say, '*Give us our husband. He was killed by you with medicine from* 18 *Misjana.*³⁰⁹ *You took him out of the forest at Nkandhla, saying that you would protect him. Give us, then, the place where you protected him.*' As soon as they came, O. entered house. O.'s horse was saddled and taken to side where women did not see it. Women entered by front door. They waited for O. to come that day but he passed out by side door. They were not armed - may have had something. Intended breaking his neck. Jack O. was present (Mxakaza).

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They caught Nozitshina and lifted him up - felt it very nice, he said, women carrying him. They wanted to know of him where O. was. They dropped him at door as soon as they saw Osborn.

Jack O. must have warned his father of the women coming. Matendeka may also have been present.

- 19 Tshaka's funeral could not have taken place at once as his things had to be collected from various *amakanda* and that would take time.

Mpande's body was not buried for some months. He was said to *dunguzela*.

Nandi was buried *at the Mateko*; cf. '*I swear by Nandi at the Mateko*', i.e. near Mpehlela and Maqwakazi hills and Mhlatuze. She certainly died in Zululand. (Mateko is a tributary of Mhlatuze. Grave is nearer Mpehlela than Maqwakazi.)³¹⁰

The site of Bulawayo kraal near Mpehlela hill is still pointed out by men in Zululand. It was of enormous size.

When Cetshwayo died, the princes Ndabuko, Mahanana, Ziweddu, Tshingana, Dabulamanzi and leading men asked if European troops could be given to accompany corpse to Mahlabatini, i.e. Makosini district. This application could not be acceded to.

- 20 Dinuzulu's original name was *uMareyana as 'Ondini*. He continued for some years to go by this name, but men remarked that it sounded too much like that of a commoner, so it was changed to that of Dinuzulu, resembling such names as Mehlokazulu, Bekuzulu etc., sons of Sirayo.

Dinuzulu was *umlandwana*, his mother being a concubine.³¹¹

Mpuhlana ka Ndosi lives near eMateko and oNgoye where Nandi's grave is, also site of Bulawayo.³¹²

- Sir M. Osborn suggested that C. should be buried at Eshowe. The princes stoutly refused to do this on the ground that the place was one occupied by an *umkwenyana*.³¹³ It so happened that Popoza, daughter of Mpande, and own sister of Sukani, had married Mfokazi ka Sikonyana. This Mfokazi had died and Popoza had
21 been *ngena'd* by Ntshingwayo ka Sikonyana ka Ngqungqulu, Ntshingwayo being the well-known fat man.³¹⁴ This reason about *umkwenyana* was, however, only a fictitious one; what the princes wanted was to get to *Makosini* or at least Nkandhla and then bring on further warfare.

The King's grave is of enormous proportions, as big as *igebe*, i.e. a hole for trapping elephants or hippopotami.

Assegais are not buried with the deceased, but new hafts are inserted after his death. New *shields* (*izihlangu*) are not buried, though well-worn ones would be.

Hambangana was never paid for his services in conveying C.'s corpse to Nkandhla, nor compensated for loss of his waggon and oxen.

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Two *ihlambo expeditions* are sent out in connection with a royal death, viz. a
22 *black one* and a *white one*. Latterly these expeditions, owing to political considerations, resolved themselves into hunts on a large scale. Sir T. Shepstone would not allow Swazis to be attacked.

It is morally certain that there is already a general belief among the Zulus that Dinuzulu has been poisoned or put to death by the Europeans.³¹⁵

Amahlambo. The *black ihlambo* is sent out first, whilst everything is still dark and sorrowful, but after the deceased has been buried. This *ihlambo*, consisting of regiments, goes to *wash away the umnyama*.³¹⁶ It did not go any great distance. The white *ihlambo* meant a more determined and elaborate attack on another state; involves killing of people, seizing cattle. This *ihlambo* was for 'washing of the spears' with the blood of other people.

When King is buried there is no loud lamentation of '*Maye!*' as in case of
23 ordinary people. What is done is to *sing (ruba)* chants, war chants. This chanting goes on whilst the body is being conveyed to the grave and during actual interment. A man is buried facing gateway of kraal and not in such a way as to *turn his back on* those in the kraal, for then his *idhlozi* would *turn his back on* them. There is no regulation about facing sunrise; the custom depends simply on the direction in which the kraal is facing.

Kings are buried in kraals - their own.

Burial takes place in left-hand side of kraal, not right or *kohlo* side, and the man is buried in the hut on the left next to the chief hut. Sometimes the chief hut itself may be selected.

The kraal will not be vacated until some future date when it appears desirable to do so in the ordinary course. The grass will not be burnt. Trees will be planted, viz.
24 *umsinsi, umhlonhlo, umumbu*, i.e. trees which grow from sticks being stuck in ground.³¹⁷

There was no kraal where Cetshwayo was buried, but as soon as he was buried a kraal was built on the spot. This was for the regiments to live in and others whose duty it was 'to look after' the king.

In case of Dinuzulu this would be done. If buried at Nobamba, he would go into a hut; if buried at *Emakosini*, then a kraal would spring up there and be there for a couple of years or so until all ceremonies in connection with the funeral are over.

A toad is thrown into a grave in the case of one who, having been in a trance, has come to life again. The toad is put in in the hope that the person who was to have been buried there will recover, with the help of the *idhlozi*.

A toad is not thrown in with a corpse and buried with it.

25 Government proposes to limit the people who may take part in the funeral to Dinuzulu's own kraals, or those of near relatives only.

The trees are planted at the time the burial takes place, i.e. *poles* of trees that are likely to grow are planted. They are not planted merely when the kraal is being vacated.

Ntombela, Biyela, Egazini and Emgazini are sections of Zulu tribe from which men spoken of as *oyise* or *oyisemkulu* might be chosen to bury Dinuzulu.³¹⁸ In old

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days these men would either be put to death on the ground that they would *give food to the heir with bad hands (izandhl' ezibi)*, for they had handled his father when dead. They might be permitted to go and *konza* in some far-off district. As many as 20 might be employed for the actual burial. The corpse is carefully propped up in the grave, formerly with dead bodies of *izinceku*, now with stones (these dead *izinceku* had their necks broken; they were not stabbed).

26 I have not heard of girls being buried, alive or otherwise, with Tshaka.

A man is never buried alive with a corpse, but killed by having his neck twisted.

Umgando from *ganda - to gqiba or lahla*.³¹⁹ This refers to *izinceku* that are killed and buried with the king, also to the black oxen which are killed when the king is dead and when his funeral takes place.

Cetshwayo, when dead, had a *gall-bladder of a goat* stuck in his hair on right temple, *to accompany him, so that he should go well*. This done before being put in coffin. The coffin was tied up with oxhides. It burst. It was *supported with earth*. The earth later was *carried* and thrown into grave at Nkandhla.

29.3.1914

File 9, item 51 addendum, pp. 1-4.

1 Socwatsha.

In 1873 I was in Durban. I met Peni ka Dubuyana who worked for Nsokonsokwana (Shepstone). Told me of the coronation. [Includes other versions.]³²⁰ He had been present. He said Somsewu arrived and put up at Emtanjaneni. Sirayo ka Xongo and Ntshingwayo ka Mahole, Sitshaluze ka Mamba and many other great men arrived and met Sir T.S. Sir T.S. refused to meet them. He wanted to see his, Cetshwayo's, *mnawa*.³²¹ They went back. They returned again to Sir T.S. When S. asked which was C.'s younger brother they said, 'He is not here; only the *izinduna* are present.' Sir T.S. persisted that he must be met by *Cetshwayo's mnawa*, 'for you invited me to come and *appoint your inkosi*'. Again they returned to C. The 3rd time they returned they had Zibebu with them. S. said, 'Do you come with him?' i.e. C.'s *mnawa*. They said, 'Yebo nkosi!' 'Which is he?' They then pointed out Zibebu. S. said, 'Let him stand up so I may see him.' Z. stood up. S.: 'Are you Mpande's son?' The men said, 'No! He is Mapita's son. C. has sent him to say that if he was not to reign Z. would reign in his stead.' For at Ndongakusuka, Mapita, head of the Amankentshana (i.e. Mapita's men who had chased off the Izigqoza) had nominated C. as heir to Mpande. Somsewu agreed on seeing Zibebu; he then went to Ondini.

2 Neither Mpande nor D. were kings. T. was, and T. far greater than Senzangakona. C. was Tshaka's son. I think they (Sidindi and Sirayo) said this because regarding Sir T.S. as C.'s father, the father who *begot (zala'd)* him.

Mpande said Mbuyazi is Tshaka's son, for Monase was *an isixebe of Tshaka*.³²² *Isihlonti* - had hair like Tshaka, at lower back (*iqolo*).³²³

The princes (Cetshwayo, Hamu, Ziwedu, Mantantashiya and others) in Swazi *impi* (before Ndongakusuka) had members of enemy caught for them;³²⁴ they each stabbed as man was held, but Mbuyazi stabbed for himself, as a warrior. Hence Mpande's desire that he should succeed, being so like Tshaka, moreover tall, and athletic.

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The *ifa* was Tshaka's (*ot' esadhl' ezinye wadhl' ezinye*), but he left no heir;³²⁵ neither Dingana nor Mpande was his heir. But C. was, for he had taken Mbuyazi's place.

A man is *carried* to be *eqa'd*.³²⁶ Mbuyazi not carried, said to be too far gone.

Man hiding face with shield when in presence of Mbuyazi all took part in his death fled and went to other countries afraid. C.: 'You have *courage (isibindi)* like Mbopa.'³²⁷

- 3 Isandhlwana and Ombane *impis*. '*Son of Sonzica, you have poured inkovu on your head today. Now we shall see*' - said by C. when addressing his troops when they went forth.³²⁸

Zulus all thought Somsewu was the great king of Europeans [*vide* above remark].³²⁹ They knew nothing of the Queen at that time.

Zulus heard that Boers had defeated Dingana by means of guns - fearful weapons - and that the Boers had themselves been defeated by British, hence their position of ascendancy over the Zulus, and hence Somsewu being regarded as Tshaka.

Embassy to Cape by Tshaka.³³⁰

Messengers in Mpande's and C.'s day used to be sent to *konza* Somsewu. He never sent to Zululand to *konza* there.

Somsewu ordered Mpande not to *attack the amaSwazi*. '*If you attack the Swazi you will be attacking me*.' Mpande obeyed and the Swazis had peace. They were afraid to attack Swazis seeing that the great bird - bigger than them - had spoken; were they to disobey they would be killed.

- 4 S. was made Tshaka really when the *envoys* were sent to ask him to come and crown Cetshwayo. They came to *konza* by making such request - and the request resembled asking for *uzwati*.³³¹

All the things used at the coronation were afterwards burned by the Zulus, as it was thought they might in some way have come in contact with Mbuyazi and so contaminated.

10.4.1916 - <evidence given 9 & 10.4.1916>

File 70, pp. 112-16.

<What may be the original rough notes on which Stuart based the passages that follow on Sihayo kaMapholoba are to be found in File 42, item 30, pp. 5-9, 11-15. The anecdote on Mapholoba's taking a chief wife was published by Stuart in one of his Zulu readers, uBaxoxele (1924), pp. 222-4 - eds.>

- 112 The story of Sirayo ka Mapoloba *of the Nyuswa people*.

On 9th and 10th April 1916, Socwatsha gave the following information in regard to the Nyuswa tribe. The incidents referred to took place in the reign of Tshaka.

The great Nyuswa chief Mapoloba became quite an old man before appointing his son and heir. Sirayo, Mgabi and other of his sons had become headringed men. '*You are getting old. Can you tell us who your successor (inkosana) will be?*' This was asked by Nkenezwa ka Ngcenge ka Mpipa, his great induna. Other izinduna also

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asked it. He replied, 'Nyuswa people, do you not know that the girl will come from the Embo people, from the people of Gcwabe, the girl who will bear your chief?' Nkeneza told all the Nyuswa, the men and the brothers of Mapoloba - for his brothers were numerous - what the chief had said. The men said, 'O! Ehe! Nkeneza tells us well. None of us Nyuswa progeny (uzalo) knew who our chief would be.' They sent off to choose a wife among the Embo, a daughter of Gcwabe and sister of Zihlandhlo. I do not know the name of the daughter of Gcwabe. She came to marry the chief and lobolo was given for her.

When lobolo was given for the daughter of the chief, enough cattle were separated off to fill a valley, to cover the valley bottom (isihlambo). Then people came to dance (sina). The designation (ukubekwa) of the girl as the one who would bear the chief took place while she was still among her own people (kubo), while lobolo was still being given. When she came to dance, it was known that she would be the chief wife. For the cattle which were given for her lobolo did not come from the chief alone; they came from all the great men, those who were the main 'supports' (izinsika) of the umuzi, the izinduna, and the abanumzana who ruled their own valleys. The girl's dancing-party (iketo) was carrying war shields (izihlangu) and wearing headbands (imiqele) as if they were going to war. When the girl began the dance-song, she danced with the people from her place, those who had come with her. Then the great induna, the induna of the chief she was marrying, came forward and gave her a stick and the umsila of a shield, an umsila plaited like the one from a shield.³³² When he gave the stick and the umsila to the girl, she was shown the people of Mapoloba. She was told, 'These are your people. We give you this umuzi, daughter of Gcwabe; we say it is yours. Here is the stick for beating the amabuto. This assembly (umkumbi) of Mapoloba's is yours.' (The stick and the umsila are handed to the bride by the induna.) Then he took her by the arm and walked her among the amabuto; they had come up close. As they came up, they sang the great ihubo of their people, the one which was greater than all other amahubo.³³³ Then they took her away from the people of Gcwabe and went off with
113 her. They were singing, grouped in their amaviyo.³³⁴ They went with her into the home, for the dancing had taken place outside. She was told, 'We give you this stick. We say you must beat these amaviyo (those of the Nyuswa), for they are yours.' As the amaviyo went forward, in a broad column (enz' umzila), she took the stick and struck at them; she beat on their shields. She struck all the columns, all the amaviyo, forwards and backwards. As she struck, they continued to sing. They whistled shrilly as the umlobokazi beat at them.³³⁵ They whistled everywhere; they whistled as the singing continued. Then the iketo party returned with her and came to where the dancing was to take place. The umtimba had returned to the upper end, the whole umtimba.³³⁶ The iketo went down to the lower end and proceeded to put on its dancing dress (qubula). The people had been organized by the izinduna to stand in their izigaba.³³⁷ They formed a space inside. The girl was led into it. The chief too was inside it. He too danced. The space was formed by the izinduna and abanumzana, those of high birth (bo ku zalwa) and those of the valleys, those who had grown up there. The girl was not standing up; she was leaning (ncikana) against the chief. The izikulu passed through the space between them.

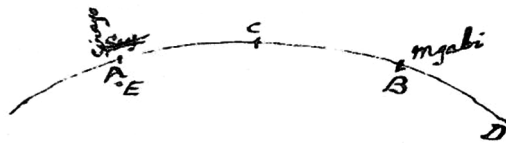
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This is the practice with all *the original chiefs (amakos' ohlanga)* - done to prevent anything in the nature of a *succession dispute (umbango)* later.

Among the Zulus (i.e. in the Zulu tribe) *a king would make himself ruler by force (ngamandhla), like Tshaka and Dingane and Cetshwayo. They lobola'd with their inheritance (ifa), the product of their strength. Senzangakona appointed Sigujwana as heir.* I don't know if Sigujwana's mother was *lobola'd* by the whole Zulu tribe. It is, I know, the practice of the amaLala people for all the tribe to contribute to the *lobolo* of the *inkosikazi*.

Although, when he married his chief wife, Mapoloba was already a very old man, the woman conceived and bore a son of the name of Miswayo. Mapoloba then died, but shortly afterwards, Miswayo died too, so there was no heir after all. Sirayo and Mgabi now began to *banga*, i.e. contended as to which of them should succeed. Mapoloba's principal *induna* Nkeneza summoned them to Mapoloba's chief kraal, Ngazingani ('How should I know?'), for the purpose of adjudicating in the matter. The followers of Mgabi now made a plot to put Sirayo to death, and decided that the best way of doing so, and so putting an end to the dispute, was to assassinate him when at the *induna's* kraal. The most expert thrower of an assegai, one who when a buck came in sight never failed to strike it, was accordingly sought for among them and found, a man named Sihlanu. The two parties, fully armed, carrying their large war-shields proceeded to the rendezvous as arranged. Sirayo sat down with his followers, he and they placing their shields with the hair-side on the ground, so as to be ready for immediate use in case of necessity. Nearby sat Mgabi and his party. The proceedings had barely started in the presence of the *induna*, when Sihlanu, assegai in hand, quickly stood up and, in an instant threw the spear at Sirayo. But it missed and pierced the shield that lay at his side on the ground. The assembly immediately broke up, the two parties forthwith engaging in a deadly struggle. It was not until many had been killed on both sides that Sirayo's warriors succeeded in chasing the others off. Sihlanu himself escaped.

As the parties could not be reconciled, Tshaka, hearing of what had occurred - for the dispute went on for a long time - directed them to appear before him, each to be fully attired in war-dress, namely what they *guba'd* in before Mapoloba.³³⁸ Both parties accordingly proceeded to Bulawayo, where Tshaka ordered them to form up in a single semicircle (*unkumbi*) thus:



Sirayo stood in the centre of his party at A, Mgabi at B, the two lots joining at C. Whilst so standing, the King had his dog, a particular one with a name, *the dog for choosing chiefs (inja yo ku bek' amakosi)*, brought to the spot. The dog moved to the end of the line at D and began smelling. It walked along the line sniffing at the men, and when it got to Mgabi sniffed him too and went on doing likewise past C until it got to Sirayo. It did not, however, sniff Sirayo or go beyond him; it lay down at once on the ground in front of him at E. Now all this took place in the presence of the King.

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Sirayo was wearing feathers of the loury, Mgabi was wearing feathers of the mousebird. Tshaka said, 'Has there ever been a chief who wore mousebird feathers? The chief is the one who is wearing feathers of the loury.' For the king had told them to put on the finery they wore for the umkosi, and they had done so.

The King, basing his judgment on the dog's having refrained from smelling Sirayo and on the fact that he wore the *loury feathers* whilst the other had the *mousebird feathers*, decided in favour of Sirayo. No sooner had he done so, than he said that Mgabi would have to be put to death. Sirayo at once interceded for his brother's life, saying 'He is my father's son; he was only disputing with me, I would not like him to be killed.' Mgabi was therefore allowed to live. After this, Tshaka appointed Sirayo *induna* over oBadaneni, one of T.'s kraals (in Nyuswa district), and directed him to make up a parcel of tobacco from time to time and bring it to him (the King). The
115 tobacco that grew about the Mamba was famous for its excellent properties.

Sirayo complied with the order about tobacco for some years, but eventually Nomazocwana ka Ndela and Mgabi, still bearing malice in their hearts, *ota'd* or conspired together against Sirayo. Nomazocwana and Mgabi went and spoke thus to Tshaka: '*Sirayo first of all washes over the tobacco which the king ordered to be brought to him. Then he ties it up and brings it to you.*' In those days chiefs foolishly gave credence to ex parte statements. '*You speak the truth,*' said Tshaka. '*It is clear. Sirayo has a great itunzi. When he approaches, when I see him coming with the assembly (ibandhla) over which I appointed him, I am overcome by fear. I made him my induna at oBadaneni*' [site to left of road going from Fort Yolland to Ntunjambili, and close to Ndongondwana Drift on the Tugela].³³⁹ '*The people whom he rules, those of oBadaneni, overcame all my assemblies; they are fierce; they are brave. They fight with no isigaba. Those whom he rules are fierce people. What is he aiming to do? Let an impi go out and kill him.*' An impi duly went out to put him to death. They surrounded him. They knew that the people ruled by Sirayo were angry and powerful. The impi accordingly went, fought and, by their far greater numbers, overpowered and chased Sirayo and his men to the Tugela, where they drove Sirayo and his men into a deep pool in the river. The pool is called kwa Nabane. To this day, the Nyuswa people swear, '*I swear by the chief at the Tukela!*' or '*I swear by the chief at kwa Nabane!*' and, when forced so to swear, must be extremely incensed.

Tshaka's impi was a large one. A desperate struggle took place at the pool, but T.'s impi drove them into the pool by force, i.e. by simply pushing them along by brute force or sheer weight of numbers.

<9 or 10.4.1916>

File 42, nbk. 30, pp. 9-10.

<We here insert a passage from Stuart's rough notes which does not appear in the anecdotes on Sihayo kaMapholoba which he recorded in File 70, pp. 112-16 – eds.>

- 9 Sirayo was a very tall, fine-looking man, whereas Mgabi was very short, so short that many of the tribe refused, as many of them said, 'to be governed by a man who is only the size of an *isiduli*' (anthill).

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Some time after Sirayo's murder, his death was avenged by Sirayo's son Dubuyana who put Mgabi to death.

- 10 Now it was a tribal practice with the Nyuswas to use the oil of the castor oil plant. This was generally known among other tribes. It was because of this therefore, and apropos of the foregoing incident, that Tshaka was *bonga'd* in these terms:

*The one who stamped on the dispute among the Nyuswa people,
Among the Nyuswa there was no dispute,
They disputed over the castor oil plants at the sites of old homes.*³⁴⁰

10.4.1916 - <evidence given 9 & 10.4.1916>

File 70, p. 115-16.

<What may be the original rough notes on which Stuart based the passage that follows on Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo are to be found in File 42, item 30, pp. 1-2 – eds.>

- 115 Story of Ndengezi.

Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo *of the Mdhlalose people* was one of Tshaka's *great warriors (amaqawe)*. Tshaka promised to give him as many cattle as would fill *an isigodi* if he *hlabanela'd*,³⁴¹ i.e. the first to get in among the enemy when the battle started. This was probably apropos of the attack Tshaka contemplated making on the Ndwandwe tribe, then under Sikunyana.³⁴² The army went forth. Ndengezi got his opportunity and used it. He *hlabanela'd* and succeeded in chasing off those immediately opposed to him. Later on, when the troops got back to Bulawayo, he claimed his reward. Tshaka gave him a lot of cattle but not as many as could fill the *isigodi*. Being dissatisfied with the gift, he distributed the cattle among his immediate followers. As soon as Tshaka heard of this, he sent for Ndengezi and asked him what he meant by doling out to others cattle he had himself been presented with by Tshaka. Ndengezi, in reply, admitted it was a fact that he had given the cattle away but this was owing to the fact that when he *hlabanela'd* he had trodden on many thorns; these had stuck into his feet and it had been necessary to get the men who accompanied him to pull them out. They assisted him to pull out the thorns, hence he felt he ought to reward them. When Tshaka heard this he was angry. 'I see you did this because you were dissatisfied with my action. Owing to this you ought to be put to death, but I bear in mind that you are one of my *qawes*, and therefore will not put you to death. My sentence is "*Hamb' udhliwe intaba*",³⁴³ i.e. he was banished. Ndengezi went back to his kraal, killed cattle, *made an igabe*,³⁴⁴ i.e. cooked the meat on the same day that the beasts had been slaughtered, and selecting two or three of his younger women, went off with them and such belongings as they and his matbearers could carry, including cattle for consumption on the journey. He is believed to have gone to tender his allegiance to one of the Basuto chiefs to the north of Zululand, Mshweshwe, Maboko or Mgombana, where he prospered and succeeded in building up a small tribe.

Ndengezi was *bonga'd* as *Ndengezi-mashumi*, but this epithet does not belong to this man, it is common to all men of that name. One of the same name, no doubt sick

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of being given praises common to many, insisted on being *bonga'd as 'Ndengezi-magolo'*³⁴⁵

<9 or 10.4.1916>

File 42, item 30, p. 2.

<We here insert a passage from Stuart's rough notes which does not appear in the notes on Ndengezi which he wrote up in File 70, pp. 115-16 – eds.>

- 2 [This is the case Weli once told me of when I visited Bulawayo three years ago.³⁴⁶ Socwatsha agrees that Weli might well have done so, being a relation of Ndengezi. (See p. 52 of Black Nbk.)]

11.4.1916

File 42, item 30, pp. 16-20.

- 16 11.4.1916 (probably Socwatsha).

*Amatanga for cattle.*³⁴⁷

*Emagumbini onk' omhlabati*³⁴⁸

Nhlwengas did not keep cattle.³⁴⁹ *'They bring war onto us' (zi si bangel' impi).*

Tshaka never *juba'd girls*. It was Dingana who did this.

Tshaka directed his troops not to *soma, for the girls were finishing off the strength of his men; they were unable to cross mountains*. He would grant permission for a time and then withdraw it.

'Amehl' amhlope! (*Hlopeza*.) When greeting those who have returned from *impi* one says, *'Amehl' amhlope'*, not *'Saku bona'*. Said because he has *returned in a state of 'whiteness' (emhlope)*, i.e. not been killed or severely wounded by the enemy.³⁵⁰

It was Dingana started *ukujuba* custom.

Umsweli - a man not married whereas those of his age are married.

Inkomo ye gabe - *he killed a beast and made an igabe*, i.e. a beast killed and eaten the same day without being taken to a hut for the night.

- 17 What was the nature of land tenure in the various tribes? Were men in these tribes subject, as under the Zulu regime, to being smelt out and killed? Was not tenure more secure and what was that tenure?

How was tenure varied under the Zulu Kings' regime? What would have been the tenure had Europeans not come till 50 years later than they did?

The effect of Delagoa Bay on the Zulus.

Land tenure generally.

Native states

What is it Natives most appreciate by belonging to a state of their own, as apart from European control?

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Were they formed in a state would they not fight with their governors, especially on their subjects going to *konza* the European govt.?

Izibongo. Have all men got *izibongo*? When are *izibongo* uttered? 'Wen' o wa kula be libele', and others like these.³⁵¹ Collect.

- 18 Greetings for chiefs of the *uhlanga* (*izikuleko zamakos' ohlanga*).
- 16 Great *Luhlanga!* (*Luhlang' olu kulu!*)
- 17 *Luhlanga of the land!* (*Luhlanga lwezwe!*)
- 4 *Nkosi! Nkosikazi! Nkosazana! Nkosana!*
- 3 *Gumede!*
- 2 *Ndabezita!*
- 1 *Bayede!*
- 23(a) *Live for ever, Nkosi!* (*Mana, nkosi!*)
- 10 *Eater up of men!* (*Ndhlamadoda!*)
- 11 *Ndhlazita! Ngasita!* (*Eater up of enemies. Ngasita is a shortened form of the word.*)
- 5 *Great lion!* (*Ngonyama!*)
- 6 *Dread beast!* (*Silo!*)
- 22 *You who grew great while others delayed!* (*Wen' o wa kula be libele!*)
- 23 *You who are as great as the mountains!* (*Wen' o ngang' ezintaba!*)
- 11(a) *You who are black!* (*Wen' omnyama!*) even when of reddish complexion.
- 12 *The one who stands for ever in the land!* (*Simakade sezwe!*)
- 13 *The one who stands for ever in the earth!* (*Simakade somhlabati!*) - i.e. like a stone.
- 18 *Father, heavens which are above!* (*Baba, izulu eli pezulu!*)
- 8 *Male leopard!* (*Ngwenduna!*) - a male leopard.
- 24 *Grow in greatness, dread beast! Be as great as the mountains!* (*Tutuka, silo! U be ngang' ezintaba.*)
- 25 *Grow in greatness, nkosi! Be as great as the heavens above!* (*Tutuka nkos' u be ngang' ezul' elipezulu!*)
- 19 *You who are as great as the sea!* (*Wen' o ngang' olwandhle!*)
- 14 *Child of the elephant!* (*Zinyane - nkonyana - lendhlovu!*) - said to Princes.
- 15 *Child of the dread beast!* (*Nkonyana yesilo!*) - said to Princes.
- 4(a) *She-elephant!* (*Ndhlovukazi!*) - said to a Queen.
- 19 ...<Praises of Sihayo kaMapholoba omitted – eds.>
- 20 *Bird which devours others!* (*Nyon' edhl' ezinye!*)
- 21 *Bayede! You who are between the back and the carrying-skin* (*Bayede! Wena wa pakati kwomhlana ne mbeleko*) - a man who is in great favour with the king would be *between the back and the carrying-skin, beneath the tail of the beast* (*pansi kwomsila we silo*).
- 7 *Mnguni of the people of our place!* (*Mnguni wa kiti!*) - Zulu tribe *sibongo*. The Swazis speak of all the Zulu people as *abanguni*.

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26 *You who are as great as the shadows of the mountains! (Wen' o ngang' amatunz' ezintaba!)*

9 *Eater of the gourd! (Ndhlal' uselwa!)* - who eats *the uselwa gourd* after it has been cooked.

These are greetings of the chiefs of the uhlanga, i.e. the foregoing.

Superstition. *The uselwa gourd* does not *cook properly* if cooked by a man just appointed chief, his father and grandfather etc. not having been hereditary chiefs. The *uselwa* only of a *chief of the uhlanga* will get cooked, i.e. get quite soft, whilst the other remains hard.

- 20 *'Father, sun of the heavens, great one of the heavens, you of the uhlanga!'* For he *dabuka'd* down below in the *uhlanga*.³⁵² A reed burst and a section of humanity came out of it; another section sprang from another reed, and so on for the rest. All came from reeds. But they did not spring from one bed of reeds but from a bed of reeds in the districts they respectively occupied *ab initio*.

Woman who had just had baby went to reeds, found pumpkin, took home, ate, got fat, others saw and did likewise.

U ya bongela, u ya zitsho, i.e. he is singing praises.

When king gives a present he is *bonga'd* by an *imbongi*. He is given *itwani* to eat, with *its inanzi* - the *inanzi* is *the mouth of the itwani*.³⁵³ That is the *portion of the imbongi*. If 10 cattle killed, every *itwani* would go to one *imbongi* if there is only one, but they would be divided equally if there are 3 *imbongis* of equal rank, but *imbongis* were usually of different rank.

When one hears praises being sung out he concludes that the king has ... <The rest of the original is missing – eds.>

<The statements that follow were recorded by Stuart under date 15.4.1916. However, in File 58, nbk. 24, p. 47 Stuart has inserted a marginal note which reads 'Taken down same day as preceding pp. viz 16.4.1916 (Sunday)'. The pages referred to are pp. 31-45 of notebook 24 – eds.>

15.4.1916? 16.4.1916?

File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 31-45.

- 31 Socwatsha ka Papu (now approximately 64 years of age).

In old days, it was customary for very large kraals to be constructed. This was done for mutual protection against sudden attack. These kraals were called *amanxuluma*. Hence they were really villages. Thus people lived together in large numbers, and although the district was a small one it supported a large population.

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The districts said formerly to have been occupied by amaNgongoma (*of Bovungana ka Mavela*), amaNyuswa and amaQadi, which I know well, could not nowadays support all the members now living of these respective tribes. When I argue thus with members of our tribe they point out that formerly there were no small
32 kraals, there were these great *amanxuluma*. Hence though the old districts may be too small yet, with the closer living in *amanxuluma*, they would be capable of supporting a much larger population.

A feature of Zulu government is that the *abanumzana* living under any given chief all exercise proprietary rights over the land they occupy, so much so that if a new-comer applies to live under the chief and give him his allegiance, the chief is obliged to make special arrangements with the particular headman on whose land the man wishes to live. The headman in question will object to accommodate the newcomer unless he submits and *konza's* the headman himself - policy which means that he is then *etula'd* to and acts as intermediary in all matters between the newcomer and the chief. The chief does not own more land than his kraals happen to be on, hence he must apply to his headmen if he wants to locate a newcomer on any part of his tribal domain. The land, as a matter of fact, all belongs to the King, but the headmen of each tribe have rights which in practice are greatly respected. It is very rarely that a chief goes counter to his headman's wish and forces a newcomer to live
33 on a particular piece of land not already his own, or nominally his own.

This procedure must be clearly noted.

Many of the *abanumzana* have occupied the land they live on for many generations.

There used to be serious quarrels about land and these would be referred to King if people had got hurt. In course of inquiry, the King might ascertain that a headman acted as dog in the manger, or as the King put it, '*Are you throwing away my war-shield?*' He would say, '*Has there ever been a man who, when carrying a load and bearing a war-shield, comes to another man's place and says, "Help me put down my load," and is told, "Move on"? Has it ever been that he is not told, "Put down your load and build your house here"?*' *Are you now removing the cloak which I am wearing?*' (For in the Zulu country it was said that men wore the cloak with which he covered himself.) *The man would then build there, for the king had given his answer.* [See p. 34 for continuation.]³⁵⁴

*'The one who is not spoken of has spoken,
The mouth which does not speak lies'*

- said of all Zulu kings.³⁵⁵

The practice was, say when *impi* was called, for the messenger to shout from one hill what the order is, adding the foregoing phrase. This must then be passed on from kraal to kraal. People begin to move about and that unusual sight itself suggests asking what it is about. Hence all come to hear the order, although not originally heard by more than a couple of kraals. The responsibility devolved on these to pass on
34 to others. In Natal, practice is for every individual to be warned personally. This, Socwatsha thinks, is due to *ukubusa*, i.e. a too lenient and easy-going government.³⁵⁶

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If man, as said above, acted as dog in the manger, the King would answer on the lines above mentioned [p. 33], whereupon action would be taken on lines suggested by the King.

No complaint about not granting sites for people to live on was taken to King. It went to him only when it had assumed a criminal aspect, i.e. a fight had occurred. It is then only that King would deal incidentally with the land question.

*Umhlalandhlini - izinceku of the king, always with the king.*³⁵⁷

- 35 *Uvel' enkosini; udhlamile; uxoloxolo* - said of a man who, when shouted for, at royal kraal, fails for some reason to answer to his name (perhaps goes off deliberately to river to wash, whilst the calling goes on).³⁵⁸ He does this (perhaps girls have arrived from his district with food) for them to see what a man of importance he is at the royal kraal. They would then speak to one another something of the foregoing nature.

*'Nang' uSocwatsha ka Papu bo!' 'Mungane, ku yezwakala.'*³⁵⁹

Any man who was called *to the upper end (nga pezulu, nga senhla)* was most respected and feared, lest he should tell tales about people to the King and get them killed. He would consequently assume great airs on getting to his kraal from the very fact of its being known he had been called *ngasenhla*.

A girl hearing of a man being called *ngasenhla* would *run away (balekela)* to him when permitted to marry (*jutshwa*), even if she has not been engaged to or courted by him.

<The notes that follow should be read in conjunction with Stuart's notes of a previous interview that he had with Socwatsha on the same topic: see the latter's testimony above, pp. 91-4 – eds.>

15.4.1916. [Entered, Book of Stories.]³⁶⁰ Statement (per Socwatsha) from Lutoluni ka Zucu *of the Lamule people*.³⁶¹ Lives at *eMbikwe below the Qudeni*. Regiment: Umdhlenevu. Chief: Mtshinane.³⁶² Apropos of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's visit to Zululand after Ndongakusuka battle.

[Read in connection with this the statement in *Ilanga lase Natal* of 24.3.1916, p. 5, col. 2. Read also what Xubu ka Luduza says in his statement to me of 26.5.1912.]³⁶³

- 36 *Somsewu went off to the Zulu country. He crossed the Tukela at the oDhlokweni drift and then made for Emtanjaneni. He began at Mpande's at kwa Nodwengu; Mpande was still living. He said to Mpande, 'I come to mourn for your sons who died at Ndongakusuka. Some of your sons ran away to me, together with their mothers, your wives. For my part, I rule over all of you (ngi ni pete nonke); those who did the killing are my people, and those who were killed are mine. I mourn for them all. But those who ran away to me are suffering from need. They have two needs, there among your wives. One is for food; the other is for their children who*

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remained here. For they are with me, these people of yours. I, the father of them all, say that matters should be put in order for the mothers; they are crying for their children. And their children, those who are with you, are crying for their mothers.'

37 Then he said, 'I shall go on to Cetshwayo; I shall mourn for him too.' Mpande said, 'Go, then, to Cetshwayo. The matter will not be decided by me. I would have given you the children. There are cattle too. I would have given you the children. It is good that you should go and cry at Cetshwayo's.' He said, 'You too know that when the bull gets old it is overcome by its calf.'

Somsewu left, and went to Cetshwayo's. He was accompanied by his induna, Ngoza, and men from his place whom Lutoluni did not name. When he arrived at Cetshwayo's he began by saying, 'My child (Mntanami), I have come to mourn with you for the deaths of the sons of your father.' Cetshwayo remained silent. Somsewu did not begin by raising the matter of fetching the children. 'Wo! And the old women whom I live with at Mgungundhlovu,³⁶⁴ their mothers, I report about them; they are badly in need.' He was trying to find a way of asking Cetshwayo for cattle for them. Then Somsewu said, 'Wo! Where are the children of Monase, where are the people of Batonyile?' He said, 'Here is Ngoza, who has been sent by the mothers to see for them, and to give their greetings (konza).' Then Cetshwayo said, 'There they are in the hut, in the isigodhlo.' So Ngoza went off to see them; an inceku went to show him. He met them and spoke with them, conveying greetings from their mothers. The izinceku were present, those of the children of the king. They were divided into two camps (umriba, umribato), for some obeyed Cetshwayo while others obeyed Mpande. Ngoza then returned. Lutoluni did not know what he said to the children of the king.

Cetshwayo then said to Somsewu, 'Go, then, and make your camp (ngenisisa). I shall inform the men of the Zulu country.' He went off to set up camp at his wagons, where the wagons had been outspanned. The Zulu people assembled on the day decided by Cetshwayo when he was speaking to the people of his place. One day had passed.

39 When Somsewu was called he came up. He said, 'I ask for the children, because I have come to mourn; you are all my people. This matter of killing one another, I am not going to go into it.'

Then Cetshwayo came up. He said, 'Stand up, Ngoza!' Ngoza did so. Cetshwayo said, 'What were you doing there in the isigodhlo?' Somsewu said, 'Hau! Did he go in of his own accord, then? He asked permission.' Cetshwayo said, 'Be silent, white man. I am not talking to you; I am talking to my father's people. There are many of them with you. They are not yours; they are mine.' He said, 'I am asking you, Ngoza, what were you doing?' Somsewu came forward and replied, 'Why do you persist in contradicting Ngoza and asking him what he was doing wrong in the isigodhlo? Are you saying that he went to court the girls, your sisters, when he has left so many girls at Mgungundhlovu? He did not go there to court the girls; he went to convey greetings from their mothers.'

40 Then the princes (abantwana) Hamu and Ziwedu came forward. They said, 'We hear it said that you have come to fetch the children, like someone who has defeated another.' Somsewu said, 'Be silent, Hamu and Ziwedu. I shall answer you in what I say. It could happen that tomorrow I will be surprised to see you come to me,

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saying that you have been destroyed by Cetshwayo, like those Izigqoza who came to me after being destroyed. Tomorrow it could happen this way.'

Then Somopo said,³⁶⁵ 'Here, white man! Have you come to fetch the children of Monase? When the princes were killing one another at Ndongakusuka, what were they fighting about? Were they not fighting over these children? Did not each say that he was king? Did not the stronger one defeat the other? Did he not take his inheritance (ifa)? These children of the house of Mbuyazi, white man, you will only take them when we are dead.'³⁶⁶

41 Somsewu said, 'No, Zulu people! I have come to mourn for Cetshwayo on account of the children of his father. I am not taking sides. If Cetshwayo had been defeated, I would have received him. Then I would have come to Mbuyazi to mourn. And if Mbuyazi had not been killed, and had asked me to assist him, I would on no account have agreed to do so. And if he had overcome you and you had come running to me, I would never have assisted you.'

Then Cetshwayo came forward. 'I am asking, Ngoza; what were you doing?' He repeated the question. Ngoza was trembling, like this. [Shows trembling action. Some of Ngoza's own people, i.e. those of the party, say that he 'voided' himself in his trousers.]³⁶⁷

'Did I not tell you that Ngoza did not go to court the girls, but that he went to convey greetings from the mothers? And that he asked permission and you gave it?'

Again Cetshwayo said, 'Be silent, white man. I am not talking to you.' He spat. He said, 'I scratch up (panda) Nzibe' (who died at Sotshangana's). [A form of swearing, using the word *panda* <for> one dead.]³⁶⁸ 'I could die only once (a ngahle ngife kanye).' (The spittle landed near Somsewu.)

42 Then Somsewu said, 'Hawu! What is it that might kill you here in your own place? You will never tell me, I who have come here to your place.' He said, 'Wo! Son of Mpande, you have spat at me in anger, with a threatening expression (nyakeme)' (for they were standing face to face, looking each other in the eye).³⁶⁹ He said, 'You know that a hunter who kills a buck, who kills all kinds of buck and the black hyrax, if he kills a white hyrax, his umuzi will cease to prosper and will be destroyed. And the hunter too will not prosper. For my part, I am a white hyrax.' [In notebook 57 I have *Kwa mbila mhlope* - [means] nowhere, as there are no white rock-rabbits.]³⁷⁰ He said, 'If you kill me here, men will come from everywhere, looking for the bones of the white hyrax, there where it died.'

43 While they were talking, large numbers of Zulu had gathered round; they surrounded him. Others were giyaing; the izinduna were beating them back for they were starting to press forward. The izinduna did not want the amabuto to act on their own without having been told what they were to do with him. They were supposed to act only on the orders of the king, which would be given to them by the izinduna.

Then cattle were brought up. It was said, 'Here is your piece of bread, white man, for you to eat on the road. There are none of those which you asked for for your people, the wives of Mpande, Monase, MaNgqengelele, etc.'

I have left out the point that when Somsewu first arrived, Cetshwayo presented him with a beast for slaughter. He was given food after his journey and it was cooked for him, before they had spoken.

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Lutoluni said that they left the next day and travelled without stopping. They did not take the route by which they had come, the one which crossed at Dhllokweni. As
44 soon as they had gone up to Mtonjaneni, they made for Taleni, at esikaleni se Bomvu, and then went down to the Tukela. They crossed by the Mtambo drift [name of it]. They then took the route which went to Mgungundhlovana,³⁷¹ and arrived back at Mgungundlovu.

Lutoluni said that when Somsewu left, the izinduna went to assemble at the entrance to Masipula's hut. They discussed this matter. They said, 'Hau! The wild beast (isilokazana) has courage. Even though he saw that the inkosi was angry, he continued to speak. He has great courage. Another man who saw the Zulu people (uZulu) assembled in such large numbers would not have spoken many words. Even when the inkosi was angry, he continued to speak. Even when Cetshwayo was angry and said, "I could die only once," he spoke out to say that he was a white hyrax. No other man would have spoken all these words. He spoke them because he had
45 courage, and was not afraid. He was not fearful; he was not afraid to die.' They were all amazed, and held their mouths. They said, 'Hau! The wild beast has courage!'

Lutoluni said that he did not know what Ngoza said in the isigodhlo, for the izinceku were divided among themselves. Did he perhaps tell them that they should run away? Lutoluni thinks that Cetshwayo flared up at Ngoza after having given him permission to go and see the girls because he heard of something that Ngoza had said.

Lutoluni mentioned Masipula. Masipula had replied, 'No, Dhlamvuzo!³⁷² No! You are destroying the land.'

Mpande was not present. He was at Nodwengu; he was no longer able to walk. I think that the assembly was held at Ondini, but I did not ask at what umuzi it was held. But it was in the Mahlabatini country.

Lutoluni was present in person when Cetshwayo and Somsewu were speaking.

16.4.1916, Sunday.

File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 47-54.

47 Story of the princess of Zihlandhlo's tribe who was refused by the Bomvu chief Zombane, and of how Socwatsha's father Papu came to lose one of his toes.³⁷³ [Taken down same day as preceding pp., viz. 16.4.1916 (Sunday).]

My father said that a girl, a sister of Zihlandhlo ka Gwabe of the eMbo people, went off to marry among the Bomvu people; she 'ran away' (balekela) to the chief, Zombane [Nzombane - usually spelt without the 'N'.] The daughter of a chief marries another chief. But he refused her. She came back, for she had been disgraced (telwe ngo mlota).³⁷⁴ Then the abaMbo people heard that he had married a daughter of Jobe (ka Mapita ka Mnyandu, of the Sitole people). He had refused the girl of their people because he preferred the daughter of Jobe. Indeed he married her as soon as he had lobola'd her. The abaMbo said, 'Ha! So he refused our inkosazana for he was hoping to marry the daughter of Jobe.' They said they would keep a lookout for the day when her wedding party (umtimba) left the place

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of the Tembu and arrived among the Bomvu.³⁷⁵ Spies were sent to learn when it would go off to perform the dance (*sina*). Zihlandhlo's spies learnt of the day when the wedding party would go off. Zihlandhlo then called his impi to arms, and sent it out. He said, 'I shall hear, men (*mabandhla*) of the chief; you will be clever and kill Zombane. You must kill him, together with his girl, the one that he likes. Surround all the wedding party so that he shall never forget that he refused the girl of our
48 place. She is not the daughter of a common fellow (*umuntu*); she too is the daughter of a chief.'

The impi went off. They surrounded the umuzi at dawn. From where he was, my father Papu saw dogs come out from inside the home and cross in front of him. He saw a man following the dogs; the dogs were in front and he was following behind. They were still round the umuzi, for the impi had surrounded it but had not yet attacked, for they said, 'No, it is still too dark; we shall simply stab one another. Let it become a little lighter.' This was the practice of every impi, including Tshaka's, for if it attacked in the dark the men would not recognize one another; they would suddenly find themselves stabbing men of their own impi who had come round the other side of the umuzi. The *inyanga* of Zombane approached; he had his hair twisted in strings, like a diviner (*umngoma*). He saw them when he was close up. Papu then attacked him and stabbed him at close quarters; he did not hurl his assegai. He stabbed him and finished him off. Upon this they attacked, going inside
49 the home, for now it was beginning to get light. They stabbed girls, men, women, children; they destroyed everything. They stabbed the daughter of Jobe who had come to get married. By the time they had finished their killing the sun had come up. They inspected the bodies and found that the girl was dead. They dragged her body off and threw it into a *donga* at the edge of Zombane's umuzi. They dragged away the other bodies and threw them on top of her. The *donga* was filled up to the top. The *umtimba* which had come to see the *inkosazana* married was a large one. Her body ended up underneath the others. They then proceeded to lift the bodies, looking for hers underneath, for when they looked into the *donga* they could not see hers, only those of her brothers. Then they seized the cattle, the ones which are mentioned in the praises of Zihlandhlo. The impi then returned home.

They heard that those dogs had been following the chief, Zombane. While he was asleep he had dreamt that the impi had come to kill him, and had woken up in fright. He had gone to waken his *inyanga* and had told him, 'Follow me with my medicines.' When my father stabbed the *inyanga* he had been following the chief.
50 The impi had narrowly missed catching Zombane. They saw the dogs which were following him, but they did not see him, for it was still dark. [Did the dogs not bark at them?]³⁷⁶ Among the bodies they found only the young woman (*umlobokazi*). They looked for the chief among them but did not find him. They realized that he had escaped.

Then the warriors who had fought well (*izingwazi*) were picked out; they travelled separately. They were given an *inyanga* to treat them with medicines (*elapa*), Gabazana, who *elapa'd* the great warriors of the whole impi. The Embo impi returned. They returned rejoicing, for they had killed the girl who had surpassed the girl of their place. They said, 'But we would have rejoiced more if we

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had killed both of them, her man too, Nzombane, if we had put an end to him.'

When the izingwazi arrived home they were elapa'd. He potula'd them, and lifted the prohibitions on food which they had not been allowed to eat.³⁷⁷ For they
51 *could not eat certain kinds of meat before they were treated, before they were potula'd. They could not eat the paunch (usu) nor the intestines - all the entrails (umbilini).*

Some years later my father became ill. It was said, 'It is iqungo.³⁷⁸ You stabbed the inyanga of Nzombane and were not elapa'd.' He went back to Gabazana. He became better.

Then the country of the Embo people was destroyed; it was destroyed by Dingana. This was when Sambela and Zihlandhlo died; they were killed by Dingana's impi. Sambela and Zihlandhlo did not die of illness; they were killed by the assegai.

In that fighting my father killed very many men (of Dingana's impi, the iziNyosi and the Mbelebele). They were elapa'd again.

When my father was in the white man's country (esilungwini), many years later, when Somsewu was ruling, he was again affected by iqungo. His toes swelled up and broke off. The disease ate away the toe next to the big one on the left foot, down to the bones at its base. The izinyanga were unable to heal it with their medicines
52 *(izihlungu). He cried until he sweated; his heart beat so fast he thought he would die. He went to ask the inyanga to divine (bula). He said that Papu was being affected by iqungo. 'For did you not stab the inyanga of Nzombane? Were you not elapa'd by Gabazana? Did it not come back again? And did not Gabazana elapa you again? Gabazana failed to heal you the first time. If they had known, they would have named another inyanga. For my part, I smell out (nuka) Ngoyana. Go to Ngoyana, who elapa'd the izingwazi of Sirayo' (of the Nyuswa people). People went to Ngoyana. Ngoyana came early in the day and elapa'd him and elapa'd him. He went home late in the day. He said he would come back the next day (his umuzi was close by). He came early the next day. He no longer heard the moans (when a person is groaning in pain). 'How are you, Papu?' He replied, 'Don't you see that I*
53 *am eating?' He said, 'I slept very deeply.' After that he made a full recovery. This was before I was born. I have seen with my own eyes that he no longer has that toe.*

He would tell this story about the Embo. I heard it for myself from his own mouth.

<At this point in the original Stuart has scored a line across the page. In the margin below it he has written 'not used in Zulu Readers' – eds.>

It is a long story about how my father's people were scattered (citeka) in Tshaka's time (Tshaka had killed the chiefs of our people, the Ngongoma), and how they went off to konza in the Embo country, to Zihlandhlo. Tshaka had said to Zihlandhlo, 'You are my younger brother (umnawe); you may build an isigodhlo'. For when chiefs were killed by Tshaka, those of their people who escaped together with their children, would go off and konza in the Embo country and take refuge (catsha) with Zihlandhlo, for he was Tshaka's brother (umfowabo). The orphans of

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all the chiefs ran away to take refuge under Zihlandhlo, in his armpit. They came out into the open again after Dingana had killed Zihlandhlo. After the killing of Zihlandhlo, they were saved by Dingana's quarrel with the Boers. The way to Port Natal (eBodwe) was opened up (boboka); they came to konza to the Boers. They came when Wohlo and Mbuyazi were there, and Pobana and others who had arrived with Febana.³⁷⁹

23.4.1916

File 9, item 26, p.1.

1 Questions to Socwatsha.

What do Natives find most objectionable to being under British rule, white man's rule?

Where do they find their life protected where it was not formerly protected and uncovered where once covered? If a child is uncovered too soon, too soon exposed, it dies. Are there not directions in which Natives are too quickly exposed by European law? What are those uncovering laws?

There is the system of witchcraft, divination. That was very extensively applied to Native affairs. Such practices (e.g. smelling out) have been legislated against. What is the effect of such action, and how are Natives adjusting themselves to the new conditions so brought about?

What is real Native opinion in regard to Christianity? We are different races. We talk about the Natives. We suspect that they would fight us if they got the chance, massacre us as they did Retief and his party and tried to do at Durban. We say you smell, belong to a lower type of humanity; that you are lower than the Indians, hence we resent mixing our blood with yours through intermarriage. Even Europeans who cohabit are looked down on. How do Natives look on our imagined higher raciality? Do they believe us to be as great as we suppose ourselves to be? What radical defects do they see in us?

Do they see any prospect of ever joining hands with us, of our accepting them into our nationality, if so what are the most hopeful directions in which this is likely to be done?

Does it seem as if the Natives must for ever be a servile race subordinate to the whites?

How would it be if Natives were permitted to establish themselves in large states in S.A. under the advice of British rulers?

23.4.1916

File 49, item 6, pp. 1-4.

1 Socwatsha. Contact of Europeans with Native races; land matters; chiefs.

What is cause of bitterness among natives is the policy of taking from a Native chief land that is his and has been his perhaps for many generations and giving it to another Native. There are many cases of this in Natal and Zululand. *Much pain is caused when women are taken from a man and given to another man when the first*

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*one is still alive and vigorous. Even when he is dead, there will still be his son, the one who inherits from him (indhlalifa).*³⁸⁰ And this giving away of land takes place on ex parte statements, the man telling tales being given the land. This latter happened in case of Bubula, who got Tilonko's land, and other cases.³⁸¹

In Zululand Mr J. Shepstone said, *in the Mahlabatini country, at kwa Sitshwila, when he had summoned all the great men (izikulu) of the Zulu country, 'We are taking Cetshwayo away; for your part, go back to your countries (emazweni), and stay. Sons whose fathers have died must go back to their fathers' countries, and rule over the men who were under their fathers.'*³⁸² That is what happened. A man who left the country of the white people (esilungwini - Natal) would go to a place that he liked, go the person who was in charge of it (umnikaziyo), and speak to him, asking for the site of a former habitation (inxiwa) where he could build. Even if he was one of the original chiefs (inkosi yo hlanga) in Natal, he would come under the 'owner' (umnikazi) of that place. He would no longer be an inkosi yo hlanga as he was in the place where he came from.

Malimada (Osborn) too, who was given the country on this side of the Mhlatuze and then konza'd to the Government (Rulumeni), ruled according to the word given by Misjana. It was Mmango who came to give the order; it was he who began to divide up (dabula) the country of the Zulu.³⁸³ He took the country of the abanumzana of the Zulu country and gave it to men from Natal (esilungwini). He gave it to Hlangabeza of the Ngcolosi people, who also had his own country in 1(a) Natal (eNatal); he gave it to Gayede of the Emakabeleni people who had his own country in Natal; he gave it to Mnyakanya of the Nxamalala people who had his own country in Natal, at the Mvoti; he gave it to Makongolo ka Nondenisa of the emaTulini people; he gave it to Tulwana ka Nozaza of the emaKabeleni people, who was the induna of Landelisa;³⁸⁴ he gave it to Luzindela ka Mqabuli of eMakabeleni people, the induna of Misjana; he gave it to Mnikina ka Ntshongweni, who was Mmango's own induna and was also of the emaKabeleni; he gave it to Silwane ka Manzini of the emaNgangeni, who was also an induna of Mmango; he gave it to Yamela ka Pangandawo, the induna of Malimada, of the Tshange people.³⁸⁵ He gave them all land in the country of the Zulu; they occupied it (ba l'akile).

People in the Zulu country nearly went to war. They said, 'We have been driven out of our place though we have done nothing, and though we are paying taxes to the Government.'

Malimada spoke the word which had been spoken by Misjana at kwa Sitshwila. He said, 'It is Yamela alone who will receive land (izwe) in the place of the Zulu people. For I asked for Yamela from Somsewu at Emgungundhlovu, after the death of Sotamela, the induna with whom I left Newcastle. But I took on Sotondose as my induna because he knew the laws. I took him on because he knew the Government's laws. I trusted him, for he was a chief in his own right (inkosi yo hlanga) and would explain matters to me (qondisa). I was shocked when people of the uSutu came to me to complain about the wounds they had received from the impi of Zibebu, at the stronghold of Sigidi (where Sonile ka Mbopa ka Wolizibi of the Hlabisa people died). They said, "Nkosi, the impi which has destroyed us is yours. We have been

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2 *destroyed by the Mandhlakazi. We say it is yours because your induna Sotondose was present.” Then other people came from the abaQulusi to complain that they had been destroyed by Hamu, at eRologo (a stream near kwa Ngenetsheni). They too said that Sotondose had been present at the time.’*

Malimada heard that it was true that Sotondose had been present in Hamu’s war and at the stronghold of Sigidi. He also heard that Sotondose sided with Zibebu because Zibebu was the son of his sister, Kundlase (the mother of Zibebu). Malimada also heard that Sotondose sided with Hamu because Hamu was the son of one his sisters, like Zibebu - Nozibuku.

Then Malimada said, ‘I do not want this induna, one who will hear matters for me (e zo ngi hlinzel’ izindaba) [i.e. to inquire into cases]. For these people who complain that the impi is mine speak the truth, for when the impi went out my induna was among its number. No man’s impi should go out to which only his induna is privy and not himself. People will say that I know and am responsible, whereas I know nothing.’ Mr O. then wrote a letter from Nhlazatshe to Somtseu asking him to help him by finding an induna from among his police. ‘If you send me a very satisfactory man, I will pay him in land (ngi yo m kokela ngezwe).’ Somtseu then chose Yamela. Malimade did not know him; they met for the first time at Nhlazatshe. Yamela made a good impression on Malimade. He came with him to
3 *eShowe. Malimade had him in all his wars, the one against Dabulamanzi at Nkandhla and the one at Ceza against Dinuzulu.*

As regards the chiefs referred to, to whom Mr Arthur Shepstone gave land, a disagreement arose. He opened the book which Misjana had written at kwa Sitshwila. He said, ‘All of you from Natal, you have no land here; it belongs to the people of the Zulu country. Gayede, Hlangabeza, if you want a place in the Zulu country, leave Natal completely and have land solely in Zululand. All these izindunas who have been given land, I know nothing of them. I know only Yamela who “burnt his book” (o wa tshis’ ibuku lake) at eSilungwini.’ He alone would get land in Zululand, no one else, and he would only get land occupied by few people. Of these he would become their spokesman.

All those given land by Mr A.J.S. were deprived of their lands. Luzindela, however, was allowed to have land, for Mr John Shepstone stood up for him. Tulwana also was allowed to remain. Hlangabeza and Gayede were deprived of their land. Mnyakanya was transformed by Mr Knight into Ndube’s man; MaKongolo was transformed into Nonzama’s; Silwana too lost his land and he was put under Sigananda. Mnikina lost his; he too was put under Sigananda.³⁸⁶

Yamela was given a large tract of land occupied by various headmen. On his, Yamela’s, death, Saunders deprived Mgomo of the land and gave a huge piece of it to Mtonga (ten viyos of men). Other land was given by Saunders to Mkungu. Another
4 *piece was given to Mfungelwa; another piece went to Sikonyana ka Luhleko; another went to Nshingwayo ka Sikonyana; another to Ngwenya ka Majiya; another to Mbango ka Gaozi, and all that remained was a small piece that paid taxes to Eshowe.³⁸⁷ Yamela’s grave fell within the boundaries of a farm.*

There are many people from whom land is taken and given to others. Ndube’s land has since been given to Mnyakanya, after the Bambata affair. Some of Ndube’s

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people rebelled but he went to the Government. Mfungelwa's, Hatshi's, Mpumela's, Mbuzo, Sigananda's, Mtshingane, Luzindela, Matshana, Zinyongo, Siswana - men of all these tribes went, but nothing was done to the chiefs.³⁸⁸ It was Ndube alone that suffered. It was first Saunders who gave land to Mnyakanya, and later Dick and Colenbrander came and *cut it up (klaya 'd)*.³⁸⁹ Brothers of Ndube and their kraals were given to Mnyakanya who, although Ndube's subject, was made independent. There is very bad feeling between Ndube and Mnyakanya in consequence. Mnyakanya used once to be Ndube's man. Saunders' motive was that Ndube's people led in the attack at Bobe.

Urwebede - name of Ndube's people, just as Usutu is that of Dinuzulu's.³⁹⁰

Natives strongly object to having other chiefs put over them when the heir of their own chief is living and excluded for no apparent offence. Sibindi for instance was appointed over Meseni, Ndhlovu's and other districts,³⁹¹ whereas there were in those districts men as good as himself who did... <The rest of the original is missing – eds.>

<21.5.1916>

File 57, nbk. 2, p. 70.

Also present: Mandlakazi kaNgini

<The statements which follow should be read in conjunction with those of Mandlakazi kaNgini in the James Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 176-7 – eds.>

- 70 Socwatsha. [See nbk. beginning 3.10.1921 for fuller account by Socwatsha.]³⁹²
No one went into Ntombazi's hut. There were heads of chiefs hanging at the back (emsamu); Zwide had killed them.
If a person is quarrelling with another, even her own child, she might say, 'I should just come over there and beat you. Do you think this is Ntombazi's place, where no one went in? I should come in and beat you.' She would speak like this when the person she was quarrelling with was in another hut.
There are very many people indeed who know of this.
No one used to enter Ntombazi's hut.

<21.5.1916>

File, 57, nbk. 2, p. 73.

Also present: Mandhlakazi kaNgini

- 73 Socwatsha said this afternoon that the tribe Mdhlalose was an offshoot of Zulu tribe, and spoke of it as *abalanda*,³⁹³ meaning probably that the Zulus took their wives from there. *Governing was done with reference to them (kwa ku buswa ngabo)*, implying that they were one of the tribes on which the Zulu Constitution was based.

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22.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, p. 73.

Also present: Mandlakazi kaNgini

- 73 Socwatsha and Mandhlakazi. Re attacks on Shaka by Zwide.

Socwatsha speaks. The battle, after T. had retreated down Gcongco, began about Sungulweni,³⁹⁴ but only in such a way as to harass and delay them. The Zulus did not actually fight; they kept retreating. When they got to Nomveve they had their great battle and again fought on Mhlatuze. That was the night of the 'Kisi' password, fighting at night.

Mandhlakazi says: The Ndwandwes used the word 'Kwitshi', uttering it softly. [Name of one of Zwide's regiments was isiKwitshi.]³⁹⁵ M. says: Any battle fought when dark would be described thus: '*We fought in the kisi manner, when it was dark.*' M. says: I never heard of a battle fought at night prior to the said battle between Zulus and Ndwandwes.

14.7.1918

File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 62-3.

Socwatsha, 14.7.1918.

- 62 ... <Praises of Ndlela kaSompisi omitted – eds.>

- 63 *Omafungebema* - the Zulus, because they swear they have no snuff and yet have a lot at the time of so swearing.³⁹⁶

Kwamadod' aqoman' amany' amadoda enge zintombi - name of Socwatsha's kraal.³⁹⁷ Mr Knight said Yamela's men living in Nkandhla District were to *qoma* their chiefs, so I *qoma'd* Ndube. I have lived on four kraal sites in this immediate neighbourhood during the last 30 years or so; 2 of these kraals belonged to my eldest brother Godhloza, and the other two to me, Godhloza having gone to another near Insuze. He died a few years ago.

26.8.1921. High Brae.

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 14-18.

- 14 Per Socwatsha.

Bovu ka Nomabuqabuqa. Intontela regiment, same age as Ndhlela ka Sompisi of *the Lutuli people*.³⁹⁸ Was a great hero.

<The text which follows is a rendering of notes originally recorded by Stuart in Zulu. It should be read in conjunction with the testimony published below, pp. 123-4, which reproduces notes written up by Stuart in English. The Zulu version was published by Stuart in his reader *uKulumetule* (1925), pp. 165-8 – eds.>

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Bovu challenged (qomana) another induna, Nobongoza ka Maqoboza of the Zulu house (wo ku zalwa kwa Zulu). [No doubt in regard to expedition against Sikwata or Swazis.]³⁹⁹ When the war was fought, Bovu's force ran away. But Bovu did not run away; he fought and drove off the enemy by himself. The force of the induna whom he had challenged did not run away.

The impi came to report on the fighting to the king, Mpande. Mpande said, 'Bovu, Nobongoza has overcome you.' Bovu replied, 'He has not overcome me, Nkosi, for I fought the enemy and drove them away.' The king said, 'But your men ran away. Were you contending about the men you killed? Were you contending about your companies of men (amaxiba)? Your ixiba ran away, Bovu. Though you drove off the enemy, that counts for nothing, for your men ran away and left you to fight by yourself.' Mpande then ate up all Bovu's cattle and gave them to Nobongoza. He then took some of his own cattle and sisa'd them to Bovu, so that he would have amasi to eat and his children too would be healthy.

15 *Bovu was very angry. He said, 'Yet I fought the enemy and drove them off.' As dusk fell, he said to his wives, 'Pack your belongings! (Bopani!)' He made off with Mpande's cattle and came here to Somsewu. He drove the cattle into the forests at oZwatini.⁴⁰⁰ The country was still wilderness (amahlane); there were not yet as many people as there are now. He hid the cattle in the forests at oZwatini. He tied them with ropes made of the umtwazi creeper; he tied the ones which would lead the others out of the forest. He did this so that they would graze in the forest, and sleep there.*

Mpande then sent messengers to Somsewu to say, 'Give me back my cattle; they have crossed over with one of my people who has escaped to your country. I do not want him; I want my cattle.' So Somsewu summoned Bovu, whom he did not know. He sent to Dubuyana to say, 'A man of the Zulu country has crossed over to you; his name is Bovu. I am summoning him.'⁴⁰¹ So Bovu came to Somsewu, together with Somsewu's police (amapoyisa) who had gone to fetch him. Somsewu then asked, 'So this is he?' They replied, 'Yes, Nkosi; it is Bovu.' 'Bovu!' 'Nkosi,' he replied. 'Bring out the cattle of Mpande. Here are the people who have come to
16 *fetch them. You know them, for they are of your people.' Bovu said, 'Let them speak.' They then told the story as I have told it. Then Somsewu said, 'They have told their story, Bovu. Answer them.' Bovu said, 'It is true that I was contending with another induna, Nobongoza. The king ate up my cattle, saying that my men had run away. I became angry, Nkosi: I made off and came to you, for my cattle had been eaten up. I came with only my sleeping mats; even the goat which eats the umtolo tree, I do not know it. For I heard that you were ruling. I made off so that I could come and konza to you.'*

The men from the Zulu country went on to describe the cattle by their colours. Bovu denied it. Somsewu said, 'Bovu, I am having you arrested. I am doing this because here are these men describing the cattle which you have taken. Would they simply tell lies?' He was taken to the place of the police (for as yet no gaol).⁴⁰² The next day Somsewu was told that the prisoner had tried to cut his throat with a knife, but had been stopped. Somsewu came hurrying to the place where he was
17 *imprisoned, and found him covered with blood. They had stopped him before he could cut his throat; only the windpipe had been cut. Somsewu said that Bovu*

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should be treated for his wound, and washed, and that he should be appeased. 'Go, you people of the Zulu country; Mpande's cattle are not here. Do you not see that he denies it by wanting to kill himself? He has taken a great oath by wanting to kill himself. Who would get the cattle if he were to kill himself?' The people from the Zulu country then went off home.

Orders were given that medicines should be found to heal his wound. He was then accompanied by a policeman to his home at the place of Dubuyana ka Sirayo ka Mapoloba. After he had got home his wound healed, but to the day of his death his windpipe never closed up. This happened before we were born (we Ngobamakosi).⁴⁰³ He died after I had married my first wife. Whenever he drank water, drops would come out and run down his chest; the same with beer, when white foam would come out. Foam would come out even when he had drunk nothing.

This man Bovu was light (mpofu) in colour, reddish (bomvu). He was not very tall, nor short; he was of medium height. He was a mature man (indoda), with a headring. He had a big nose. He was good-looking, as were his children. His cattle increased in number, and filled the country at uZwati.

27.8.1921 - <evidence given 26.8.1921>. High Brae.

File 77, pp. 8-9.

8 <Praises of Bovu kaNomabhuqabhuqa omitted – eds.>

<See also Socwatsha's testimony on pp. 121-3 above – eds.>

Note (by Socwatsha). Bovu was one of the greater heroes of Zululand. He was an *induna* of Ntontela regiment, in Mpande's reign. When the Zulu army, on one occasion, was about to leave on an expedition against the Swazis or Sikwata, Bovu *qomana'd* with Nobongoza ka Maqoboza, the bet being that his *ixiba* would defeat that part of the enemy force opposed to it when it came to a battle. An engagement took place. Nobongoza and his party fought and drove off the enemy with which it was engaged, but the enemy succeeded in defeating Bovu's party, all excepting himself. Through his own superhuman energy and determination, Bovu eventually succeeded in repelling the enemy and driving it off. On Mpande being asked to adjudicate, he found in favour of Nobongoza on the ground that the bet was as to each party's achievement, not as to the personal prowess of either of the leaders. As a consequence of the decision, all Bovu's cattle were seized and made over to Nobongoza and his party.

This highly enraged Bovu, who claimed that his heroism had surpassed that of Nobongoza and his men, even though his own party had been driven off, himself alone excepted. Mpande, to pacify his hero, apportioned him a small herd of his own cattle, not, however, giving but only giving the use of them to him and his children. Bovu no sooner got home than he gave orders to his women to pack up all their belongings, and the same night he fled across the Tukela into Natal with the whole of his family, including the cattle. Coming to almost entirely unoccupied country at oZwatini (not far from Stanger), he took the cattle into a forest there, where he tied

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9 the leaders to trees with monkey-ropes, which he judged would effectually prevent the others from straying out of the forest into the open.

Mpande, apprised of what had happened, sent messengers to report the incident to Sir T. Shepstone. Shepstone sent to Dubuyana, chief of the district to which Bovu was said to have gone, asking that Bovu be arrested and brought to him. When Bovu was brought to Pietermaritzburg, Shepstone confronted him with Mpande's messengers, and went into the whole matter. Bovu, in reply, said the story as told by the messengers was correct except as to his having taken Mpande's cattle with him into Natal. He had brought no cattle at all, only his sleeping mats. That this was the truth, he asserted with all the emphasis he could command. Shepstone, believing he had taken the cattle as alleged, though there was no positive proof in the matter, directed that Bovu was to be detained as prisoner.

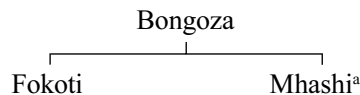
On the day following the sentence, word suddenly came that Bovu, who, as there was then no regular gaol, was confined at the police huts, had cut his throat and was bleeding to death. Going at once to the huts, Shepstone found that Bovu had indeed attempted to commit suicide, and in so determined a manner as to have cut through his windpipe with a large knife, and had not someone rushed at and prevented him, he must have cut his throat altogether and bled rapidly to death. Shepstone was very much impressed by the occurrence, and, calling up Mpande's messengers, then just about to leave for Zululand, said it was now quite clear to him that Bovu could not have stolen the cattle as alleged. He had resorted to doing an act which placed it beyond all doubt that his statement as to not having brought the cattle with him was to be relied on. No oath could have been taken by him to create such a belief more strongly than this attempt at self-destruction had done. 'For who,' queried Shepstone, 'would have had the benefit of the cattle in the event of his having succeeded in committing suicide? Clearly not Bovu.' Under these circumstances, the messengers must return to their king and say Bovu had been found not guilty. His wound was dressed, and as soon as he got well enough, he was released.

After this, Bovu's cattle multiplied to a great number and he became one of the largest cattle-owners in the country. The wound in his windpipe never quite healed up, for as he drank water or beer, part would ooze out and flow down his chest, and, at other times, a small froth would be seen at the opening in the throat. And this went on up to his death some thirty years later.

27.8.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 18-25.

18 Bongoza, the one who *decoyed the Boers at the uPate* [see p. 25],⁴⁰⁴ was the son of Mefu *of the Ngongoma people, of the Ngcobo*. Fokoti ka Bongoza was Mavumengwana's policeman.⁴⁰⁵ Fokoti may have been of Dhlambedhlu regiment.



^a May be still living at Mhlatuze, *near the Bomvana people*, near Ntumeni.

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*Bongoza was ubabekazi.*⁴⁰⁶ *I heard this from my father, Papu. [Socwatsha's father, married very late in life, was about Tshaka's age, perhaps even a little older.] Papu ka Zikayana ka Mavela ka Matshiza ka Ndaba ka Maramba ka Gasela ka Nombika ka Ngongoma ka Ngcobo.*

Offshoots of the Ngcobo: amaNyuswa, amaQadi, emaLangeni, eMgangeni, amaFunze, eNyavwini, Tshangase, Hosiyana, Ngongoma.

Ngcobo *dabuka'd at the Mvoti*. I don't know whereabouts, high up, middle, or by sea. Ngcobo is of the amaLala class.

The amaNtungwa are the Kumalo people. There is an expression of this kind. Zulus are said to be abeNguni.

- 19 I heard that Malandela *dabuka'd at the source of the Mhlatuze, where it rises at Babanango*. Malandela had two sons by one of his wives, Qwabe and Zulu. This wife was Nozidiya. She presented Zulu with a white cow. This caused quarrel between Qwabe and Zulu. Qwabe went and lived down Mhlatuze and Matigulu, and down towards uNgoye, whilst Zulu lived out towards eMpembeni. Qwabe was the older.

All the old chiefs of Ngcobo tribe are buried at eGqalabeni, i.e. where Mpatesita is.⁴⁰⁷ Matshiza, Ndaba, Maramba, Gasela and Nombika are all buried a little west of my kraal (sunset side). I am quite sure of this. My father Papu told me this. He, however, told me when were still living at oZwatini. I could point out Mavela's and Matshiza's graves.

*The famine of Madhlantule.*⁴⁰⁸

- 20 *The uMadhlantule [Lunguza, see nbk. 20.3.1909, p. 17, has Madhlantule]⁴⁰⁹ was a great famine (indhala) in the Zulu country [c.1800] when Papu was quite young [viz. 13 or 14, vide p. 23].⁴¹⁰ Papu was just about Tshaka's age, married very late. In that famine people became robbers (izigwelegcwele), thieves. If a calf was tethered, and no one was about, a robber would come and cut the rope (isinga) with which it was tied. He would then make off with the calf into the forest, where he would kill it by cutting its throat with an assegai. He would then make a fire. If he had not brought fire with him from home, he would rub firesticks (uzwati) together. He would make a fire and roast the calf and eat it. The meat that he did not finish he would hang up in a tree. The owners of the calf would look for it. Sometimes they would go out and see the remains of the fire where he had been eating. He would eat there and defecate there. He might sleep there, for he might no longer have a home. He might have left his home and become a robber. Sometimes they would find a man with the calf, and kill him. At other times they would find that the man had gone, and they would see the place from the remains of the fire and from the bones.*

Another man might take a gourd (igula) and carry it off with him into the forest. He would take his assegai and make the mouth wider, so that his hand would fit in, and he would eat with it, for there was no large pot (ukamba) for him to fill. The owners of the gourd would search and search for it. Sometimes they would find it when they found the cleared space where the man had been. They would find the place that he had cleared. They would say, 'Hau! This is where he was eating; here

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is a cleared place.' They would also find the excrement which he had left after he had eaten and defecated. The practice was to bury the gourds in the ground to hide them. When they wanted to pour it out, the earth would be dug away, for the owner would know where it had been buried, at the back of the hut.

Those who had gone out to find food in places where they had been told to go would meet up with others and kill them and take their food. Others would set
21 ambushes for they were strong, and would kill the robbers.

Grainpits (of amabele) would be opened during the night when people were asleep. The owner would leave off opening them during the day for fear of being killed. She would open it in the night, when people were asleep. She would take out basketfuls of grain and then go and hide it at the back of her hut. This food would be guarded. In addition, she did not cook during the day. She would cook the food as if she had stolen it, even though it was hers.

Cattle were not said to be *hlaba'd*; they were said to be *gqwatssha'd*.⁴¹¹
(Nowadays if a man kills a beast and gives none of it away, people will say, 'Hau! Have you *gqwatssha'd*?') He would say, 'I am *gqwatsshaing* for my children; they are dying of hunger.' This beast would be slaughtered at night. When it was cut up, a hole would be made in the *untu* (outside meat about stomach) and a wooden post would be pushed in to the length of a forearm, as far as the hump. He did this so that when he was chopping with an axe people of other places (be *zinye izizwe*) would not hear, for an axe makes a noise, 'Ngu! Ngu! Ngu!' If he puts in a post, there will be no noise; it will simply sound 'Ca! Ca! Ca!' For among us the breast meat is removed and the ribs are cut, leaving the two sides of rib meat. When a joint
22 was cut off, it would be taken and placed in the hut (this was done in case it was taken by thieves, that is, by those people who had cut up the beast, and others who were looking for a chance to steal - to kill the calf that was tethered). It would be cut up into all its parts (*izito*), the legs, the forelegs, the rib meat (*umhclubulo*), the breast, the head, the hump (*isixanti*), and the rump, all the parts, together with the *izinhlonhlo*, the *ulusi*, the tail (*isiyaka*), the liver, and the lungs.⁴¹² He would then go to his hut, where he would hide the meat. He might make a screen (*isironqo*) inside at the back of the hut (*emsamo*); it would be screened off so that anyone entering would be able to see nothing there. He would continually be cooking some of the meat, and breaking it into pieces even before it had cooked. He did this so that it would not rot, for he would eat it the whole month through. He would eat it together with his wives and his children. He would give a man a piece, and the man would give him one in return, for presents of meat are exchanged (*imikombe y'enanana*).⁴¹³

This hiding of the meat was done because in former times (*kuqala*) there were no small *imizi*. An *umuzi* was large. A large *impi* would go out from a single *umuzi*. That *umuzi* was of the *umnumzana*; the *umnumzana* was a chief. All the *imizi* were
23 large. Relatives (*izinhlobo*) would all be together; they were not by themselves. This was done because in those times there was warfare. An *impi* would go out to surround an *umuzi* and kill the people; a large *impi* would go out from the home and drive it off. When it did this it would not kill many people, only a few.

The owner of cattle was afraid that because there were a large number of people, they would come and rob him. He ate the meat with his people until it

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rotted. They would eat it even when it had maggots (*izimpetu*) in it. People did not say that it had maggots; they said that it had the *ubomi* taste.⁴¹⁴ The hide was kept hidden; it was not pegged out. When they had completely finished the meat, they would proceed to cook the hide and eat it, all of it. It too was meat.

A man might slaughter (*gqwatsha*) one of his cattle if he saw that his people were dying of hunger, when some had died and been buried; they had died from eating plants which they had dug up. A man might see that the maize was flowering in the gardens and that wo! by the time it had ripened his people would be dead. Another might see that a cow's udder was filling with milk but that it was late in calving; he would slaughter it and his children would eat the calf. The calf was not eaten by the men; it was eaten by the youths (*izinsizwa*) who had not yet taken a wife, and the children would also eat it.

[When Madhlatule famine was on (see p. 19 note re Lunguza), Papu was still a boy, about 13 or 14 (*the time of his puberty*). Hence, as he was born about 1785-24 1787 (seeing he was about Tshaka's age and perhaps even a year or two older), the famine would have occurred between 1795 and 1805, say 1800, to make a guess.]

Another famine known by Socwatsha was uMdweshu. At that time Charlie's (Bayi's - Mbokodebomvu regiment) elder brother was born and called Mbezi, i.e. after a plant or root of that name, which people dug up and ate after mixing with curds.⁴¹⁵

Socwatsha refers to *uboqo* as another root which people ate in time of great scarcity;⁴¹⁶ also *wild figs* (*amakiwane*), when not ripe. (*Umbezi, uboqo* and *amakiwane* were mixed with curds as *umcaba*. There were many other roots and herbs eaten in times of scarcity, some cooked, others raw - also *imifino, intebe*, etc.)⁴¹⁷ The uMdweshu famine occurred about the time of Socwatsha's birth. [Which, after careful inquiry, I fix as having taken place in 1853, or possibly late in 1852. Hence his age now would be 68 or 69.] S. was born in the summer.

There was another great time of scarcity, *ilanga* (or *iqina*) of *Mbete*. This took place, Socwasha says, shortly before *umbidhli ka Somsewu* (1869).⁴¹⁸ [Hence I would fix it at 1867, or 1866.]

Socwatsha says he was just about 4 years of age when Ndongakusuka battle was fought. He saw the Izigqoza who had been wounded and were covered with blood. [This fairly fixes his own birth as, say, early in 1853 or late 1852.] He remembers the calling out of the Sidoyi *impi* [April 1857].⁴¹⁹

*When the Zulu assembled, they were as numerous as the heads of utoyi - used for weaving eating-mats, affinity with imizi and incema.*⁴²⁰ What we would say, as numerous as sand on the seashore.

25 Socwatsha does not know origin or meaning of his name. [But on 2nd October he derived it from *ukuti cwatsha* - see my note in Bryant, *Dictionary*, under *cwasha*.]⁴²¹ It is a name given him by his mother. The name given by his father was uNembe, whilst Mtana was another of his names. These fell into desuetude.

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Bongoza. Hlati. Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo. More old stories told by his father - anecdotes re Tshaka.

29.8.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 25-8.

*Bongoza ka Mefu, of the Ngongoma people. [See p. 18 re Bongoza.]*⁴²²

*Dingane was at war with the Boers.⁴²³ His amabuto became tired. The izinduna, too, said that the amabuto were tired. They said that tribute should be paid (ukutela) to the Boers. The cattle of the Boers which had been eaten up, and which had been the cause of the fighting, should be returned to them. Other cattle should be paid for Piti. The first herd should be for tribute, the second should be paid for Piti, the third should consist of the cattle of the Boers which had been eaten up. The matter should be set right (ukucolelana), and they should return to their place and remain there, there where they had built, at the Balule.*⁴²⁴

Then Bongoza came forward and said, 'For my part, I shall decoy (yenga) them. Let amabuto be sent to go and sleep in the bush country, to hide in the bush country at the White Mfolozi. Let large numbers of white cattle be driven into all that country, from the uPate to the other side of the Mfolozi. I shall tell the Boers that 26 *the Zulu are finished, and that the cattle are unguarded. The men who escaped from the war have gone away; they have headed northwards.' Then Nzobo came forward and said, 'You speak the truth, Bongoza; in the bush country we shall be able to strike at them and destroy them.' It was agreed that this would be done.*

So Bongoza went off and made his way to the Boers, while the men of the Zulu took the cattle to the Mfolozi and the amabuto were sent to the bush country, where they hid; they reached as far as the uPate. Bongoza arrived among the Boers, shabby and covered in dust. They said, 'Au! Here is a man who has lost everything (o felwe izwe).' He made his salutations. He told them the amabuto had gone away. The Boers said, 'Can you show us the way?' He agreed. They armed, and went off with him. He walked a little in front. They made across the open country at the Mtonjaneni, and approached the uPate. The slopes there which lead down to the Mfolozi are very steep, like those at the Nkandhla. They dismounted and led their horses by the reins. They went down in a column. They caught sight of the cattle, which were everywhere to be seen, white ones, black ones, red ones. Bongoza was with them, walking out in front.

At the bottom of the slope, those in front began entering the bush; they were still leading their horses. Suddenly they were alarmed to find that Bongoza was no 27 *longer with them. They were struggling among the trees. Then they heard him calling out, 'They are inside, men of Mjokwane ka Ndaba!⁴²⁵ Let me hear!' He called out as he threw himself among the men of the impi who were lying hidden. Some were this side, others that side. He had gone with the aim of bringing the Boers there, for one horn of the impi was lying this side, and the other that side. The amabuto rose up and attacked the Boers; they came down behind them. As they were charging in, the Boers fired at them. They were unable to get close, for now they knew about guns and were afraid of them. They had fought and had been*

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driven off at the Ncome, at the Mtshezi, and at emaGebeni.⁴²⁶ The Boers went down the slope, leading their horses. They reached the bottom, at the mouth of the uPate. There they mounted their horses, and closed up into a tight mass. They made for the Mfolozi, firing from horseback. The two wings of the Zulu separated; the Boers broke through, pushing them apart. They made for the Mfolozi, for the the kwa Nolele drift (ordinary drift). They crossed, and headed towards the Amabedhlana. When the impi followed, they turned round and fired on it. They went past the iziHlalo, and then past eDhlebe and eNhlazatshe. Then they made for the ridge at
28 *emaPiseni, beyond Nhlazatshe, near Ntabankulu. The Zulu amabuto remained at the Mfolozi; they were left undisturbed. Peace returned; there was no more fighting. The Boers eventually turned about and made for the esiLungwini country.*

My father, Papu, said that all the Boers had reached Natal, for he knew them. He had konza'd to them, and milked their cattle. He hunted with them when they went to shoot buck. He was also present in the fight at the Mtshezi, on the side of the Boers. He was not present in the fight at the oPate. When Mpande made his escape, after he had been warned by Matunjana and Ndhlela, my father was already living among the Boers.⁴²⁷ When Nzobo ka Sobadhli ka Dhlukela came to fetch Mpande from the Boers, my father was living there. They tied Nzobo to the wheel of a wagon. (This happened at kwa Njanduna hill, near Verulam, on south side of Mdhloti.) My father was living there, but he was ill at home, with a wound on his knee (left); he had been stabbed by the Zulu forces at Ndondakusuka, where he fought on the side of the Boers.⁴²⁸

'UMpanjana zo msenge!' - said by Dingana of Mpande at Maqongqo.⁴²⁹

Somkande - that is where D. intended going - far beyond the Swazis and uBombo.

30.8.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 29-36.

29 *The fight at Maqongqo and the death of Dingana.⁴³⁰ Dingana said to Ndhlela, his chief induna, 'You must send my whole impi forward together; you must form many columns, thus:*



The whole impi must attack together. The men must not simply watch one another, with some fighting and others watching. They must not do that. The whole impi must attack together. I shall never fight with Mpande, Mpanjana zo msenge.' So the impi went out. When Dingana spoke thus it was still at home, drawn up in a circle

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(umkumbi) being prepared for war. Later, when Ndhlela had taken over command of the impi, he did not follow the orders which Dingana had given. He sent forward only two amabandhla, the uDhlambedhlu together with the iziNyosi. And not all the iziNyosi went forward; only a section (isigaba) (the iziManganyawana, which was commanded by Sonsukwana ka Gqwatsheza) did so. They attacked at midday. An ukugulana of the horns of the armies took place. [Guleka - above expression, and this, noted in Bryant.]⁴³¹ The right horn of Dingana's impi was driven back, while on the other side, the left, Mpande's impi was driven back. Mpande's men fled, those who had been driven back by Dingana's impi, while on the other side Dingana's men fled, having been driven back by Mpande's impi. This is the ukugulana of the horns. [I.e. whilst enemy is being repulsed on one side, on the other he is at the same moment driving you back.] They drove one another back until sunset, at both places.
30 Then they left off, because it was getting dark. As it was returning, Dingane's force, the uDhlambedhlu, which had driven off Mpande's men, came singing an irubo,⁴³² for they were rejoicing at having fought the enemy and driven them back. They sang an irubo of Dingana's, which went:

Go, Mdayi!

We went to the place of our people!

We destroyed the country of the amankengane!

Au-u-u-nhu!

Go, Mdayi!

We went to the place of our people!

We destroyed the country of the amankengana!

Au-u-u-nhu!⁴³³

Those of Mpande's men who had been driving back those of Dingana heard this. They said, 'Hau! Here is the uDhlambedhlu returning! They were stabbing our people. Let us sing that irubo of theirs, so that they will think we are of their people. As it is dark they will not see us properly. When our impi is ready, we will attack them and stab them.' So they sang that irubo:

Go, Mdayi!

We went to the place of our people!

We destroyed the country of the amankengane!

Au-u-u-nhu!

[There were counterparts in this song, i.e. whilst some sang main air, others sang another part to harmonize, yet in other words or syllables, but this cannot be represented here.]

31 The uDhlambedhlu heard the singing and said, 'Ho! Those are our people! They are singing the song which we sang. They are our people!' Mpande's men sang the song; they did not advance; they were preparing; they were making ready. Nozitshada's men came up towards them, and when they were up very close they charged at them with their assegais. That is where Nozitshada ka Maqoboza died, and Sonsukwana ka Gqwatsheza. Mpande's impi drove back Dingana's, there in the night; the moon was shining. (I say that the moon was shining for the impi would not have fought if the moon had been dead.)

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Those who had survived came to Dingana. They described the fighting as I have described it. Dingana became very angry. He said, 'So, Ndhlela, you have destroyed my impi? Did I not tell you that the whole impi should attack together? You have killed my impi and left it there. So you favour Mpande? So you want to destroy me?' He said, 'Wo! Give him a "volley" of assegais; let him feel the assegai!' Then Dingana said, 'Do not do that. He is now my insila. Put a rope round his neck and pull it tight. Go on striking it with sticks until he is dead. No longer will he hold back my impi, holding it back for Mpande's impi. For he hid it; it did not fight.' He then appointed other izinduna, Ngceba ka Nodanga of the eLangeni people, and others. He ordered that all the vanguards (amakala) of the impi were to attack together, in a line; all the main bodies (imizila) were to attack at the same time.

The Boers now saw where the armies had been fighting. They came across bodies as numerous as those books (amabuku). [Thousands of bodies. S. refers to books in my library.] They said to Mpande, 'Wo! Mpande, so indeed you told the truth. You were not deceiving us, like Bongoza. You were indeed at war. We have seen your dead men, and those of Dingana who were killed by your men. Tomorrow it will be our turn to fight. Rest now.' One of the Boers was sent towards Dingana's forces to call out, 'Tomorrow we will be coming!'

A man who was there at eMaqongqo, one of Mpande's men - his name was Konjwayo, of the Embo people - said that the next day the great men of Mpande's side took their headbands (imiqele) and their amabeqe of monkey-skin, together with their crane feathers, and made their ordinary men (abafokazana) put them on (qilisa). [Qelisa? - noted in Bryant's Dictionary, pp. 536, 533.]⁴³⁴ They took their girdles (imiqubula) and their imiklezo and gave them to their men, together with their shields.⁴³⁵ For their part they took the garb of the ordinary men and put it on, and took the shields of the ordinary men. They knew that Dingana's impi would defeat theirs because it was bigger. They knew that not all of Dingana's impi had yet fought, and that his whole impi would fight that day. The great men did this so that when Dingana's impi defeated theirs his men would not recognize them. They would think that the ordinary men were the leaders. They would say, 'Here is an induna! Here is an isikulu!' In the meantime the isikulu would be making off. He did this so that he would have a chance to escape. They were saved by the words of the Boers, 'Tomorrow it will be our turn.'

When Dingana heard that the Boers were coming, and not Mpande's impi, he said, 'Let us take all (kukula) and go.' He said that all his people - cattle, womenfolk, amabuto - should go with him to the place of Somkande. He said, 'Never again will I face up to guns (isitunyisa).' So his people all went off; they made for the uBombo in the country of the Nyawo.

I have heard it said that the country of Somkande is far beyond the uBombo and the amaSwazi. I do not know what people he belonged to.

It is said that when Dingana's great men were alone they said to one another, 'Where are we going? We are being killed by fever (umkuhlane). We are leaving the country of our people, the country of the Zulu.' They said, 'Let us kill him, and go back to our own country.' But some asked, 'Which people (uhlobo luni) will kill

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him?' They said, 'Let the amankengane be decoyed into doing it.⁴³⁶ Let them kill him for us, while we go back. For Mpande is a son of Senzangakona; he will rule us.' They said, 'Wo! Let amaSwazi be fetched.' So men went off to the amaSwazi. The amaSwazi said, 'Are these abaNguni coming to kill us?' The Zulu replied, 'No. We have come to make a plan. The amabuto will be sent off elsewhere. On that day, when they have gone, you must come and stab him, and then go back to your caves (izixotsha). The amabuto will never go into the izixotsha.'

This was told (vicwa) [noted, Bryant, *Dictionary*]⁴³⁷ only to the izinduna; the amabuto did not know of it. They were not told. When the amaSwazi agreed, the order was given to the amabuto, 'Go out from this place. Go to the cattle posts. There is an impi which wants to eat up the cattle of the king.' The cattle posts had been built some distance away; none of them were close by. The amaSwazi were told that the amabuto would go off that day, and that they should come in the night. Indeed they came. They made for the isigodhlo where the king used to sleep. Hau! They surrounded it, and stabbed him, wounding him. He escaped, and ran off into
35 the forest at kwa Hlatikulu. People who did not know that the amaSwazi had been called went running to raise the alarm at the cattle posts. The amabuto came back. When they arrived, not all the amaSwazi had yet gone into the caves (imihume). The amabuto stabbed them, and drove them off. They ran off; they were driven away. The amaSwazi called out, 'Why are you killing us, you men of the place of Sikiti,⁴³⁸ you abaNguni? For were we not invited (ukubita) by you?⁴³⁹ Have we not gone to kill your king for you, he who has caused you trouble, so that you can go back to your country?' The amabuto said, 'Hau! What are the amankengane saying?' They went back, but they could not find where the king had been stabbed. They looked for him and found him. They found him sitting up; he was not lying on the ground. He said, 'O! The amankengane have wounded me here,' and he showed them the wound. 'Go and fetch my medicines (ubuhlungu),⁴⁴⁰ and give them to me to drink.' The izinduna went to fetch the medicines from his place. They washed a small pot, poured water in, stirred it, and gave it to him. No sooner had he swallowed it than he began to sweat copiously, and his whole body turned black. In
36 a very short while he died. People were killed for the umgando ceremony, together with black cattle for burying him.

The Zulu people then went back in a body to the Zulu country. They left Godide ka Ndhlela, saying that he should represent the people who had buried Dingana, for he was the heir of his father (the heir of Ndhlela, Dingana's chief induna). The people then went back to Mpande.

That is how it always was, as at Maqongqo and at Ndongakusuka, and among the abatshokobezi in the time of Cetshwayo and of Malimade.⁴⁴¹ A single umuzi was formed (like the one that is produced by a father), then it became divided in two (klayeka), with some going to the side of Mpande and others to the side of Dingane. And at Ndongakusuka one person would join the iziGqoza and another the uSutu, even though they were of one father. And in the time of Malimade, one person would become an imbuka and another an umtshokobezi, even though they were of one father.⁴⁴²

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File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 21-2.

- 21 Questions (to ask Socwatsha).
 Who was Sitimela's father? Was it Somveli? *Vide* nbk. 49, p. 6. [Yes, ka Dingiswayo. Ndukwana says so.]⁴⁴³
 Genealogical tree of Ngcobo and Nyuswa tribes. Ngongoma.
 Explanations of proverbs
 Explanations of Cetshwayo's and Dinuzulu's eulogies
 Life of Dinuzulu
 Life of Cetshwayo
 His own ancestors' names [p. 23].⁴⁴⁴
 Who are the cleverest men he ever met?
 Ancient expressions in his own tribe - illustrations of the Lala dialect.
 Who arrived first, the Lalas or abeNguni? (Cannot say.) Where did the Lalas come from? (Cannot say.) As they were furthest south they must have arrived first. But why did they not go following the game like abeNguni?
Mpondo za mtini. Explain 'Ukwanyisa kwemitini', lapa ku mpondo za nkomo.
 I do not know the expression *mpondo za mtini*.⁴⁴⁵
The smelting (ukufutwa) of iron; the making of assegais, etc.
 Magolwana's father and *praises*. Account of his life.⁴⁴⁶
 Coming of Sitimela to claim chieftainship.
 Disposition of the various tribes in Zululand at the time of Tshaka's anabasis.
- 22 Give praises of Nandi (don't know), Mpikase (don't know), Songiya (don't know), Ngqumbazi (don't know), Nomvimbi (don't know), Nomantshali (don't know), Mnkabayi (don't know).⁴⁴⁷
*Ntombazi's hut - description of*⁴⁴⁸
*Umdhlebe tree - describe.*⁴⁴⁹
*Ukutwebula of the amanHlwenga*⁴⁵⁰
 Matshongwe, *who had his eyes taken out by Tshaka.*
*The praises of unhloyile*⁴⁵¹
The famine of Madhlatule, of Magonondo, the drought (or iqina) of Mbete.
 How many famines were there? (*The Umdweshu famine, when the Ngobamakosi were born.* This famine occurred in Natal; Zulus may have name of their own.)
*Isihlengela. Isihlenga.*⁴⁵²
The smelting and manufacturing of iron
Riddles (imfumbe)
 Taboo in different tribes. Ngcobo. Bomvu. Then as to eating.
 Can all Zululand tribes be divided into amaLala, abeNguni, and amaNtungwa?
 Are there any customs which distinguish Lalas from Ngunis and Ntungwas?
 State positions of the tribes of Zululand at time of Zulu war, and their chiefs at that time, and their chiefs now.
 What do you know about *inkata yezwe*?⁴⁵³
 Had regiments any mascot, or thing carried by them, apart from dress or badge?

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*He looked at the isigonogono of the dog, etc.*⁴⁵⁴

Smellings-out, what took place?

*Labyrinth? - ingunji, uSogekle.*⁴⁵⁵ *We did it with spit. 'He! They bested him!*

He got caught in a maze (wa puk' engunjini or wa puka ku Sogekle). He walked with a stick; he walked and walked until he found his way in. When he was inside the hut - there were perhaps two or three huts: a large maze would have three or four - he was told, 'Take these dishes to that hut.' (It was pointed out). It was in the maze; he would have great difficulty in finding his way to it.

*Were not Sirayo, Tondolozu and Mafongosi killed off simultaneously?*⁴⁵⁶

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File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 22-38.

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*'UMnyaiza-ndimi. [Dunjwa and another said ulimi.]*⁴⁵⁷ *UNgwadhla zi bomvu, ne mitando.*⁴⁵⁸

Many are praised by this. Muntompofu ka Manqondo so bong'a'd, and others.

*Umnyaiza - assegai.*⁴⁵⁹

*Ungwadhla - isijula.*⁴⁶⁰

*Imitando - tendon (umlala) for binding assegais.*⁴⁶¹

*Nyaliza ulimi - an assegai which is like the tongue of a snake. [See Bryant, Dictionary, under uDimi.]*⁴⁶²

Mpengula was chief of the Mangwazana, at the uBombo, at kwa Vuma.

'Mpengula-jozi,

*The swallow which smears itself with mud.*⁴⁶³

'You were refused by Ndhlela!

You were refused, heyi!

Ha-a-o-o.'

or

'You were refused by the Zulu people,

Wo, wo, wo.'

*A song of Dingana's.*⁴⁶⁴

23 Socwatsha's own ancestors: Socwatsha ka Papu ka Zikayana ka Mavela ka Matshiza ka Ndaba ka Maramba ka Gasela ka Nombika ka Ngongoma ka Ngcobo.

Papu was of uBadane regiment. Badane was name of Tshaka's kraal. *It was built at the iMamba (river, enters Tugela near oSungulweni). The induna of Badane kraal was Sirayo ka Mapoloba.*

My father's regiment was followed in age by the uPongolo regiment, a regiment (ibuto) of Mafongosi ka Bovungana, the chief of the Ngongoma people. Socwatsha cannot think of name of his father's regiment before his tribe, Ngongoma, was defeated by Tshaka; he remembers only that the Pongolo regiment came immediately after it.

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[As Papu's eldest son, Sifile, was of the Ndabakawombe or Kokoti regiment, as he married late, and as Socwatsha is his last son (born same day as Nomanzi, the youngest daughter, by another wife), and as Socwatsha himself was born about 1852 and so now 69 or 70 years of age, it would appear as if Papu was about same age as Tshaka and Dingana, or, as Socwatsha himself fancies, Papu was same age as Mbelebele and Ntontela regiments, which were slightly older than the amaWombe, i.e. Tshaka's regiment.⁴⁶⁵ Papu lived to a great age, until he *walked stooped over*. Ndabakawombe was Mpande's first regiment, and *buta'd* say about 1842, then, say, 18 years of age, which gives 1824 or 1825 as date of his birth.⁴⁶⁶ Papu, therefore, must be as old or older than Tshaka if, although marrying late, he had an Ndabakwombe for his son. Papu was one of Tshaka's Badane (Badaneni) regiment, and this does not
24 seem to be connected with Tshaka's other regiments, possibly because one of the very early ones, before Tshaka had properly organized his military system.]

... < Praises of Ndabuko kaMpande omitted – eds.>

Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele of the Nyuswa people, of the Ngcobo people, was of the Noqiki, a regiment of Mapoloba.

In former times (kuqala) there were no amabuto; people were named after their umuzi, the ikanda of their people.

*Tshaka's attack on the Ngongoma people, of the Ngcobo people.⁴⁶⁷
Mafongosi ka Bovungana.*

*Mafongosi ka Bovungana of the Ngongoma people ruled independently (wa zi pata), like other chiefs of the peoples (izinhlobo) in the Zulu country. Tshaka began by killing off the chiefs. He took them one by one; he did not mix them all together. He would come and kill a chief, eat up his cattle, and take (panga) his people, those who had not been killed. They would konza to him, and join his impi. He would kill another chief, and then send the people whom he had taken to make war. It was Mafongosi's turn. The Ngongoma people had konza'd to Tshaka with their mouths. Tshaka would send envoys, who would have cattle slaughtered for them, and would then return with the news sent to Tshaka by Mafongosi; they would return with his
25 words. Mafongosi would also send his own envoys with his words.*

Tshaka knew that the Ngongoma people were fierce, for they had fought with the people of Tondolozu ka Tayi and defeated them. Then they fought against the people of Dube ka Bebe of the amaQadi people, and defeated them. Then they fought with the amaCube - people who were their neighbours - and defeated them. People whom they never fought against were the Nyuswa of Sirayo ka Mapoloba. They fought with the amaNsomi people and defeated them. They fought with the Embo people, the people of Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo ka Gubela ka Sibiside, 'Sibiside, the isibi which blinded (pandhla) the abaNguni; the abaNguni grumbled, saying "Vunga! Vunga! Vunga!"' (Isibi, which hurts a person's eye. To pandhla is to zungeza [but Bryant has xopa as meaning of pandhla].)⁴⁶⁸

Tshaka saw this and said, 'I cannot make war on this man Mafongosi with a weak force (impi yo bala). This iLala could finish off my people. His people are

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fierce; it is as if he is not an iLala. Then he told envoys to go off; he told them to go armed, for in former times people would travel armed with shield (isihlangu) and assegais. Even a man who went to visit a relative (isihlobo) would go armed. The envoys arrived. Then, before they returned, others arrived. Then more arrived, and
26 *still more. The whole Ngongoma country was full of the envoys. People asked, 'Why are there so many?' For the first ones sent by the inkosi had not yet returned home. The senior men said, when talking together, 'Hau! It is an impi!'*

In those times the hut (unyangwe) where shields were stored was built near the door of the main hut at the upper end, at the fence of the cattle enclosure, inside. It was built like a storage hut (inqolobane) for maize, like the temporary shelters (amaxiba) built when birds are being scared off. But the uprights (izinsika) were tall. The hut was placed on top, with cross-poles being put in, and a platform (ubamba) being made. When the hut had been built, it was thatched with grass so that the shields of the inkosi should not get wet.

The envoys kept pushing forward until they had surrounded the storage hut. Some went in to the inkosi and spoke with him. It was these who were going to stab the chief. Indeed they attacked him and stabbed him. One of them came out of the hut and shouted, 'Stab them; we have stabbed their chief.' The men of the place, those who had built in the umuzi of the inkosi, saw that war had come to their umuzi! If they had been armed there would have been a fierce fight. For in those times many people lived in the umuzi of the inkosi, mature men, men who had
27 *married, with their wives and their old men and their young men. In those days no small imizi were built, only large ones. People did this so an impi would not take them by surprise when they were few in number, and overcome them. When Mafongosi was killed, the alarm was raised, 'To the attack! (Ingene!). To arms! They have killed the inkosi; the inkosi is dead.' But the impi did not take courage; its knees were weak. 'Which chief are we fighting for? For they have killed the chief.' In addition, the impi was preventing the men of the place, those who lived with the chief, from getting to their shields. Messengers went off to tell the whole country of the Ngongoma all that had happened; they reported that the inkosi was dead. People carried the news further; it was carried to all the districts (izigodi), all the valleys of his country.*

After the inkosi had been killed, messengers from the Zulu country went off to tell the impi which was following that it should make haste as the inkosi of the Ngongoma people had been killed. This report reached the impi the same day; the messengers met up with it. It ate up the cattle, and when the great warriors of
28 *Mafongosi fought they threw themselves recklessly at the Zulu, crying, 'Let us die with our inkosi.' The Zulu stabbed them, and destroyed them, together with the women. Those who escaped did so only by hiding. For when Tshaka made war on a chief and killed him, he would kill his people too. Tshaka's impi did not return. They cut down trees and built shelters. They pursued those who had escaped death; they did this until the moon had died, for they wanted to kill everyone; they wanted iziqu.⁴⁶⁹ When one of Tshaka's warriors became tired of killing, he would seize people and make them his own people, women, men and boys. If he encountered men of his own side who had not yet killed, he might proceed to stab them. He*

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would say, 'You are stabbing the people whom I have seized for myself, you cowards!' He was cursing the men from his own place, from the Zulu country, for they had not yet killed, and he was taking the people for himself. In speaking like this he was aiming to protect these people. They stabbed him as well, and he died with his people. Another man would simply stab these people. But another man, one
29 who was well known, or of substance (*qata*), would escape, together with the people whom he had seized. The attackers would leave them, for they feared that he would report them to the king and the king would kill them.

When the moon was dead, after three or four weeks, they would eat up the cattle, every one of them. They would carry off the hoes, and uncover the sorghum pits and carry off the grain, eating as they went. From the large grain pits, which were full of food, they would scoop out some grain and carry it, so that they could eat on the way. They would shit (*nyela*) on the grain which had remained in the pit and which they had been unable to take because their loads were too heavy.

Then one of Tshaka's *izinduna* called out to those of our people, the *Ngongoma*, who had escaped. He saw that the country had been completely devastated (*kotoza*). There was nothing left, not a beast, not a goat, not even anyone who had tried to hide. Only here and there was anyone left. The *induna* called out, 'He says that you are to come out of the forests. Come out from your hiding-places. Go back to your homes; you can eat *imbuya* weeds.' For he knew there was nothing left, and that people would have to eat *imfino*.⁴⁷⁰ The people heard this. They said, 'Wo! They have called to us. The *induna* said that we should eat *imbuya* weeds.' The *induna*
30 then told the *impi* from his place that no more people should be killed. So the people who had been hiding came back, and were given protection (*tola*). They were told to go to the Zulu country, those who had not been stabbed, our fathers, and that they should *konza*.

But they did not like *konzaing* in the Zulu country. They said that when the Zulu people spoke to them they would say, 'Where is this thing from?' Others would say, 'This is a worthless thing (*inkengana*).' Another would say, 'These are *amaLala* from the *Ngcobo* country.' Our fathers said to one another, 'Let us make our escape. Let us take the children of our chief and go and *konza* to Dube, who is of our people, the *Ngcobo*.' He had not yet been killed by the king, and still ruled according to the old ways.

After Tshaka had sent out his *impi* to go and kill *Mafongosi*, he sent it out against *Sirayo ka Mapoloba*, close by. It killed him, like *Mafongosi*. He sent it out again, this time against *Tondolozu ka Tayi*; he too was killed, like *Mafongosi* and *Sirayo*. The people went off to Dube; the *impi* had now killed three chiefs. It was the people of the chiefs, their *izizwe*, who went off, those who had escaped from the fighting, some of them with wounds. At that time Dube lived at *eGqalabeni*, at the
31 *Nsuze*. He said, 'For my part, I do not want the *amaqiyana*;⁴⁷¹ they will bring war onto me. I have *konza*'d in the Zulu country. Because you resisted, your *izizwe* were overcome. I do not want you to come here to me; you will bring me trouble (*umkoka*).'⁴⁷² [Cf. *izinkomo zamarole*.]⁴⁷³

... <Praises of Dube omitted – eds.>

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The men of those three chiefs spoke in private among themselves, three of them, where they had encamped in temporary shelters. The men alone went forward to speak to Dube, 'the striped one';⁴⁷⁴ the others stayed behind at the encampment. The three of them said, 'Wo! See now, Ngcobo people, we can no longer konza in the Zulu country. They will always point us out, saying, "Where is this thing from?" Let us go and konza to Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe. While we were still living comfortably (busa), before we were destroyed by the Zulu, we heard that Tshaka
32 *said, "You, Zihlandhlo, you are my umnawe. You may have your own isigodhlo. None of the amaLala will ever be allowed to have an isigodhlo. I am appointing you as my umnawe; you are my brother."'* Then the emaLangeni people said, 'No, for our part we shall not go to the eMbo country; we shall go to Nzombane, the chief of the emaBomvini, of the Ngubane.' The Nyuswa people and the Ngongoma people said, 'No, for our part we shall go to Zihlandhlo, at eSimahleni' (the name of his umuzi). They separated there in Dube's country. The imizi of Tondolozu said that it was going to the emaBomvini; it went off. The imizi of the Nyuswa and of the Ngongoma came to Zihlandhlo and were given protection.

Zihlandhlo asked for the sons of the chiefs who had died. They showed him the two imihlati.⁴⁷⁵ He said, as he looked at them, 'Tell me which ones are the chief sons, those who will inherit.' They pointed out Dubuyana ka Sirayo; among the people of Mafongosi they pointed out Sipandhla, the father of Mbozane. (Dubuyana was the father of Deliweyo.) He then allocated them to his various imizi. He placed them among all his imizi, so that those who were sons of chiefs were not all in one umuzi. He then picked out cattle, so that they should eat; he took care of them. He
33 *said, 'See now, I want to bring these sons of chiefs under my protection, for they are of the Ngcobo people; they are my abakwenyana,⁴⁷⁶ our sisters married Mapoloba, the father of Sirayo.'* He went on, 'When Tshaka attacks other peoples (ezizweni), he calls up the abaMbo to be his impi, to go and fight for him. The cattle which are eaten up by the abaMbo are given over (etula) to the Zulu. Tshaka looks at them carefully, then he divides them up; he fills up an isigodi with them.⁴⁷⁷ He says, "There are yours, Zihlandhlo. It is you who must divide them up among your warriors. For it is you who know them; I do not know them; it is you whom I know."' Zihlandhlo continued, 'When Tshaka orders me to arm, when the abaMbo are arming, Dubuyana and Sipandhla will not be called up, even if their age-grade is arming, for they are izintandane.⁴⁷⁸ I do not want to put izintandane in danger. They have come here with many men; these men will fight for me.'

So they built; they settled; they established themselves (busa) in the Embo country. To tell the truth, all the chiefs who were destroyed by Tshaka went to konza in the Embo country, to Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe. I too know the Embo people well, for they gave protection to our fathers and to the chiefs of our people; they danced
34 *(sina) together. After the house of the Embo people had been killed off, after it had been destroyed by Dingana, and after Dingana had fought with the Boers, a way of crossing the Tugela was opened up. In Tshaka's time the whole country was his as far as the Mzimkulu. There was no one who could escape by crossing the Tukela, for the whole country was his. A way through, so that a person could cross the*

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Tukela and draw breath, was 'pierced' (boboka) when Mpande crossed over and came to the Boers.

*When the umuzi of our people, the people of Tondolozu ka Tayi, went to the emaBomvini, they were told that they were being given protection, but they were being deceived. The amaBomvu rose up and stabbed them, and wiped out (buqa) the men. So the people of Tondolozu - for there were still his sisters and his brothers, the children of Tayi and of Tondolozu - the men who had escaped from the emaBomvini, said, 'Wo! Let us escape with the children of Tayi and go to eNsikeni,⁴⁷⁹ to Macingwane, the chief of the Cunu, to his umuzi, eNgonyameni.' So
35 *this is what they did. When they were near the iSinyambuzi, a ridge which runs from Ntunjambili,⁴⁸⁰ the weather changed and snow fell. The cold struck down the people of Tayi and finished them off. Only the imfiti were left (people who were not his).⁴⁸¹ The men of the section which stayed behind, who were called the isizinda, the foremost section of the main house (inhloko ya ondhlalifa), together with the people of the ikohlo section, and those of the inqadi section, and their wives, were destroyed.⁴⁸² People talked of 'the ridge of the people of Tayi'. Tshaka came to be bongwa'd with this saying (isiga), when people said,**

*The one who cut across the bones of the people of Tayi,
Who were overcome with cold when going to Macingwane at eNgonyameni.⁴⁸³*

It is said that Tshaka came to kwa Mambululu, where a leopard was caught in an umwovane trap.⁴⁸⁴ The uMambululu is a stream which flows from the eSinyambuzi to join the Tukela. (Umwovane - lion, leopard, and monkey trap.) At the Mambululu the country was that of the Osiyana people; the chief of the place was Mvakela ka Kumalo ka Manjanja ka Mzingeli ka Zukula. They also are of the house of the Ngcobo. 'Camana, Cube!' - this shows they are in some way connected with Cubes. 'Camana, Cube' is Osiyana praise-name (isibongo).

You people are ongoti, ompeta; you go in the water like fish - refers to white people.⁴⁸⁵

36 *Gala tells Tshaka to put a stone in his stomach.⁴⁸⁶*

When Nandi died, Tshaka ordered that there should be no cultivating. If he saw the flower of a maize plant, he would destroy those imizi. He ordered that cows should not be milked; calves should suck from their mothers. If a woman was seen to be pregnant, after the order had been given that people should not have children, and that women should not go into the huts with their husbands.⁴⁸⁷ He ordered that no grain for izinkobe should be ground, nor isijingi, nor should grain be ground for beer.⁴⁸⁸ Neither men nor women should shave the head; the izihluthu of the men grew as long as those of youths who had not put on the headring.⁴⁸⁹ Headrings slipped onto the face, onto the eyebrows, including that of Shaka himself.

Then Gala ka Nodade ka Mgutshwa ka Muntsha ka Ndaba came forward; he came from his umuzi, ekuDinekeni (when a person becomes tired of another).⁴⁹⁰ He went to Tshaka's home, to his umuzi, kwaBulawayo. When he came to the gate he

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called out the praises of the Zulu chiefs, Senzangakona and Jama, then those of Tshaka. He went up the umuzi, calling out the praises of Tshaka. He came up to where Tshaka's hut was in the isigodhlo; he was at the fence of the isigodhlo. When he had finished bongaing, he spoke up, saying, 'Hau! Nkosi! You are destroying your land! What will you rule over? Why are you destroying the uhlanga? When Senzangakona died, nothing like this was done. When your grandfather Jama died, 37 this was not done. You are destroying the land! Your land will be built on by other chiefs, for it will be destroyed by hunger. There is no more cultivating; there is no more milking of the cows. They will be taken by those chiefs who are cultivating. Nkosi, you have died because of your mother. Put a stone in your stomach. Let the umuzi of the Zulu not start dying out!'

Tshaka said, 'Ngomane!' (of the kwa Caya people); 'Mdhlaka!' (of the emGazini); 'Mpangazita' (ka Mncumbata, of the emaNcwangeni); 'Mbopa! Hear this man, this son of my grandfathers. What sort of men are you? Have you ever told me to put a stone in my stomach?' (This meant that he should stop crying, that he should leave off mourning for the person who had died, that he hold back his crying, and not continually think of the person who had died.) He said, 'Mbopa! Take the razor and shave my head, and sew on my headring.' He told others of his izinceku to take two oxen and give them to Gala; they were to drive them for him, and take him to his home, where he was to slaughter and eat, 'for he has spoken a great word that has given me courage, by telling me that I must put a stone in my stomach. For your part, Gala, when you come to your home you must put on the headring, and tell your people to do the same.'

A man who was at Gala's home, Magudwini ka Nala, was sitting with numbers of other men, with Nkukula ka Mgutshwa. They were sitting in the shade. They saw him approaching. He said, 'We! Magudwini. Take a razor and sew on a headring for me.' All the men were astonished. They said, 'Hau! What are you 38 saying?' Hayi! Magudwini simply stood there. Gala said again, 'Magudwini, why are you standing there? Did you not hear me say go and fetch a razor and sew on a headring for me?' So Magudwini went off to fetch a razor. The men said, 'So Gala is coming from Bulawayo? He told us, "I have had enough, for the king is destroying me. I speak of the order with which he is destroying his country: the order that there should be no cultivating, and no milking, and that no children are to be conceived."' Then Magudwini came up with the razor and water. The izinceku who were driving the cattle also arrived, together with his mat-bearers. Magudwini proceeded to shave him and sew on his headring. Magudwini was the man who sewed on headrings. He began with Gala, and when he had finished he then sewed on headrings for Nkukula and the others. The order to sew on headrings was given throughout the country.

I heard this story from Magudwini, the one who did the sewing-on. Gala lived at the eSilambo, which flows into the Tukela from Esiweni sa Manqe.⁴⁹¹ Gala was the father of Mpezeni, who was the father of Mhlakaza (man I know, of Indhluyengwe, still living).

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File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 39-42.

- 39 *The sons of Nkungu ka Mepo ka Ngwane ka Lamula ka Ngwabini ka Bengu ka Dhlabazane ka Lusibalukulu ka Songololo (Ntshongololo) [see note on this name, really only an isibongo, on p. 42].⁴⁹² (Left-handed son not allow to reign.)⁴⁹³*
- The heir was Ndhlokolo ka Nkungu. Hlangabeza, who was a son of Nkungu, was not in line for the chiefship. After they had grown up and after the death of their father, who was killed by Dingana, Faku ka Mepo, who ruled for them when they were children, and who was uyisekazi,⁴⁹⁴ came together with Mayeza ka Mqweleba and Cinwa and Jali, sons of the previous chief. Mambedu ka Mepo, and others of the chief's house (amadod' oku zalwa), said, 'We of the Mepo people say, "Here is the chief of us amaNgcolosi peple; it is Ndhlokolo."' The previously mentioned men, Faku, Mayeza, Cinwa and Jali, objected to this. They said, 'For our part, we shall not be ruled by a left-handed person (inxele). An inxele becomes an itshinga, and spoils the umuzi.⁴⁹⁵ We do not want a chief who holds a shield with his right hand, when all the rest of us hold it with our left.' These men objected strongly. That is what happened, before the sons of the chief had begun to rule, when Faku was still ruling, when all the amaNgcolosi lived at the uMngeni, below the iNtshangwe.⁴⁹⁶*
- Then Faku, who was ruling, went off to the Tukela, at Ntunjambili, to the Manzalati (which flows into the Tukela). He went off with all Nkungu's inheritance (ifa) of cattle, together with Hlangabeza, whom he wanted as chief, together with*
- 40 *that part of the people (isizwe) which favoured Hlangabeza. The rest of the isizwe, the part which favoured Ndhlokolo, remained with him at the Mngeni. But many went off with Faku to the Tukela. A dispute (umbango) grew up. It was reported to Somsewu. Somsewu held an examination into the case. All the people were present, those from the Mngeni and those from the Tugela. Somsewu heard the story which I have told. He then appointed Ndhlokolo as chief. He said, 'Though he is an inxele, he is your chief through the appointment of the mothers (ngoku bekwa kwa onina).' Faku was told to give up the cattle; Nkungu's inheritance was to go to Ndhlokolo. They were disputing over the umuzi of Nkungu, the ikanda of eSinyameni. They were disputing over the isiNyama. The cattle came back; they came back to Ndhlokolo, the left-handed one. I saw those cattle myself when I was living at oZwatini, at our place in the Nyuswa country. This was before the Langalibalele matter; I was still herding then; I was herding amatole; I was the chief ingqwele.⁴⁹⁷ The cattle flattened the grass as they came by; they went to Ndhlokolo at the Mngeni.*
- The great umuzi of Nkungu was esiNyameni, the place of Ndhlokolo's people. Hlangabeza was lobola'd with cattle from the place of Faku's people. For when Nkungu came to Faku's umuzi he would sleep in the ilawu.⁴⁹⁸ Then the chief said,*
- 41 *'Wo! No, my people. Let cattle be taken and let him take a wife here at home. Let him have his own hut, so that if night overtakes him he should sleep in it and not have to sleep in the ilawu.' So that wife was lobola'd with cattle from Faku's place. This woman was the mother of Hlangabeza. Hlangabeza lost the case through this. Somsewu said, 'If you had been a girl, your cattle would have been taken by Faku,*

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in place of the cattle of his umuzi which had been used to lobola your mother. You, Faku, you are appointing Hlangabeza because he is your 'heir' (ifa lako), because his mother was lobola'd with cattle of your place, eNgwavuma (the umuzi of Faku's people). Why do you want him to inherit the cattle from eSinyameni, from the place of Ndhlokolo's people? You are not appointing him according to law (ngo mteto); you are appointing him because he is your favourite (ngo kumtanda). I am deciding the case of inheritance against him.'

Hlangabeza then ruled over the people who favoured him and had appointed him. He built an umuzi which he called eMandhleni, because he had built it through his own strength (amandhla), and not by means of Nkungu's inheritance. It does not seem that the case finished him off, for he had a large number of people (isizwe). He returned to live in the original lands (izwe lo ku dabuka) of his people at the eManzalati, at kwa Ntunjambili. The graves of all the Ngcolosi chiefs are there. It is
42 *only his father, Nkungu, who is buried at the eMkumbane, for he was put to death by Dingane, though he had done nothing at all.⁴⁹⁹ But there were rumours (izinsolo) that he was going to run away to the Boers at the Mlazi.*

If it had not been for Somsewu and the English, people would still be ruling according to the customs of former times (ngo kwa sendulo). According to the custom about left-handed people, it would have been Hlangabeza who ruled, for it was said that a left-handed person should not rule.

People said, 'Songololo, we were about to eat you, but became afraid, for we saw so many legs.' [See p. 39.]⁵⁰⁰

All the descendants (uzalo) of Mepo ka Ngwane ka Lamula of the Ngcolosi people went over to Hlangabeza, for they were afraid of being ruled by a left-handed person. Of these descendants, those who were on Ndhlokolo's side were Mambedu (a mature man, a son of the chief) and Zitoya ka Mepo.

[This 'left-hand' disqualification is found operating in Swaziland; see my old large nbk. no. 3, pp. 125, 126.⁵⁰¹ Now, Ngcolosi people are descended from the Swazis, as their ancestors' names show clearly. Hence the disqualification in the above story is probably derived from Swaziland.]

[For continuation by Socwatsha see next - grey - nbk. 3.10.1921.]⁵⁰²

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File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 1-21.

1 Socwatsha continues.

The hut of Ntombazi of the people of Langa.⁵⁰³ [See nbk. dating from 11.5.1916-23.5.1916, p. 70 thereof, for other remarks by Socwatsha re this.]⁵⁰⁴

Her hut was built like any other hut. When Zwide killed another chief, his head was cut off and it was hung up at the back (emsamo) of Ntombazi's hut. He did this to all the chiefs whom he defeated. [Take in here, 3 lines, p. 2.]⁵⁰⁵ It was said that no one went into that hut. A person would no sooner put his head inside than he would break out into a heavy sweat and fall down, for the heads of the chiefs were hanging

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up at the back. As I have heard it, the story became well known (isiga). A person, a child, might be called when it was in a hut, perhaps by its father or his umnewabo.⁵⁰⁶ He would say, 'I have been calling you for a long time, but you have not come. Is it because you were saying that you would never go into the hut, the place of Ntombazi ka Langa, where people never went in? I'll come in there and beat you!' Those who did not know the story would ask, 'Hau! Why did people not go in to the place of Ntombazi?' The others would then tell the story which I have told.

I think that Ntombazi was the sister of Zwide. She may have been the sister of
2 *Langa, for people said she was of the people of Langa (o wa oLanga), Ntombazi wa oLanga. I think her umnewabo was Langa. I judge from this that she was not Zwide's wife but his sister. When people talk about her they say, 'uNtombazi wa oLanga';⁵⁰⁷ they do not say, 'uNtombazi ka Langa, as in the case of Zwide, who is referred to as 'uZwide ka Langa'.*

There are many chiefs called Zwide.

[Go in p. 1.] Zwide had the heads hung up at the back of the hut where the inkata ye mpi was. He was showing that he was superior (qonela); he was 'treading' on them.

The great battle which was fought between Tshaka and Zwide at the Mhlatuze.⁵⁰⁸

Tshaka led Zwide on; he went down the uGcongco at the Nkandhla, crossed the Nsuze, crossed the Tukela, and ascended at Ntunjambili, together with his cattle, womenfolk, children, and impi. Tshaka said, 'I know what Zwide is doing. He is not making war by means of cattle; he is carrying amabele with him. Let me cause him to be in want of amabele. Let the amabele be taken out and burnt in all the country
3 *at the Mhlatuze and the Myuzane and at the Maqonga and at oSungulweni and at the Ntolwane and at the Mamba.' This was done. He continually sent out spies to keep watch, an impana [a little force] of them, so that they could always tell him where the impi was. The impi appeared at the Maqonga; it went down the Ntolwana and came to the Madungela (near the store at the drift at kwa Ndondondwana). It turned back; it was now running out of food. It came back by the Madungela. It then left the Madungela and went up by the Mabalulu, a ridge which runs from ezinSungulweni.*

At this point Tshaka sent out his impi. He sent it out from this side of the Tukela. He said as he sent it out, 'Wo! They are suffering from hunger!' He said to his amabandhla, 'I am sending out the uNomdayana, the uMgumanqa, and the uNteke.' These were the 'greyish' ones (mhlotshana). (He, T., also calls them thus.) There were men who were said to be of the 'white' amabuto, the older ones, the 'greyish' ones, older men who had recently put on the headring. The 'black' ones were the youths (izinsizwa). 'You will come up with them at oSungulweni. You will attack them. If you feel that they are beginning to give way, if they are failing to advance, then hit them hard, and then fall back this way, so that you cause them to delay.

4 *Make as if you are running away from them. Tomorrow I shall bring on the white ones; they will make the attack.' He was referring to the uNtontela, the uMbelebele, the uSiklebe and the uFasimba ('the uNomgomba of the daytime, uGobandwane' - the long grass).⁵⁰⁹*

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Then he ordered up the black ones, the uMbonambi and the iSipezi. He told them to make for Zwide's home, for his impi was absent. 'You will find him alone. Catch him and kill him. When his impi arrives home it will find only ruins; you will have destroyed their homes. You, the umpakati, will have gone in there.'⁵¹⁰ So on the day when the grey ones fought, they did as Tshaka had ordered. The sun went down and they were still fighting.

It was Tshaka himself who said that the white amabuto were the older ones, of the older men, while the ones which had just put on the headring were the grey ones.

The next day the white ones came with Tshaka himself. He had already heard about the fighting which the impi had done the day before; he had heard about it before he slept. There were some - those who were his 'eyes' - who had not fought; 5 he brought them on the next day. The Ndwandwe had come down and were close to the Mhlatuze, at the Mvuzane (which flows into the Mhlatuze). His impi attacked. All the amabuto were there, the white ones and the grey ones (those which had fought the day before). The fight began on this side of the Mhlatuze, at kwa Nomveve, at eBomvaneni (a hill with cliffs). He began by sending forward the grey ones. Before the white ones had begun to fight, he ordered their amakala to fight, their izinhlangothi (the ikala is the same thing as the uhlangothi.)⁵¹¹ The white ones then entered the fight. The Ndwandwe impi gqumuka'd; it retreated. They were exhausted from hunger; they had had nothing to eat. The cunning one (iqili) had destroyed the amabele in advance! His impi drove them into the Mhlatuze and across the other side. The Zulu impi also crossed over. On the other side the Ndwandwe turned round and threw back (gqimula) the Zulu; they drove them into the Mhlatuze and back to this side. The Zulu came back to this side, and all the Ndwandwe crossed over. They fought. The Zulu drove the Ndwandwe back into the 6 Mhlatuze and across to the other side as they had done before. Again the Ndwandwe turned round and drove them back. Zwide's amabandhla, the amaNkayiya and the amaPela, drove them into the Mhlatuze.

That is how the matter rested. The Ndwandwe drove the Zulu back, and the Zulu drove the Ndwandwe back. I cannot say how many onslaughts (iziwombe) there were, for the men who told me the story - Bovu ka Nomabuqabuqa (of Intontela regiment), Makobosi (Intontela), Mzuzu (Fasimba) ka Nkataza, and Xawana (Fasimba) told me this - said they did not know. [Iwombe - to clash and separate, then clash again and separate; each such clashing is iwombe.]⁵¹² The Mhlatuze turned red; the water became red with the blood of men. The men who were killed, those who died in the water, were like an ucaca. [See Bryant.]⁵¹³ On that bank of the river and on this one there were bodies everywhere. Those who were driven back had to climb over piles of bodies, and in both impis, the one which was running away and the one which was driving them back, men were cut by the assegais of the dead. This continued until the sun went down. In the end it was the Zulu who finally drove 7 the enemy back. They stabbed them and drove them off. They ran away, making for their homes. The Zulu stabbed them from behind, following them.

There at the Mhlatuze, when it was all over, when the Ndwandwe no longer came back, Ndhlela ka Sompisi crossed over, and was given these praises, 'The one who crossed over; all the iNtontela crossed over; umwelela kwe li petsheya; the log on which sat the amaNkayiya'.⁵¹⁴

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As for the black amabuto, those which had been ordered to make for Zwide's umuzi, eMfakuceba, at Nongoma, when they came out into the open, heading for the umuzi though still some distance from it, the womenfolk of the place raised a cry, 'Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki!' They thought that the men were of their side; they did not see that it was the Zulu. They cried, 'The amabandhla of Sikova and Langa are returning, those of the clever one who was stabbed, the fools had not yet been stabbed.' They cried, 'Halala! The amabandhla are returning, those of the one who hurried to get to Matshobana's; even his father Langa did not manage to get there.'

8 *For his part Zwide said, 'It is not our people! It is the enemy!' He fled. He fled with his milking cattle.⁵¹⁵ The impi did not catch up with him, even though he made off just before it arrived. It was travelling slowly; it was not hurrying. When Tshaka's impi arrived it ate up the cattle which were left. He had not driven them all off; what would he have done with them? It burnt the imizi; it burnt the great umuzi of eMfakuceba, at Nongoma.*

When the Ndwandwe army which had been defeated by the Zulu at the Mhlatuze neared their home, they saw that the imizi were burning. They said, 'Weu! So the Zulu are here; they are in front of us! We left them at the Mhlatuze, but here they are in front of us!' They did not know that an impi had gone ahead to their home. They thought that they had fought with the whole Zulu force at the Mhlatuze. They had no more strength; they passed on; they took up Zwide's trail and followed their king. Tshaka's men formed up together and waited for the impi which was advancing in pursuit of those whom they had scattered at the Mhlatuze. Then the impi took up the trail to try to catch Zwide. It did not succeed; it managed only to
9 *eat up his cattle. It captured (panga) the children of the king, and the cattle, and the iziboto, those who were unable to run away. It stabbed some of them and took others captive. It aimed especially to capture children and women.*

Somapunga became tired during the flight, and came back to konza in the Zulu country.⁵¹⁶

For my part, I heard in this way that Tshaka had reached Ntunjambili. Then he turned back to fight at the Mhlatuze, while the womenfolk were still at Ntunjambili, in the open country, on the ridge where the people of Tayi had suffered from cold. The cattle of the Zulu crossed over because they had defeated the Ndwandwe. There at Nongoma, after they had defeated the Ndwandwe, they proceeded to build imizi, so that Tshaka could fulatela the country, so that all of it could be his. (Ukufulatela means to take, to take it for himself and throw it behind him, as the English did with Tshaka's country.)⁵¹⁷

10 *If Tshaka had not burnt the food, he would not have defeated them. He fought them at the Mhlatuze when they had had nothing to eat. That the Ndwandwe nevertheless fought at the Mhlatuze was because they were a strong house (indhlu ya mandhla).*

In the Zulu country, matters of former times were not discussed, to prevent blood from being spilt. Only the police (amapoyisa) discussed them, uNkunya. In the Zulu country, a man would live on guard (ezilindile) to prevent his blood from being spilt. For a man who spoke about these things would be killed. It would be asked,

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'Where did you get these matters from?' It was said, 'You will ruin the land with this talking.'

To talalisa is to ziba; it is to avoid asking about a matter. [I.e. hear what one says, but pass it over because not wishing to enter on the subject, because perhaps a thorny one.] Zibezwile - name of man, from ziba and izwa.⁵¹⁸

The country has become ill, it has become 'dark' (mnyama), from this matter of dances (ukusina).⁵¹⁹ Fighting done at all marriages (udwendwe)⁵²⁰ - assegais secreted. People tending now to refrain from going, afraid of being involved in a 'case'.

- 11 Tribes of Zululand. Disposition of when first Tshaka came to throne. (List incomplete.)
 Mtetwa. *Lived at the Mfolozi rivers. Dingiswayo ka Jobe.*
 Mpukunyoni. *Lived at the Mfolozi rivers. Veyana, father of Mayanda, father of Somkele.*
 Dube. *Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo. They lived on this side of the Mhlatuze, at oHlangeni. The beds of reeds (umhlanga) there were large; it was buffalo country. Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo were chiefs, the first in Tshaka's time.*
 Ntungeyezana ka Habana ka Nzwakele. *They lived between Mhlatuze and Mlalazi.*
 Qwabe. *Pakatwayo. Adjoining Dube on Mhlatuze and going up the river. At the source of the Mlalazi, the country of the Qwabe. At Enkanini (Yamela) there is a spring called the spring of Kondhlo.⁵²¹ Extended over Tukela; cf. Nqeto.⁵²² Took in Ngoye. Inwaku - Kondhlo was buried there; 'I swear by Kondhlo at the Nwaku'. Lufuta, Mncinci are buried near Matigulu, all near Nwaku. Entumeni was occupied by amaMbedu (of the Qwabe people). They went as far as eMatibomvswana, and extending to where this enters Matigulu.*
 Nyuswa. *Mapoloba, chief, ka Mbele. Isiwa sa manqe is inside; all the Impapala, the uSungulo, and the Mamba and maDidima stream, occupied by this tribe, and Masundwaneni stream, enters Tukela; Imamba enters Tugela. Madungela fell in this tribe's land, also Mabengela. Ndondondwana drift fell in Nyuswa tribe.*
 amaQadi. *Chief Dube ka Silwane; chief kraal, eBaNtungweni; built this at eNgabane (bush country), going towards the Tukela, where the Mamba goes towards the Tukela. To the west of Mabengela and Madungela, looking towards the Nsuze (they reached as far as the Nsuze); Dube's land was opposite Ndondondwana. To the east of Mabengela and Madungela was Mapoloba,⁵²³ on this side of the Mamba, and on the other side.*
- 12 Ngongoma. *Chief Bovungana ka Mavela; chief kraal eMdunyeneni, 'umdumo who eats the hides' (isibongo of the umuzi). Mpatesita (Magwaza) and Mjadu ka Sigananda (Cube) now occupy his land. We lived all about iNkunzana, and stretched to Halambu and up to the Mome gorge. We always lived on this side of the Nsuze. There is a hill called uNomtulwa; the river is to the west of Nomtulwa, at Ezimbabaleni, or the river of the mbabala.⁵²⁴ Today it is the boundary of the land of Mjadu and Mlokotwa.⁵²⁵ The iTulwane (stream) was our boundary. On far or upper side of that stream was amaNsomi tribe, the*

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emaNsomeni. The chief of the place was Moyeni ka Kude ka Nomdayi ka Sindila.

Nsomi. Chief Moyeni or Kude ka Nomdayi ka Sindila at time of Tshaka's anabasis. Chief kraal — <sic>; a small tribe, lived near Nomtulwa hill, and iSimakade hill.

abaMbo. Macala hill was in their land and belonged to Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe.

Abutted on Tukela. *Gubela was buried above the Nsuze, to the east of Macala. Kabazele was also buried at the Macala. Gcwabe was buried there, at the old sites of eSimahleni. Over there their country went as far as Qudeni, where it met that of the amaCunu. Chief Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo ka Gubela. Chief kraal esiMahleni. Our fathers used to konza there. Hence this tribe is well known to us. Manyane stream runs through Embo land, and enters Tukela; eHlwane stream runs through Embo land. In front of the Hlwane is Kotongweni hill; in front of the Kotongo is the iMfongosi - enters Tugela. I think the Mfongosi was boundary between Embo and Cunu tribes, although in those days kraals of one chief intermingled with those of another - no hard and fast boundaries. The amaSolosolo stream (enters Nzuze) was inside the Embo country.*

- 13 Cunu. Chief Macingwane ka Jama ka Luboko ka Nyanda, chief kraal eNgonyameni, don't know where. Their land stretched to eTalen and on across Mhlatusze. They occupied the Qude mountain. They also occupied land later lived on by Mbuzo ka Mngeni ka Menyelwa, *of the Ntuli people, at kwa Ngono (the ingono of the pumpkin).*⁵²⁶

Bomvu. Chief Nzombane ka Matomela ka Ndhlovu ka Nomafu ka Nongcukumana - chief kraal, don't know. Rivers, uMzinyati - don't know small streams. *They lived at eQudeni, to the west, bordering on amaCunu country. The boundary was not the Mzinyati; it was the Tukela.*

Butelezi. Chief Pungatshe ka —, chief kraal —. There was no *chief son of Pungatshe* left.

Mbata. *They dabuka'd at eNhlazatshe. Chief Mbudhlele ka —, chief kraal —.*

Mbadu was his son, may have been his, Mbudhlele's, chief son. *Then Diyikana ka Hlakanyana came to prominence (qama), and Manyosi ka Dhlekezele. They did so by means of the war shield (isihlangu), through fighting. The line of Mbadu and his chief son Somizi came to an end (cima).*

*The millet (upoko) which was sent to Somsewu from Cetshwayo.*⁵²⁷

- 14 *Sintwangu ka Ntenjane, of the Cele people, of the iTshitshi regiment, was an envoy of Cetshwayo's. He was sent to Mgungundhlovu by Cetshwayo,⁵²⁸ together with another man, Nkomesiswebu of the Xaba people. He went with Sidindi ka Mnqunela of the Xulu people, a mature man, and another mature man, Mpepa ka Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo of the Mdhlalose people. They were always sent. After a while, when a quarrel was growing between the white people and Cetshwayo, they arrived carrying a bag of millet. They said to Somsewu, 'Wo! We have been sent by the inkosi, Cetshwayo. He says here is a bag of millet. Let the number of grains be counted. We Zulu people are as numerous!' Somsewu replied, 'Yebo! Is this what*

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Cetshwayo says to me? O, now here is the hide of a beast. Let him count the number of hairs on it.' He said, 'For our part, we English are as numerous as the hairs of the beast. That is all I have to say. I think that the son of Mpande has become drunk from ruling (udakwe umbuso).' That is the end.

Some time after the affair of the millet, envoys were sent to Cetshwayo. Somsewu and Mr Gallwey went to eHlobane, or eLoyi, or eKambule. A hearing was held on the question of the land of the Zulu. The Boers said that the land at eNgcaka and eDumbe and oBivana and eLoyi was theirs. It was Somsewu who went, together with Mr Gallwey (Mis Galweni). Then the chiefs of the Boers came to open a case at Mgungundhlovu, with the Government. Izinduna and other men from the Zulu
15 *country also came. Then Somsewu said, 'You Boers say the land was given to you by Mpande. Now show your paper, signed by Mpande. For you are disputing with Cetshwayo; Mpande, who gave you the land, is dead. Show the book in which you wrote this. Let us also see the oxen with which you gave thanks to the king.' But the Boers could not show a paper. They said there was no paper, for the agreement had been a spoken one. 'And the oxen with which we gave thanks, they were not written down.' So the judgement of Somsewu and Mis Galweni was the Boers had no case. 'You should have written it down. The land is Cetshwayo's.'*⁵²⁹

*The same day, if I remember right, Somsewu asked Mnyamana, 'Where is Cetshwayo?'*⁵³⁰ *'He is not here; he is at home.' 'Why did he not come?' 'O! He heard that you were coming, and sent me, as his induna, to speak with another induna. He would have come if the Queen had come, another inkosi, one who is as*
16 *great as he. Because she sent her induna, you, Somsewu, Cetshwayo sent his induna, me, Mnyamana, so that the two izinduna should speak.'*

While this matter was being discussed, a gun went off, all together [volley], all those of the amabuto, the uDududu, uMbonambi, uNokenke, iNdhlyengwe, uKandempemvu, iNgobamakosi, uLuve - in all the amabuto those who did not have them went to the side. It went off, and the bullet went to the side [i.e. aimed to one side], but close by. The discussion was being held when it went off; it was heard. Somsewu said, 'What is that, Mnyamana?' Bejane, an inceku, replied, 'It is the boys; the gun went off because of the heat of the sun.' Somsewu became angry. They then packed up and went off; they went back to Mgungundhlovu. Though he went off, Somsewu wrote all the words down.

I heard that during the meeting Bejana ka Nomageje, an inceku of Cetshwayo's, called out to Somsewu, 'Here, white man! (Mina, mlungu!).' I heard it again when
17 *Malimade was discussing this former matter with Siyunguza.*⁵³¹ *Siyunguza said, 'I reproved Bejana. When we arrived at Cetshwayo's, we discussed the matter.'*

*The oath (isifungo) of the Ngongoma is, 'I swear by the inkosi who died when people were nyenyezaing.'*⁵³² *They said this because some were always saying, 'Hau! Are you saying that these are all envoys?'* [See story re Mafongosi ka Bovungana in preceding notebook (crimson), date 2.10.1921.]⁵³³

Tshaka used to like take people unawares (ukuzuma).

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AmaDhlelandongeni [noted in Bryant, *Dictionary*] - a nickname for the Zulus, says Socwatsha, for they are fond of eating by themselves.⁵³⁴

Possibility of litigation between Daviti (David) alias Nyawana, and Solomoni (Solomon) alias Nkayitshane, alias Mapumuzana.⁵³⁵

When Dinuzulu's coffin was brought to Nobamba, it was decided that Mpatshana, Nyawana's eldest sister, should be the first to dig Dinuzulu's grave. She, in the absence of Nyawana, accordingly took a hoe, dug it in twice, and then laid it down, doing this on behalf of her brother Nyawana. The duty really was his as *chief son* 18 (*inkosana*), for he was regarded as such by Mankulumana, Ndabankulu, and Lokotwayo, Dinuzulu's chief *inceku*.⁵³⁶ Miss Colenso was present.⁵³⁷ She took David by the right hand, and Solomon by the left, but the greater number of the Zulu men, including Mnyaiza ka Ndabuko and Mkebeni ka Dabulamanzi, began to murmur at her mistake.⁵³⁸ Solomon produced a paper from his pocket, and gave it to Miss Colenso, who, reading it, said that it was in Dinuzulu's handwriting and that it appointed Solomon his son and heir. This announcement greatly pleased the majority. It was on the same occasion arranged that Solomon should have Mahashini and Usutu kraals, whilst David should have Nobamba. As the Baqulusi of the Vryheid district regarded themselves as belonging to Nobamba, having originally been attached there, they said that by David being given Nobamba it was as if he was being appointed their head, instead of the natural head, Solomon.

Solomon's mother was Mkasilomo. She is dead. It seems that during Dinuzulu's lifetime she was caught committing adultery with Mkebeni. It was Dinuzulu who sent a party to catch them. On the first attempt to catch them, the dogs of the kraal where 19 they both were barked and so warned Mkebeni, who got away. But steps were later taken to feed and shut the dogs up, and when the party sent by Dinuzulu arrived they went to a hut and found Mkebeni and Mkasilomo together in it. Mkebeni got out and ran away. Mkasilomo was caught and brought to Dinuzulu who, getting a pair of pincers, told her to laugh. She did so, when he pulled out all her front teeth (top jaw), as well as had both her ears to be cut right off as a mark whereby it should ever be known that she had committed adultery. She then left and went to live at another kraal. Solomon was born before Dinuzulu sent this woman away, hence he cannot, according to English practice, be charged with any responsibility for what had occurred, and so disinherited.

Nyawana is now contemplating legal proceedings, though Socwatsha does not see how he can succeed, especially as the great majority are on Solomon's side, including Mankulumana, who formerly espoused David's side. At the same time, Socwatsha feels there will be some trouble in the matter, although 8 or 9 years have elapsed 20 since Dinuzulu was buried.

It seems that when the attempt was made to appoint David as heir, Mnyaiza ka Ndabuko, as voicing the feeling of the main body of Zulus, protested, saying Mankulumana wanted to appoint someone favourable to the Ndwandwe house, that Ndabankulu ka Lukwazi favoured his side, and Lokotwayo wanted someone to favour his. David himself was very free in using his sjambok on elderly men when in the Transvaal with his father.

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The Zulus who were with Dinuzulu in the Transvaal got so used to the land that they liked it. Dinuzulu accumulated 60 head of cattle and 180 sheep etc. there. As the Government would not allow the Zulus to have land to live on there, as they wanted to do, on the ground that the tribe must all live in one district, so they moved all the stock down to Solomon, handing same over to him.

Socwatsha says ill-feeling between David (Nyawana) and Solomon is intense now; they are not on visiting terms, and that is why he thinks something may occur between them, either litigation or fighting.

- 21 Mciteki ka Zibebu told Socwatsha, '*We are of the place of Mhlabangubo.*'⁵³⁹ The meaning of this is that Zibebu, in *stabbing* Cetshwayo, was stabbing the blanket or *ingubo* that was covering him.

4.10.1921

File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 21-49.

Socwatsha continues.

[See pencil note (made today) in red notebook, in which general evidence by Mkebeni ka Dabulamanzi and Socwatsha himself is given - p. 5 thereof - re Cetshwayo's Zindhleni and siQwagani kraals.⁵⁴⁰ Now go on thus.]

Close to Cetshwayo's Gingindhlovu kraal was a little one called eMbaneni [lightning],⁵⁴¹ quite small, say ten huts or less, but many *amabele* pits there, where food for Gingindhlovu kraal was put.

Tshaka's kraal uFasimba was built close to Cetshwayo's esiQwagani. The Fasimba *site* is on nice ground, to left of road going towards Nkanini, and near a little hill. The Fasimba regiment *kleza'd there*, i.e. at this kraal. Fasimba - like *mist*, but haze.

- 22 Dinuzulu was *born at eZindhleni*, near siQwagani kraal, close to Dhlinda forest. *The daughter of Msweli was an isizi of that place, eZindhleni.*⁵⁴² *They were of good colour (ibal' elihle) - handsome, good-looking girls; became umdhlunkulu*, i.e. of men who had been killed by the king for some reason, whilst others became *isizi (those who had been pangwa'd)*; boys were also called *isizi; others were made into izigqila.*⁵⁴³ *An isigqila* was attached to an *inkosikazi* or the *inkosi*, doing all the menial work, viz. making fire, sweeping etc.

The daughter of Msweli was isizi of Zindhleni. I do know why Msweli was killed. Msweli was of emaNzimeleni tribe, I fancy - not sure.

*Manzolwandhle said, 'I am the chief son of Cetshwayo, for my mother, Mfumuta ka Qetuka, was an intombi of Cetshwayo's';*⁵⁴⁴ *my mother belonged to oNdini (e ngo wa soNdini). Dinuzulu's mother was an isizi; she was not his intombi. He simply took her by force (poqa) and made her pregnant, for our fathers and our grandfathers did not soma with an intombi; they lingisa'd with a woman.*⁵⁴⁵ *That is how Dinuzulu was born; his mother was isizi (whose father had been killed); she was taken (pangwa) and made an isigqila. She is of Zindhleni. Dinuzulu built his umuzi, oSutu; he built his umuzi, emaHashini. If he had been the chief son of my father, he would have built at oNdini. He was afraid to build at oNdini because he*

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knew it was mine. He knows that his mother became pregnant illegitimately (*u ngo womlandwane*). If he had been the chief son of my father, he would have built at my
23 father's great *umuzi*, *oNdini*. If the daughter of *Seketwayo* had had a son, I would not dispute with him.⁵⁴⁶ If the daughter of *Masipula* had had a son, the son of the daughter of *Seketwayo* would have become the chief son.⁵⁴⁷ If the daughter of *Seketwayo* had not given birth, the son of the daughter of *Masipula ka Mamba* would have become the chief son. Neither of them gave birth. I am therefore the chief son.'

Manzolwandhle took the matter to *Mashiqela* when *Dinuzulu* returned from overseas, after the wars of the *Mandhlakazi* were all over; those which had ended at *kwa Ndumu*.⁵⁴⁸ The matter was discussed at *Eshowe*. *Mashiqela* said, in the absence of *Dinuzulu*, 'Wo! Look, *Manzolwandhle*, I shall not decide this matter. I shall send it on to the Government. I shall tell the Government the serious matter which you have told me, that *Dinuzulu* has held back from discussing the matter with *Manzolwandhle*, and has taken the *umuzi*; he has built there by force. He says that he is fighting with *Zibebu*; does he say that he fighting for you? In the papers of the
24 white people they say it is *Dinuzulu*. It is no longer seen that he was born illegitimately. And the *Zulu* people over whom you are disputing, they are fighting with *Zibebu*; they are the *impi* of *Dinuzulu*. They do not say that they are the *impi* of *Manzolwandhle*.' He said, 'Go now; I shall send letters to the government. But do not hope that the Government will decide. Do not go far; for letters will come back quickly.'

Indeed, soon after he had gone, the letters came back; they came back on the day when it was said they would come. He was told the words of *Mashiqela* combined with those of the Government. *Mashiqela* spoke as I have said, He said, 'Do not dispute with *Dinuzulu*. He took the *umuzi* by force. The Government says that it will build an *umuzi* for you, and give you land, separate from that of *Dinuzulu*. It is giving you a place at *Hlazakazi*, where *Nkukwana ka Susa* of the *Magubane* people used to live. There are men who will live with you, and look after
25 you and support you. They are close to that place, but they have their own places, which border on yours.' He gave him cattle; I do not know whether there were two hundred or one hundred. He appointed *izinduna* for him; they were *Tayiza ka Mbonambi* and *Nkunya ka Gengeda*, who was the *induna* of *Empandhleni*.⁵⁴⁹ He also looked for royal women (*onina*) from *oNdini*, the wives of *Cetshwayo*, and girls. *Mashiqela* also said, 'Do not enter the dispute which I have refused to let you get into. For you must clear up with *Dinuzulu* the matter of the girls; they are his; he fought for them. I am giving you your "mothers". Here are cattle. You must take wives!'

Dinuzulu grew up there at *Ezindhlenhleni*. (I think this kraal was close to *Ondini*, but am not sure). [*Mkebeni* says it was at *Emahlabatini*.]⁵⁵⁰ Something I do not know is which *umuzi* he was in at the time of the war with the English.⁵⁵¹ And when he was growing up, I do not know if he was taken from *Ezindhlenhleni* to *oNdini*.

When *Cetshwayo* was captured at *eNgome*, he said, 'Wo! *Zulu* people, here is my son *Dinuzulu*; when I die, I leave him as my son. I do not know about the sons of

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my father. The sons of my father will kill him. (He was talking of Dabulamanzi, Ndabuko, Siteku, and all the others, and Hamu.) He said, 'Let my child go to Zibebu, who will look after him for me. Let him treat me well; let my child grow up
26 there. I know that he will never kill him, for he is not hoping for my estate (ifa). The sons of my father might kill him, for they are hoping that they will inherit my estate.'

So when Cetshwayo crossed the sea (wela'd), Dinuzulu went to Zibebu. Zibebu built a hut (ilawu) for him. He ate with the people of Zibebu who were of his age-grade, of the Inyonemhlope (Zibebu's regiment), of the age-grade of the Mbokodebomvu. (Zibebu's next regiment to above is Inyonebomvu, of the age-grade of the Felapakati.) Zibebu apportioned cattle to provide him with milk. Dinuzulu stayed at this time at eBanganomo, where his hut (ilawu) was. Then Misjana appointed the eleven chiefs of the Zulu country (I leave out Hlube and Jantoni on purpose; they were on this side of the Mhlatuze).⁵⁵² He said, 'I am appointing you so that you will deliver up the cattle of Cetshwayo which have been hidden away. For you know where they are, at which amakanda they are.' For they were distributed among the imizi. So they ate up the cattle from the people. It was especially Zibebu who was alert to where they were, for he was Cetshwayo's
27 brother. They duly delivered them. But the order of the Government was, 'Eat up the cattle and bring them to me at Mgungundhlovu, all of you,' meaning Jantoni and Hlube as well. Ndabuko became very angry. 'Why, Zibebu, you who are of our house (endhlini kwetu), do you go about and turn out the cattle which were hidden away, and then give them to the white people?' This was the beginning of war, of strife (ingxabango), between Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini ka Tshana, and Ntshingwayo ka Marole, and Hamu ka Mpande, and Seketwayo ka Nhlaka and Somkele ka Mayanda, and Siyunguza ka Silwane, and Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana, and Myandeya ka Mbiya ka Tshangana, and Faku ka Ziningo (Zibebu) and Mtakati of the Mdhlalose people [is in doubt about Mtakati, but his district was very large].⁵⁵³

Murmurs were just beginning when Zibebu sent to his brother, Hayiyana ka Mapita, saying, 'I am fetching the cattle of our place (za kwetu), of our father. For our father took a herd of young cattle (umqeku), chosen from all his imizi, and built the umuzi of your people (wa kwenu), eBatweni (Abatwa); there were a hundred
28 heifers (izitole).' He said, 'Do you not know that it is for the chief son (inkosana) when cattle are chosen from all the imizi? There were a hundred of them; they were young ones; they were all heifers.'

Zibebu quarrelled with Hayiyana in the time of Cetshwayo, before the war of the Zulu had been fought. Hayiyana said that he was Mapita's chief son because Kokoko, Mapita's chief son, had died; he was of the Imboza regiment. Hayiyana lost the dispute; it was said that the chief son was Zibebu. They were disputing all Mapita's estate (ifa); they were disputing who was the chief son. Hayiyana lost the dispute and Zibebu was appointed, when the Zulu were still ruling. So all Mapita's estate passed to Zibebu. After this came the quarrel with the white people, and the war with them.

Zibebu said, 'I also want those other cattle; I want the herd of young ones. Are you the chief son of our father that you should eat up this herd?' When Cetshwayo

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was overseas, Zibebu brought up this matter with Hayiyana again. Hayiyana
29 hurried to go and report it to the sons of the king (abantwana), Ndabuko and the others. They took Hayiyana's side. Hayiyana then left Zibebu and went over to the uSutu in their quarrel, when they were going to fetch Dinuzulu and bring him back to the uSutu, to Ndabuko. They were quarrelling because Zibebu was demanding his cattle from his brother, who then ran off to the children of the king. The children of the king took his side, even though he had lost the case when the Zulu were still ruling. They were being deceitful (xokisa).

I do not know whether, when Dinuzulu returned to oSutu, the sons of Zibebu had yet died. They were asked for by Mmango from Zibebu for the isibalo of going to the diamond fields (eNdayimana).⁵⁵⁴ He asked for men from all the abanumzana. When those men came back from the diamond fields, they came to the place of the people of Mahu ka Tokotoko; he had joined Hayiyana ka Mapita.⁵⁵⁵ They came and killed people. Then a conflict rose, with the uMandhlakai and the uSutu killing one another.

30 Cetshwayo had not yet come back; he was still in England. When the people of Zibebu were killed (those who went out for isibalo at the diamond fields), I am not sure if Dinuzulu was at oSutu or at eBanganomo. I know that they killed those people; I do not know their names. They were killed when they returned from the diamond fields.

The war spread; it was fought at the stronghold of Sigidi (in the place of the Hlabisa and Mdhletshe peoples). Sigidi was a man of the Mandhlakazi who went into a stronghold in broken country when he saw that the men of the uSutu would kill him, those of the Mdhletshe people of Msutshwana ka Mfusi, and those of Mbopa ka Wolizibi. Indeed they went against Sigidi in his stronghold there. The amaNkentshane (an ibuto of Mapita) attacked them and drove them back; they killed Sonile (ka Mbopa), a great man of the region who was an induna. This is
31 where the whole war started. When Cetshwayo went to England, Zibebu and Cetshwayo were united; they were as one person. The affair was caused by Ndabuko, who stirred up the isijingi.⁵⁵⁶ It was he who destroyed the country of the Zulu.

I know that when Zibebu fetched his cattle at Ebatweni (the umuzi of Hayiyana), Dinuzulu was at eBanganomo.

The sons of the Zulu king used to eat together. A great quantity of food was brought to them, and they would eat some of this and some of that. I think Cetshwayo was the first to eat, saying bring me some of this and some of that.

Monase was a girl of Tshaka's (intombi ka Tshaka) - mother of Mbuyazi. Tshonkwani was said by Mpande to be fathered for Dingana, for his mother was a favourite (isiklebe) of Dingana's, while the mother of Mbuyazi was an isiklebe of Tshaka's, and the mother of Cetshwayo was an isiklebe of Mpande's.⁵⁵⁷

Mpande said, 'I shall wash with izitundu;⁵⁵⁸ I shall wash in the cattle enclosure.' The izitundu were stirred up in the cattle enclosure, and the king washed. [Cf. bayede.]⁵⁵⁹ Mpande, after the Ndongakusuka battle, gave out to his Council that both Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi were children born to him whilst he was still a prince, and born whilst

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- 32 Dingana was king, but now that he was king, now that he washed with *izitundu*, and now that he *washed in the cattle enclosure* and was king, he would appoint his real heir, and that real heir would be Mtonga, son of Nomantshali, *a girl of the Ntuli people, 'uMadhlamb' o lwandhle*'.⁵⁶⁰

... <Praises of Mthonga omitted – eds.>

- Mpande said, 'As for Mtonga, before his mother became pregnant, an inyanga who was an iTonga was called. He came and treated her with medicines; she became pregnant, and bore a son. He was named Mtonga because she had been treated by an iTonga.'* Mpande also called Mtonga 'Madhlamb' olwandle'; it was not simply a playful name given by his mothers and other people; for she had become pregnant after being treated by the iTonga. Then Mpande said, 'Ho! Ho! Ho! Whose child is named after an iTonga? For I fathered this child when I was washing, when I was washing in the enclosure, when I had become chief. And all these who are Amamboza, I fathered them when I was still an ordinary person (*umuntu*), before people said "Bayede!" to me. I fathered Madhlambi when people were saying "Bayede!" to me.' He was speaking to his induna, Masipula. Masipula then went to tell Cetshwayo.

I have left out something else that Mpande said to Masipula. This was when Mtonga had been buta'd, when he was of the uMbonambi, which Mpande called 'the red calf, for which no rope is made'.⁵⁶¹ He said, 'I am butaing the red calf for which no rope is made. The ibuto which follows this one will also be the red calf, and also the one after that, and also the one which follows in age after that.' He ordered that an umuzi should be built, one of his amakanda, the umuzi of Nomantshali. It was named uMdumezulu. It was built there in the Emahlabatini country.

- 34 *Masipula went off to tell Cetshwayo all that Mpande had said. For in the fight at Ndongakusuka, Masipula had been on the side of Cetshwayo. Masipula said, when he was telling this to Cetshwayo, 'Wo! What happened at Ndongakusuka will happen again. Why does the king say that he will buta that ibuto and join it (tela) to Emdumezulu, and buta another and join it to Emdumezulu, and so on? Nkosi, he is doing it so that he will have a big ibibi to oppress you with.'⁵⁶² Let this matter be put right.'*

O! Indeed Cetshwayo sent out an impi to go and kill Mtonga. All the people of Mpande, all his imizi, all those of Mpande, informed (hlebel) him that Cetshwayo was going to kill Mtonga, as he had killed Mbuyazi. So Mpande made him run away; he escaped, and made off to the Boers near eHlobane. After that he came to eMgungundhlovu; he left the Boers, saying that he was following Mkungu because Mpande had told him to do so.⁵⁶³ He went to his mother, the daughter of Mntungwa, the mother of Mbuyazi, Monase.

- 35 *Cetshwayo's impi arrived to find that Mtonga had escaped. It proceeded to kill his mother, Nomantshali. That was when Mpande nearly died of shock. For he was sitting with Nomantshali, as you and I are sitting now, with you as Mpande and me as Nomantshali. They killed her in front of Mpande. Cetshwayo was afraid to kill*

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his father; he hoped that he would die of shock of his own accord from seeing his wife killed in front of him. Mpande cried, 'Ha! Ha! Ha! What is this? We shall see when you are king, Cetshwayo. The stars will be bright in the daytime. The country will be overrun by the white people.' This became a saying (isiga) among the Zulu people when the white people fought with Cetshwayo. They said, 'Mpande said that the stars would be bright in the daytime. The country would be overrun by locusts and white people. "So, Cetshwayo, you kill my wife before my eyes? We shall see when you are king!"'

It was Mkebeni who said that Dabulamanzi was the umnawe of the king, and would never inherit Cetshwayo's estate (ifa). [Socwatsha contradicts Mkebeni.]

Dabulamanzi was of the uDhloko regiment, Mbuyazi was of the Imboza, Tshonkweni was of the Imboza, Ziweddu was of the Imboza, Hamu was of the Imboza, 36 Siteku was of the Imboza.⁵⁶⁴ Of all these great men, did not Dabulamanzi have the mother of superior rank, so that he came after Cetshwayo, in front of all the others? One who says this, what does he say of the others? What does he say about their well known names (izibizo)? Were they of the ikohlo house, or where?⁵⁶⁵

For what did Somsewu say when he came to appoint (beka) Cetshwayo? He brought with him the clothes of a king (ukingi); he was coming to dress him in them. He halted at Emtonjaneni. Cetshwayo sent out Sirayo ka Xongo and Ntshingwayo ka Marole to meet him. For Somsewu had said that he should be met; he was going to oNdini, and would go with a man of Cetshwayo's who would show him the road to oNdini. So Somsewu asked, 'What are you?' They replied, 'We are izinduna.' He then asked their names; they told him. Somsewu said, 'Go and tell Cetshwayo that I 37 shall on no account descend from here at Emtonjaneni with only you to meet me. I shall descend when Cetshwayo's umnawe comes, the umnawe from among his brothers.⁵⁶⁶ I do not know who his umnawe is. It is he who will tell me.'

They returned to oNdini, and told him what Somsewu had said. Then Cetshwayo said, 'Here is my umnawe, Zibebu; it will be he who will meet Somsewu. Go, Zibebu, and meet him.' So Zibebu went off. He came to Emtonjaneni. He went with a number of men, including those who had previously gone, Sirayo and the others. Somsewu asked, 'Who is the one who has come to meet me, the umnawe of Cetshwayo?' The men said, 'That is he,' pointing to Zibebu. 'What is his name?' 'O! It is Zibebu.' 'Is he a son of Mpande?' 'O! He is a son of Mapita; he is uyisekazi, the umnawe of Mpande.'⁵⁶⁷ So Somsewu went down, with his wagons, his izinduna, and his clerks (ababali). He came to oNdini, and proceeded to make those laws (e tat' imteto le).

How could this man say that the umnawe of Cetshwayo was Dabulamanzi? He chose Dabulamanzi, his father's son, because he was the umnawe.

38 *When Malimade was still at Nhlazatshe, the abaQulusi quarrelled with the abakwaNgenetsheni (of Hamu's place).⁵⁶⁸ During the war with the white people, Hamu was the first to go over to the white people. He left his cattle behind. He took his people; the cattle were left behind and were eaten up by the uSutu. They burnt his imizi. They seized them because he had gone over to the white people. They*

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made up a saying, which went, 'Hamu has no dog; he eats, then licks the pot; he licks it himself', for he had no dog to lick his pot. After Cetshwayo had been captured and taken away, and was overseas in England, Hamu returned to the sites of his imizi, for all his country had gone over to the Government (uRulumeni). It was ordered that the cattle which had been eaten up in the Zulu country should be returned, that the uSutu should return those of Hamu which they had eaten up when he made off. (He had crossed the uPongolo and taken a path which went past the Swazi country; he had made his way to those forces which had fought at eHlobane and at kwa Nkambule, those of Lukuni.)⁵⁶⁹ This was the cause of the grudge held by the abaQulusi, and of the grudge held by Hamu, for they had eaten up his cattle.

- 39 *Then Mtonga arrived; he went to Hamu, who had been in Lukuni's impi for some time. The war was over; the impi had gone back. Mtonga had gone to Lukuni when the war was still being fought. The impi came back with him; he too went back to his home. He then turned back. This was when Malimade was ruling at Nhlazatshe. He went looking for his cattle among his brothers and among the people who had been of his place (kwabo). He also went to Zibebu, and presented him with a beast for slaughter.*

Then Hamu called the impi of the Baqulusi. He called it to eMrologo, saying that they should leave their weapons behind, far away; they should not approach with their assegais. Meanwhile he had concealed his own impi; it was armed with assegais. The abaQulusi thought that a discussion was to be held. When they were all present, Hamu's impi rose up and attacked them. Did it not stab them! It wiped them out. Because people are not all finished off in one day. Zibebu, too, killed off the uSutu at oNdini, but he did not finish them all off, even though it was said that he had done so, that he had finished them off - pu! [rubbing fingers across mouth and blowing slightly]. It was also said that Dinuzulu had finished off the Mandhlakazi at kwa Ndunu, but not all the people were killed off.

- 40 *That fight of Hamu's at eMrologo took place at the same time as the one at the stronghold of Sigidi, before Cetshwayo had returned from over the sea. Malimade was ruling at that time, at Nhlazatshe. Malimade's induna at that time was Sotondose ka Malusi, the chief of the Nxumalo people. The Baqulusi people came to Malimade and said, 'We have been killed by you, Malimade; this was your fight, for your induna Sotondose was present.' Then the uSutu who had been overcome at the stronghold of Sigidi came to Malimade to report the matter. They said, 'This was your fight. Zibebu was driven on by you, for your induna Sotondose was present.' Then Malimade wrote a letter to Somsewu at Mgungundhlovu, saying, 'Somsewu, help me by looking for an induna among your men; choose a man who is clever (ohlakanpileyo). I arrived at Nhlazatshe, coming from Newcastle, together with my*
- 41 *induna, Sotamelo. Sotamelo died there in the Zulu country. I met Sotondose, who had come to lay complaints with me about matters in the Zulu country. I took him and said that he should be my induna, for I saw that he was one of the original chiefs (inkosi yo hlanga), with his own district (isifunda) at Mankamane. I said, "Wo! You know the laws of the Government. You will act for me (bambela) as*

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Sotondose did. "I was shocked when people of the Baqulusi came, bearing wounds, to say that they had been destroyed by the impi of Hamu. They said that Hamu had been set on by me, because my induna, Sotondose, was present. People from the uSutu came and said the same. I see that they speak the truth, for indeed my induna Sotondose was present at those fights. For Hamu is the son of a sister of Sotondose. Nozibuku, the mother of Hamu, is a sister of Sotondose's. He is also involved with the Mandhlakazi; he is in Zibebu's fights, for Zibebu's mother, Kundhlase, is a sister of Sotondose's. I see they speak the truth. For indeed Sotondose is my induna, and when the impi was being sent out to fight, he was present, he, the induna of the inkosi. So people said, "His inkosi knows about this." But in fact I did not know. He is putting me in a difficult position (hlambelela). For those people will say that it was I who sent out the impi, for my induna was present, and both Zibebu and Hamu are sons of his sisters. Please find me a man who is clever, one who will manage my affairs well. I shall pay him with land (ngi yo kokela ngezwe), and let him be paid by the government every month, so that he does not put me in a difficult position (xabelela) as Sotondose did. I do not know your people, son of Sonzica; you, who know them, will choose for me.'

Somsewu chose Yamela ka Pangandawo. Malimade was still living at Nhlazatshe. Cetshwayo had not yet returned; he was still overseas.

Then Cetshwayo returned. Godhloza followed Yamela, having been advised to do so by Ncapayi ka Makobosi of the Ndhlovu people, the induna at Emdhloti (Verulam).⁵⁷⁰ [Ncapayi was induna of Dr Blaine, a very able induna, used to be summoned by Somsewu to Pietermaritzburg to advise in big cases.] Ncapayi said, 'Godhloza, because your umuzi is dying out, I say to you that you should follow Yamela and go and be a policeman (ipoyisa). I hear that Yamela is going to be paid with land; you too should go and live there. Do you see that your umuzi will die out if you stay there at oZwatini?' So Godhloza said to the people in charge of passes at eNhlazatshe that they should go to their relatives who lived at our place in the Nyuswa country. 'Tell the boy of our place, Socwatsha, to bring me snuff.' When I arrived at Nhlazatshe with the snuff, people said that Cetshwayo was coming from the amaLala country (emaLaleni).⁵⁷¹ He had come back; he had returned from England. When I arrived, Malimade, Yamela, Godhloza and all the police were absent; they had gone to meet Cetshwayo in the amaLala country, at the emLalazi [origin of name, probably],⁵⁷² in the country between the Mlalazi and Mhlatuze, where there is a landing-place (izibuko). (The ilala is a plant, from which they make ubusula, and weave beer-strainers and amaqoma baskets and izimbenge baskets and izicumo baskets.)⁵⁷³ I heard the news from Yamela's induna at his home there at the court-house (inkantolo), the one who watched over Yamela's wives, the ones who had married him there in the Zulu country - that induna was Nkomo ka Godoyi. He said, 'They have arrived. They are at Emtonjaneni; all the Zulu people have been summoned. Cetshwayo has arrived; he is with Somsewu, who has brought him.' Indeed I saw the tents, shining white. The soldiers who were with Shepstone had camped there. I went on, making for the place.

The matters which Somsewu spoke about were these. 'Hold out your hands, Mnyamana; here is your king, Cetshwayo.⁵⁷⁴ I place him in your hands.' How great

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was the number of Zulu people who had assembled! They covered an area as big as the forests at Nkandhla. At Emtonjaneni there is a plain. It was like this. He came and set up a tall flagpole. After this, the soldiers formed up and stood to attention. Below the flagpole, chairs were placed. The amakosi of the camp (ikamo) sat down; then Somsewu and Cetshwayo sat down. They faced down towards where the soldiers were standing. Cetshwayo was sitting with the men with whom he had crossed the sea, Ngobozana ka Vukuza ka Ndhlovu of the Mpungose people, and Mkosana ka Zangwana of the Zungu people (the father of Mapelu), and Ngcongcwana ka Maqoboza ka Nobongoza (this is not the Maqoboza who was
45 father of Nozitshada, of Nzuzu, but one of Zulu tribe). In front of Somsewu the Zulu people formed a semi-circle. Present were Mnyamana, Msutshwana, Hayiyana, Sitshaluza ka Mamba, Hemulana ka Mbangezeli, Ziweddu, Tshingana, Qetuka ka Manqondo, Godide ka Ndhlela, Sirayo ka Xongo, Diyikana ka Hlakanyana (who was carried in a skin because he could no longer walk as he was very fat, like Mpande), and very many others. All the Zulu were assembled there, but Hamu was not there, and Zibebu was not there, and Somkele was not there (he simply stayed at home). Zibebu, for his part, came to greet the amakosi Somsewu and Malimade. He was riding a horse, and had about ten people with him. He was not present when the laws were being proclaimed; he had left. As he was leaving, as he was coming from Somsewu, he passed close to Cetshwayo but did not go to him. The wives of Cetshwayo said, 'Weu! There goes the cunt (unhlunu) of his mother Kundhlase. He will not die and be buried; the rocks will disappear and he will still be here.' They were cursing (qanganisa) him; they were reviling him with obscene language. [The meaning is he will go on and on living until after stones and mountains crumble away and disappear. This reminds me of the Wandering Jew, and the saying 'Tarry, till I
46 come!' (see John, xxi, 20-23).] This was not the first time I had heard this obscenity. I heard it when a man was quarrelling with another man and they were swearing at each other, close to fighting. It is an obscenity used by women; not many men use it.

*Malimade is nearly killed by the wives of Cetshwayo.*⁵⁷⁵

When Cetshwayo died, a few days after his death, before he had been buried, his wives approached in a semi-circle; there were many of them, more than ten. They approached Malimade's house at eShowe. They said to Nozitshina ka Jojo of the emaPiseni people, kwa Nxusa, the induna of Malimade, 'Where is Malebemade?⁵⁷⁶ Let him give us our husband, whom he took from the Nkandhla in order to kill him.' We saw them some distance off, coming from the umuzi of Ntshingwayo ka Sikonyana, at kwa Jazi, where Cetshwayo had died [8 February 1884], where he had been staying. We told the inkosi, 'Here are the king's wives; they are coming here to the house, to you. But we don't know what they are coming for, what brings them.' That is what we told him. 'He said, 'Socwatsha! Tell Mhlantshana to saddle my horse!' I told him and he saddled it. They went towards the front door of the house. They said, 'Give us our husband!' They blocked the doorway, thinking that he was there. They had seen him entering the house when they were some distance off. Malimade said to me, 'They saw me come in this door (the front one). I shall go out by the back door. Let Mhlantshana take the horse there.' The wives were blocking

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the door where they had seen him go in. The daughter of Mteni (of the - people <sic>) came up and seized Nozitshina by the arm and pulled him towards the door where the inkosi had gone in. They were surprised to see the inkosi cantering away, 47 heading for the military camp. They said, 'Hawu! He has left us!' Then one of the men of the place came up, Mfunzi ka Dumuzele of the Xulu people. He said, 'Au! Where is the inkosi?' 'There he is, about to disappear at kwa Matshayinyoni.' They took Nozitshina and lifted him up. He was light. He said, when he was relating the matter to me, 'I went soft, I was light to carry, I was like a leaf (which is blown about by the wind).' When they took him into Malimade's house, when they saw Malimade on his horse, they put him down. Mfunzi arrived with others. They intervened. So the wives let Nozitshina go. Nozitshina asked what they wanted at the place of the inkosi. Mfunzi replied, 'What shall I say, when the child of Msekisipana (they did not say Misospana) is no more?'⁵⁷⁷ Mfunzi then drove them off, back to kwa Jazi. Nozitshina put questions to the people who had come with Mfunzi. They replied, 'They were coming to ask the inkosi, Malimade, "Where have you put the king? Give him to us."' Then they returned. It was clear what the women of Ntshingwayo's place, kwa Jazi, had meant when they went off saying, 'He will never eat amabele; we will catch him and break him.' Hau! So that is how it was! Those who had come with Mfunzi also said so, but they did not speak plainly like those from Ntshingwayo's place. For those of Ntshingwayo's place spoke both words, those of going, while they were going, and those of returning, when they were returning.

I do not know if the wives came armed or not; they were known as people who wore cloaks; they had shawls. For our part, we did not think that they were going to kill Nozitshina; we thought that they were looking for Malebemade (Malimade).

Sijilingwana ka Ngolo of the Radebe people of the place of Mtimkulu (may have been Impohlo regiment). He died at the place of the Magwaza, his people; they were going to Empapala; they had no food.

48 ... <Praises of Sijilingwana omitted – eds.>

Has longer praises, for he was a great warrior. He was an inceku of Songiya, the mother of Mpande. At his home he was an induna of Manqondo ka Mazwana, in the umuzi of the people of MaMepo (the mother of Ndube).⁵⁷⁸

When people praised him, they called him 'the little Nkayitshana'. He would say, 'Which is the big one? I am not the little one, for I fought fiercely and surpassed the little Nkayitshana.' So he was praised as the big Nkayitshana. But he was a small man, reddish (bomvana) in colour. He died in the Magwaza country. When Songiya died he made his escape to the white man's country (esilungwini); he was afraid that he would be made into a 'mat' for the inkosikazi. When she died, Sijilingwana was absent, he was at his home; he had left her indisposed (e dunguzela). At his home, he saw a messenger arriving to summon him. 'You are summoned, Sijilingwana; the indhlovukazi is ill.' He said, 'Go, then. I shall come 49 tomorrow.' He then told his wives, 'Prepare bread (izinkwa) and snuff for a

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journey. 'This was done before people at his home, at Emfanayo, had gone to sleep. When the izinhlangothi had been told to sleep,⁵⁷⁹ he said to his wives, 'Tie up your goods.' At dawn he went up the mountain to Ntunjambili, for he was not driving stock; he had left his cattle in the enclosure. He then went to konza Dubuyana, among us Nyuswa people.

[See next book - like this.]⁵⁸⁰

4.10.1921

File 58, nbk. 21, pp. 1-20.

1 Socwatsha continues.

When the locusts were on, though it was really after rinderpest, many years ago, about 1896, I went with others selling goats along the Zululand coast. I came to one of Ntshingwayo ka Sikonyana's kraals, not far from Lamb's store, Mapuzingwebu [noted, List of Names],⁵⁸¹ and the Matigulu, where there was a wedding. Sukani ka Mpande was there, he belonging to *umtimba* party (girl's). The girl's elder brother got up to *bonga* Sotobe ka Mpangalala.⁵⁸² All he said was this, '*The girl from the place of Sotobe ka Mpangalala makes salutation, and then stopped. Sukani rose up and said, 'Who does not know the praises of Sotobe? Who does not know the praises of Sotobe? There is no one who forgets the praises of Sotobe.' The umnewabo of the man who had been praising then giya'd,⁵⁸³ the man who had called out one praise, then had come to an end. To those of our people with whom I was travelling, hau! he declaimed a single set of praises (uhlamvu), as follows:*

*The daughter of Bunge of the Ntwayiza makes salutation,
He stirs up with an ox-tail the waters of Mkumbi and of the sea,*

*Of Dada who is in the water (amanzi),
Manzi who comes out of by means of the holes of the Mtshezi.⁵⁸⁴*

2 *The girls of our place in the Ngcobo country, like those of Nombiko, said that they would not marry without the Impehlwa being present (an ibuto of the Nyuswa, those of Deliweyo). For it would come and show our chiefs that we were a large house. 'For your part, when you bonga, you will give praise to our fathers with their praises for giyaing. When the men of the Mpehlwa give praise to our fathers, let them give praise to our ancestral chiefs (amakos' akit' ohlanga), Matshisa, Mavela, Bovungana, Mafongosi, Sipandhla and Mbozane.'*

The bringing back of Cetshwayo after his journey to England [continued from pp. 43-46 preceding nbk. just like this].⁵⁸⁵

Somsewu said, 'Hold out your hands, Mnyamana! I have now brought Cetshwayo back. You too did not know that there is a king who, after he has been overcome by another, is brought back to his place unharmed.' He said, 'Listen, then, to the words of the Queen which I shall now speak. The Queen has spoken into

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- the ears of this my son.' He said, 'I was not present, but I have been sent here; I*
- 3 *have been told in a letter from the Queen. I speak the words so that if I depart from them the king will be able to say that he hears it for the first time; he will disagree with me, saying that he hears it for the first time. He will remind me of words that I might have forgotten, in front of these men, both those from the Zulu country and the white men from our country, those sitting here.' He was carrying a small piece of paper, this size [as big as one's hand]. He was wearing his umjiva, a jacket, without tails. He then pulled out an irebeba of a paper, a long one [as long as arm], and unfolded it.⁵⁸⁶ He said, 'The Queen said, "I am returning you, Cetshwayo, to your place, to the old sites of your imizi."' He was told that he should no longer call up amabuto; that he should let his people go and work for money among the white people, and that they should be able to buy cattle and marry; even a young person who had just reached the age of puberty should be allowed to marry; there should be an end to calling up amabuto until men grew old on the izinsipo (like beer which has not been strained, even though it has boiled).⁵⁸⁷ He should no longer form an isigodhlo (of girls), but should build imizi only for his wives. The Queen had divided up his country at the Mhlatuze; the country on the other side of the*
- 4 *Mhlatuze would belong to the Government. The people who were living on the other side of the Mhlatuze [he was speaking when on far side of Mhlatuze] would pay a tax of fourteen shillings on each hut. Those who wanted to be under the king should cross over to the country on this side of the Mhlatuze. They should cross over in the winter, after they had reaped their crops, for this was the month of Christmas.⁵⁸⁸ He said, 'A man who wants to be under you, and who lives on the other side of the Mhlatuze, should reap his crops and then cross over with all his goods, even his usungulo.'⁵⁸⁹ He said, 'On this side of the Mhlatuze, in your country, no taxes will be paid.' He said, 'You must not bring a case against those men who took your izigodhlo while you were a captive over the sea in England. In this country, the one on this side of the Mhlatuze, where no taxes will be paid, you will have the power to hear cases, you and your izinduna and your brothers. You will have the power to put people to death, or fine them as you wish, or eat up their cattle. Here is Gwalagwala, whom the Queen gives to you; you will live with him.⁵⁹⁰ If a person*
- 5 *who comes from the white man's country, the Government's country where taxes are paid, brings a case against a person who lives in your country, Gwalagwala will assist you. Both of you, together with your izinduna, will hear such cases. If a man who lives in your country, the one where no taxes are paid, wants to go and live in the country of the Government, the one where taxes are paid, you will let him cross even with his izinsungulo; you will not tear off his izinjobo as you do according to the laws of your people,⁵⁹¹ under which a man who wanted to cross the Tukela to go to the white man's country would have his cattle eaten up. All that is finished now; you will no longer kill a man for it. Here is Gwalagwala; he will be watching over you.'* [See H.F.Fynn's account of the restoration of Cetshwayo in notebook re Life of Sir T. Shepstone, pp. 23-29: under date 16.11.1913.]⁵⁹² *He said, 'In your country, all the country on this side of the Mhlatuze, of the eleven chiefs appointed by Misjana on behalf of the Government (I am not counting Jantoni and Hlube), ten are now wiped away. Only Zibebu will remain. The country of his father Mapita has been*

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divided off for him. You will know what the boundary of Mapita's country was in the
6 time of Zulu rule. You will recognize that old boundary. All the men who were raised
up by the Government have now returned to you. Like you, Zibebu will not pay
taxes in his country.'

I think that is where Somsewu's words came to an end; perhaps there was a little
more.

Somsewu said, 'I have finished. Remind me of anything I have left out, my child,
so that I do not lie about it. For you were told by words in your ear; for my part, I
was told by letter.' Then 'the little branch which put out the fire, the fire which was
lit by Mantshonga and Ngqelebana' came forward and said, 'Yebo, Zulu! My father
has spoken the truth.'⁵⁹³ For my part, when I was in captivity I stayed with men, in
Cape Town (eKipitawini). I was not tied up; I lived well by myself. I stayed for a
long time, and then men told me that I had been summoned by the Queen to
7 England. I went off, and came to her. I had never seen her before; it was for the first
time. The inkosikazi greeted me. Then she spoke two words to me. She said, "See
now, Cetshwayo, I am returning you to your country. But I have cut off part of the
country, a small piece where Jantoni lives." She did not tell me which river; she did
not tell me which ridge. Her second word was, "Weu! See now, do not bring a case
against a man who has taken the isigodhlo. Go now to those men with whom you
were staying, and you will hear my words from those men." For my part, I replied
with simply one word there in the palace (esigodhlweni). I said, "Nkosi, how could I
bring a case against those who have taken the isigodhlo? Has a man who was dead
ever risen again? For it was said that I was dead. How could I bring a case against
them if I were dead?" Wo! We took our departure from the Queen, and we left. I
8 came to Cape Town, where I had been staying. The men with whom I had been
staying arrived and told me all the words which my father Somsewu has been
speaking. They spoke about the Mhlatuze, for the Queen had said Jantoni would be
on the other side. They spoke clearly about the Mhlatuze. There is nothing that I
disagree with in the words spoken by Somsewu. And there is nothing that he has
forgotten.'

Then Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele ka Mvuyana came forward, the first to do so.
He said, 'Yebo Nkosi, son of Sonzica! We give thanks, Nkosi. Nkosi, we cry about
one matter. He has returned, but he has nothing to eat. We give thanks, for we have
never seen a man who was truly dead rise up again.'

Then Ziweddu ka Mpande came forward. He said, 'Yebo Nkosi! We say that you
have brought him back, but what will he eat? Will he eat excrement? For his cattle
9 were eaten up by Jantoni, and by Hlube, and by Zibebu, and by Hamu.' Then
Hemulana ka Mbangezeli came forward.⁵⁹⁴ He said, 'Yebo Nkosi! For our part, we
do not give praise; we give praise that you have brought back only bones. What will
he eat? Will he eat excrement?' He named those men, Jantoni, Hamu and Zibebu.
He said, 'Is the country not a grazing-ground where he sisa'd his cattle?'⁵⁹⁵ Did he
not eat at the grazing-ground at eTalen? For that is where he sisa'd. This chief of
yours whom you have appointed, Zibebu, we say that you are making him king.
What had Cetshwayo done, that you took him away? It was you who attacked him in
his home. You took him away. Did he ever attack Mgungundhlovu?'

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There were two writers (ababali) there. As Somsewu was speaking, they wrote down his words. As Cetshwayo too was speaking, they wrote down his words, and also those of all the others who spoke. When one person was speaking they were both writing; they did this to corroborate each other (fakazelana). I saw there how clever (hlakanpile) the Government was.

- 10 *Hemulana finished, and then Dabulamanzi ka Mpande came forward. He said, 'Yebo Nkosi. We are crying, we sons of Mpande. We say, you have brought Cetshwayo, but what will he eat? Do you think he will eat excrement? For you have now taken the whole country from which he used to eat. You have also eaten up his cattle, and those that were left were eaten up by Jantoni and Hlube and Zibebu and Hamu. What is he going to eat? Should a man as great as Cetshwayo be told that he must cut branches for himself with which to fence his umuzi? His young men have been taken away; they have been told to go and work for the white people, and he has been told not to form amabuto which could build his umuzi. The branches for his umuzi used to be cut by the amabuto, and his huts were built for him by the amabuto. The cultivating was also done by the amabuto, and the weeding; the amabuto did the weeding for him. Nkosi, what will he eat? Nkosi, we are crying to you.'*

- 11 *I don't know if Dabulamanzi had more to say, but I saw Somsewu's face going red with anger. He said, 'Here, son of Mpande. This is the house of Sonzica; what has it done to you? For you say you are being killed by the house of Sonzica. The soldiers who came and destroyed the country of the Zulu, are they of the house of Sonzica? And all the cattle which were eaten up in the country of the Zulu, did they go to the place of Sonzica? Did they not go to the Great Place? Son of Mpande, this is not the first time that you have spoken. Always you speak your words with contempt (ngo ku delela). O, for my part I shall remain behind and you will speak to the Queen for yourselves. There is no beast from the Zulu country that was ever eaten up by the house of Sonzica.'*

- Then Mnyamana came forward and said, 'Yebo, Nkosi! The noises made by the bellowing of cattle are not the same. Each makes its own noise; it is not the same as the noises made by others. For my part, I give thanks that you have brought the bones to the place of other bones.'* Then Sitshaluza ka Mamba of the Emgazini people came forward. He said, 'Yebo, Nkosi. The son of Ngqengqelele speaks the truth when he says that the bellowing of beasts is not the same. For my part, I think it good that the words which you do not like should be spoken to your face and not
- 12 *behind your back. You now hear them; you hear them being spoken. You will pick out the bad words; you will pick out the good words. For my part, I give thanks that you have brought the bones to the place of other bones. It would have been bad if you had killed Cetshwayo over the sea in England and if his grave had not been made at the place of his fathers here in the country of the Zulu. Nkosi, bellow. You have spoken well with a good heart, such as you came with.'*

Then Siteku ka Mpande came forward. He said, 'For my part, I, Siteku, give praise that after taking away the son of my father you have brought him back. I say that today you are restoring the uhlanga, for you fought against the king and overcame him and captured him, and then brought him back, after people had killed one another and the corpses lay piled up. I ask these men of our place, those

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who are complaining about the land and about the cattle, when Cetshwayo went to England, was he making a visit to go and konza? For my part, chiefs, I give praise. If I had my way, the people of our place would simply be giving thanks; they would say no more. They would then cut branches for temporary shelters for him. After he
13 had rested in the shelters, he would take his stick (uboko) and go and konza at Mgungundhlovu. He would urge the Government to take him to the Queen; it would be there that he would make his complaints known.' He ended there.

(Do you think Malimade forgot about him? At Eshowe he said that the Zulu people were very foolish because they should have spoken among themselves before they came to us, and should have chosen Siteku to speak for them. They should then have said, 'We all speak this, Nkosi; it is our word.' That they all spoke meant that they muddied the waters upstream.)

Then Somsewu came forward and said, 'Yes, Siteku, about those words which asked if he should cut branches for himself. No! We do not refuse that the young men should fence his umuzi. They have gone to earn money for themselves among the white people. They would continually have caused disagreement. They would have been held back, and formed into amabuto. His umuzi does not need to be built all the time.'

Then Mhlumbana (the induna of Myandeya ka Mbiya) came forward and said, 'Yebo, Nkosi. I have been sent by Myandeya.⁵⁹⁶ He says, "We fought for the king,
14 and you overcame him. You took him away, across the sea. Then the madman (uhlanya), Sitimela, arrived here. He came and ate up the cattle of Myandeya, saying that he was the heir of Dingiswayo. I reported the matter to the sons of the king, to Ndabuko. They disregarded (talalisa) it. Again I reported the matter to the sons of the king. They disregarded it. Then I reported it to Mayidoni (Jantoni). Mayidoni called up his impi and came and chased away the uhlanya, Sitimela. He escaped. The impi which had supported him was destroyed." Myandeya says that he will no longer get out of the way of the wagon-wheel. He no longer knows how the Zulu people regard him. They left him with the uhlanya. For his part, he has had enough of the Government.' He was referring to the country which was said to be Cetshwayo's.

Then Siyunguza ka Silwane came forward.⁵⁹⁷ He said, 'Hau! You, of the Zulu people, are you afraid of us because we are present? You have mentioned Jantoni and Zibebu and Hamu and Hlube (because they are not here; Jantoni too is not here). You have assembled here on account of us. When the Nkosi arrived here, you
15 told him that we were no longer his people, for the Government ordered us to give up the cattle to it. You count us as having eaten up the cattle of the king, as you count Jantoni and Zibebu and all the others. But now that you see us here, you no longer name us. Wo! For our part, we will no longer need the Government, for it was you who gave the Government to us. You counted us as being on your side.'

The son of Silwane (ka Ndhlovu ka Kuba) ended there. Then Msutshwana, an Imboza, came forward.⁵⁹⁸ He said, 'This beast (ingwe), Zibebu, that you have appointed; you come because we said that he would send out an impi to destroy us. He attacked the people of Ngulubana' (a man of the uSutu, or one of the people of Msutshwana's place).

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That is all I have to say. (There may be more, a little more, not recollected at the moment.) What I remember is that when Somsewu was recounting the words of the Queen, he said, 'You see, it is a long time since I came here to the Zulu country, bringing the laws of the Government. Today I come here for the last time. You will not see me again, for I am tired from doing the work of the Government. For an ox can work and work and work at pulling a wagon, and when the owner sees that it is
16 *old he takes the yoke off its neck, and leaves it to rest and to graze. It will not be inspanned again. In that country on the other side of the Mhlatuze, Malimada has been placed. He will have his office at Etshowe. He was in charge there at eNhlazatshe, looking after your people for you. Now you have come. He will now go and look after the people of the Government on the other side of the Mhlatuze at eTshowe.' Then he said, 'Now I am going. Stay well. I am going tomorrow with the young men.'*⁵⁹⁹

So they went off with Cetshwayo; he went down-country. For our part, we took the road to eTshowe, together with Malimade, who was going to eMgungundhlovu. There at eTshowe Misjana had halted and put up tents. It was he who had arrived first, while Cetshwayo was still on the sea. He began with the lower country (ezansi); he beka'd at Entumeni,⁶⁰⁰ then at Empapala, then at eQudeni, then as far as Nqutu, then he returned to eTshowe to set up an office (inkantolo), there where Malimade's house used to be. He assembled the izikulu of the whole Zulu country; he began in the lower country, in the flat country; he summoned the abanumzana
17 *who were in charge of districts (izifunda). When they had arrived, he said, 'Au! Men, I have summoned you to tell you that Cetshwayo has now returned. The country has been divided at the Mhlatuze. The country on this side of the Mhlatuze is that of the Government; it will pay a tax of fourteen shillings on each hut. I am saying to you, men, that you must choose (qoma). Let those who choose Cetshwayo come forward, and let those who choose the Government come forward. When it is winter, those who have chosen Cetshwayo will reap their crops and cross over the river, leaving those who do not want to go. Even if you all choose Cetshwayo, the Government does not mind, for its country will remain. It will assuredly not remain empty, for there are many of the Government's people who are in difficulties, who do not have a place to live.' He went as far as Nqutu, speaking this word. They too spoke it, everywhere; as he went, he summoned them to his tents. Those who wanted the Government came forward, and those who chose Cetshwayo came forward.*

Those who chose Cetshwayo were Nongena ka Nongogo of the Nzuzu people, and Majiya ka Shandu. At the Empapala there was Melelesi ka Manyosi ka
18 *Dhlekezela of the Emambateni. There was Nobiya ka Sotobe ka Mpangalala;⁶⁰¹ there was Madwaba ka Ndhlaludaka of the Emgazini; there was Qetuka ka Manqondo of the Magwaza; there was Sigananda ka Zokufa of the Emacubeni; there was Godide ka Ndhlela of the Ntuli; there was Mtiyaqwa ka Didi of the Biyela; there was Keke ka Manqe of the Zulu; there was Fokoti ka Sokufoca of the Xulu; at eTalení there was Ndwandwe ka Mdhilaka of the aba kwa Langa (not of the Emgazini, of the Ntshangase); there was Sirayo ka Xongo,⁶⁰² and Dabulamanzi ka Mpande.*

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Now I will name those who chose the Government. There was Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana of the Biyela; there was Siyunguza ka Silwane of the Mpungose; there was Mhlakaza ka Mpezeni of the Biyela; there was Luridane ka Jokwe of the Makoba; there was Matunjana ka Sibaxa of the Emankwanyaneni; there was Nkanyana ka Mankaiyana of the ebaTenjini; there was Mmiso ka Mkitika of the Zulu; there was Mtinzima ka Nzangwana of the Emambateni; there was Mavumengwana ka Ndhlela of the Ntuli; there was Ndhlongolwana ka Sobaba of the Biyela; there was Langazana (inkosikazi) at eNhlwayini; there was Zembe ka Myakayaka of the Maraya; there was Nonzama ka Situnge of the Biyela. Amambuka were Mbuzo ka Mngeni of the Ntuli, Matshana ka Mondise ka Jobe of the Sitole, of the ebaTenjini.⁶⁰³ Matshana ka Siishakuza was an uncokubili, like a hyena, which has a vagina and also a penis - that is what an uncokubili is (impisintshange).⁶⁰⁴

There were many abanumzana who lived in the flat country (etafeni), but all of them were ruled by Jantoni; all of them were of the Government.

Yamela first encamped at kwa Jazi, the umuzi of Ntshingwayo, when we arrived from eNhlazatshe.

Some days after our arrival, Misjana returned to Emgungundhlovu. Malimada had just arrived.

When we came down from eMtonjaneni and went to eTshowe, we policemen (amapoyisa) of Malimada, we said, 'Hau! The Government is destroying Zibebu, the son of Mapita.' We were talking about the size of the izifunda. We said, 'Hau! They will take only one day.'

After Malimata <sic> had arrived from Emgungundhlovu, men came from Zibebu; it was Sombayimbondwe and others. They said, 'Au! An impi of uSutu has attacked us at Msebe. It was the Buthelezi of the place of Mnyamana, with fifty amaviyo; it was the ukuBaza, the uSutu, who came with Ndabuko; they had fifty amaviyo; it was the uMgazi of Maboko ka Masipula; with forty amaviyo. There were 140 amaviyo. Zibebu had only forty; they had a hundred more. Then followed the fight at Msebe.⁶⁰⁵

[Zibebu badly defeated uSutu at Msebe and then chased them for 3 days, utterly routing them.]

5.10.1921

File 58, nbk. 21, pp. 20-21.

Socwatsha.

... <Praises of Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo people omitted – eds.>

Ukutwebula.⁶⁰⁶

Manhlwenga have umuti called umtwebulo. I do not know how they twebula; only their doctors know. Some of them take all a man's blood; it disappears; there is none left. At another time, when a man has gone off, treading on the ground, they take a horn for cupping, and place it where he stepped. Then they suck very hard,

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sucking in air. They begin with the place where he stepped. They suck and suck until the man's blood comes out; it comes out from the earth, there where he trod. The horn fills up, it fills up with blood. This blood simply comes out of the earth; it comes from the man who trod there, while he is at home.

... <Praises of *unhloyile*, *ungqwatshi* and *inkanku* birds omitted – eds.>⁶⁰⁷

26.3.1922, Sunday.

File 59, nbk. 38. pp. 34-9.

Also present: Somgandu, Nsuze

34 Socwatsha, Somgandu, Nsuze.⁶⁰⁸

The putting on of the headring. Per Socwatsha.

In the time of Zulu rule, an ibuto was ordered to put on the headring. They scattered to go and look for resin (ungiyane).⁶⁰⁹ Some went off to gather it for themselves in the bush and in the ravines of rivers where imzungulu grow. Others bought it from those who had gathered it. Each man would take off the husks; he would strip them off, to remove those creatures which had red blood. He picked out the edible creatures and threw away the insects (izilokazana). He then moulded lumps the size of a fist. The ungiyane is white. Some would be heated up by a specialist (inyanga) who was skilled in sewing on headrings; some he would heat up himself. When it was ready he would go and call an inyanga.

The heating was done in a potsherd (a piece of a broken ikamba). It was done in the cattle enclosure, well inside. He did not do it next to the fence, close to the huts, for fear that the flame would set the huts on fire. No water was put in, only the ungiyane, which then melted. Any insects left in it would drop off. He would keep the fire going until it boiled. He would be astonished to see it turn black, where before it had been white. The inyanga would see this and say, 'Au! Now it has burnt. Now it is done.' He would then pour cold water on it with an indebe (a ladle). He would stretch out his arm; he would not go close; he would stand on the side from which the wind was coming. He would pour on the water, and as it touched the ungiyane, bu! it flamed up, as if long grass was burning. The flames were higher than a very tall man, as high as a man with his arms stretched upwards. He then took the potsherd off the fire. The ungiyane was now soft; he carried it carefully. He took the potsherd and poured the ungiyane onto a stone, like the honey of bees. He then used a scraper to scrape off the ungiyane which was still sticking to the
36 *potsherd; he scraped it onto the stone. He moulded it together, continually pouring cold water over it so that it would cool and become stiff.*

Now that the ungiyane was prepared he began to shave the man who was putting on the headring. He left a circle of hair, then began to place the framework (uqondo, ingqwangi) in position.⁶¹⁰ He placed it on the crown, then shaved the hair inside and outside, leaving a circle of hair. He did the shaving with an insingo.⁶¹¹ He then took the framework and uzi fibre which had been twisted together.⁶¹² He then took a thorn for sewing. The horn of a beast was sharpened and trimmed. He

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- heated a small needle (*usungulo*), and pierced a hole with it. The hole was for the thread. He then sewed into the hair and into the framework, drawing the thread through, so that the framework would not fall off. The thread was a long one so that he could sew all the way round the head back to where he had begun. If it was not long enough he would join it to another, so that it reached round to where he had
- 37 begun. It was still only the framework that was in place. He then took the *ungiyane* which he had poured on to the stone and rolled it out, not as if he were grinding grain, but rolling it out into a long 'stick'. He saw that *nhu!* it was long enough. He took it at both ends and heated it in the fire to soften it so that it would stick to the framework. He then placed it carefully on the head so that it fitted round, so that the two ends met firmly. He continually pressed it with his thumbs, making it stick to the frame. The *ungiyane* stuck to the frame because it was soft. After this he took a stick, a sharpened one that an *inyanga* uses to put on headrings; he sharpened it. He made it like a stirring-stick (*ipini*), though smaller. He said, 'Come closer,' and began to put the finishing touches to the *ungiyane*. It was now pitch black in colour.
- 38 He worked it nicely, so that the frame was visible and not all covered over. He made it fit nicely all the way round. It then dried and became hard and tight. He then took a little grindstone, one the size of the fruit of the *iviyo* (*itulwa*) or of the *ikiwane*,⁶¹³ and rubbed it until it was smooth. The lumps and indentations were smoothed out. After he had finished, the man himself would continually polish it. He would take water, pour it into a pot, and then look at himself in the water, for that was what our people used as a mirror.

If ungiyane was available, the putting on of the headring could be done in a day. Several men would have theirs done. One inyanga could finish five in a day if he rose early and began as the sun was getting warm.

*When a man went to the inyanga for the first time, he would give a goat. When he went to him again, he would give an assegai, or an imbenge basket, or a calabash (*isigubu*) for water, or he would cut snuff for him. One of these was enough.*

- 39 *In former times (*ku qala*), when a man went to the inyanga for the first time, he would give an assegai with a wooden handle (for it would be fixed into a stick), or else an imbenge, and that would be enough. Today they ask for much more.*

*Two months after putting on the headring, he will have his hair dressed (*cwala*); it will be dressed by another man. They will dress each other's hair. This dressing takes the form of combing the hair downwards over the frame; it is done with a stick notched with a knife.*

*If no other man is there, and he is going to a wedding celebration (*umsindo*), he will ask his wife to dress his hair. She will tuck in the tufts of hair which have emerged; she will not dress it as another man would dress it.*

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Notes

- ¹ In the original, Stuart has overwritten several of his first estimates with later ones.
- ² The reference to p. 141 is to testimony given by Johannes Kumalo on 10.9.1900 and recorded by Stuart on p. 141 of File 74 of the Stuart Collection. See our rendering of Kumalo's testimony in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 213-14. The reference to p. 142 is to a composite list of Zulu regiments drawn up by Stuart from various sources and recorded on p. 142 of File 74.
- ³ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 178, give *umdwayimba* (pl. *imidwayimba*) as 'Tall, lanky person'.
- ⁴ The reference to p. 140 is to testimony given by Sijewana kaMjanyelwa, probably on 13.11.1899 or 14.11.1899, and recorded by Stuart in File 74, p. 140. For our published rendering, see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 5, pp. 334-5. The reference to p. 141 is to testimony given by Johannes Kumalo: see note 2 above.
- ⁵ The names are those of the main line of Nyuswa chiefs. Buyiswayo means 'the one who is caused to return'.
- ⁶ Khabazela, Gcwabe and Zihlandlo were chiefs in the main Mkhize (Mbo) line.
- ⁷ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The names are those of successive rulers of the Qadi chiefdom.
- ⁸ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The names are those of members of the Fuze chiefly house.
- ⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 462, gives *umnyakanya* (pl. *iminyakanya*) as 'Single stick of <widow bird> feathers, of which a couple (*imi-Nyakanya*) are fixed to the head as an ornament at dances, etc.'. On p. 557 he gives *imiklezo* (*imirrezo* in his orthography) as 'covering of long cows'-tails (*ama-shoba*) worn round the neck and falling over the chest and back ...'. On p. 546 he gives *umqubula* as 'Dress ... formed of three girdles or kilts of <monkey> tails, one of which was worn low over the buttocks, another above the hips and a third over the shoulders like a cape, thus covering the body entirely from neck to knee'.
- ¹⁰ Dingiswayo kaJobe, to whom Shaka was at least nominally subordinate, was ruler of the Mthethwa kingdom. OYengweni was his main *umuzi*. Macingwane kaJama was ruler of the Chunu chiefdom. ENgonyameni was Macingwane's main *umuzi*.
- ¹¹ *UDlungwana woMbelebele* was one of Shaka's praises.
- ¹² Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 403-4, gives *umnawe* as 'Any brother or sister younger than oneself ...; used by married women to their brothers (married or unmarried) even when older than themselves ...'.
- ¹³ In the list that follows, the English meanings in parentheses have been supplied by the editors.
- ¹⁴ Cetshwayo died in 1884.
- ¹⁵ *Ikhafula* (pl. *amakhafula*) was a term of contempt applied by people in the Zulu kingdom to black people who lived in the colony of Natal (*esiLungwini*, the white people's country).
- ¹⁶ Dlozi kaLanga was in Stuart's employ and was another of his informants: his testimony appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.

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¹⁷ The original has the date as 27.2.'01, but this is clearly a mistake on Stuart's part. Stuart's notebook on the History of Zululand constitutes File 70 of the Stuart Collection.

¹⁸ Ndukwana kaMbengwana was one of Stuart's most important informants: his evidence appears in volume 4 of the Stuart Archive.

¹⁹ The names given are those of the line of chiefs of the Ngongoma section of the Ngcobo people. The notes in parentheses in this sentence appear in the original as interlinear insertions.

²⁰ The names given are those of the line of chiefs of the Nyuswa, the senior section of the Ngcobo people. The original list, as given here, was subsequently amended by Stuart in the following respects: a) He inserted the name Dindi after Tondo (Thondo); b) he indicated that the name Bamula should follow after Dindi; c) he indicated that the name Ludiyo, which he amended to Ludiwo, should come at the end of the list.

²¹ Literally, 'they originated from the *uhlanga*'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 241, gives *uhlanga* as 'Dry stalk ... of the mealie, *mabele*, or similar plant ...; original stem or stock from which mankind generally is supposed to have taken its rise, from which it, like an ear of corn, has been produced or grown forth; stem or stock (i.e. particular house or family) from which a clan or tribe has taken its rise; genealogy or pedigree, of any family or house; dynasty ...'.

²² Zwide kaLanga was ruler of the Ndwandwe kingdom, Dingiswayo kaJobe was ruler of the Mthethwa kingdom, and Phakathwayo kaKhondlo was ruler of the Qwabe chiefdom.

²³ On p. 539 of his Dictionary, Bryant writes, '... *uku-qokota ulimi*, to twist up the tongue i.e. speak a stiff, not softened language - the phrase being used only by those along the Zulu coast who speak the softened or *tefula*'d Zulu, of those living more further inland who do not *tefula* ... In speaking of themselves these latter do not say *uku-qokota ulimi*, but *uku-misa ulimi* (i.e. to make their language stand up straight), because, they say, those along the coast make it "lie down" (*uku-lalisa ulimi*) by softening down every "l" into a "y"'.
²⁴ *Inyumbakazi* means a barren cow.

²⁵ Ntunjambili mountain, or Kranskop, lies near Kranskop village.

²⁶ Mkhando kaDlova was another of Stuart's informants; his testimony appears in volume 3 of the Stuart Archive.

²⁷ The notes in these parentheses appear to have been added by Stuart after he had recorded Socwatsha's list of Shaka's *imizi*. On p. 79 of File 70 of the Stuart Collection, Stuart records evidence from Jantshi kaNongila to the effect that kwaWambaza was an *umuzi* built by Shaka for his half-brother Ngwadi. (See Jantshi's testimony as given in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 191.) Sivivi kaMaqungo was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 5 of the Stuart Archive. John Bird, ed., Annals of Natal, vol. 1 (1888), p. 292, carries a reprint of an extract from Allen Gardiner's Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country (1836) in which Gardiner mentions the 'Imbelibeli' *umuzi*.

²⁸ On p. 6 of File 70 of the Stuart Collection, Socwatsha identifies the Ndlovane as a stream which flows into the White Mfolozi in the Mthonjaneni area.

²⁹ Mzilikazi kaMashobane of the Khumalo people was the first ruler of the Ndebele kingdom. Early in his career he was briefly subjected to Ndwandwe rule.

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³⁰ Presumably Qethuka kaManqondo, ruler of the Magwaza chiefdom.

³¹ *Ohlangeni* is the locative of *uhlanga*. For Bryant's gloss of this word, see note 21 above.

³² The reference is to p. 101 of File 73 of the Stuart Collection. Here Stuart records evidence given by Ndukwana on 19.9.1900 to the effect that Mgcobo was a son of Dingiswayo who was killed by the uSuthu at some point in the period 1879-84. See Ndukwana's testimony as recorded in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 285.

³³ Somveli was a son of Dingiswayo. In 1881 a man called Sitimela appeared in Zululand and attempted, unsuccessfully, to gain the Mthethwa chiefship on the basis of an unsubstantiated claim that he was the son of Somveli.

³⁴ *Ukukleza* was literally to drink from the udder of a cow. In the Zulu kingdom, boys were said to *kleza* when they went to an *ikhanda* to prepare for incorporation into an *ibutho*. Socwatsha's statement may refer to his having grown up in the colony of Natal as distinct from the Zulu kingdom.

³⁵ On *umqubula* see note 9 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 124, gives *isidwaba* as 'Short skin petticoat, worn round the body above the thighbone and reaching nearly to the knees ...'.

³⁶ The note in parentheses appears in the original as an interlinear insertion. The reference is to Stuart's 'Book of Proverbs', which now constitutes File 69 of the Stuart Collection.

³⁷ The reference is possibly to Sonsukwana kaGqwatsheza of the Ntuli people. Izimanguyawana may have been the name of a body of men.

³⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 436, gives *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) as 'Any poor, destitute, common fellow ...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe ...'.

³⁹ On *ukuthefula* and *ukuqokotha* see note 23 above.

⁴⁰ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 230, give *umgando* as 'Purification ceremony after the death of a person'. Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 527-9, uses the word as the term for the group of individuals who were put to death and buried with a king.

⁴¹ Maphitha kaSojiyisa was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house.

⁴² The reference to Malambule may be to a son of the Swazi king Sobhuza. He featured prominently in Swazi politics in the first half of the 1840s.

⁴³ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 342, gives *imbo* as 'A fatal sickness ...'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 381, gives *imbo* as the equivalent of *uhlonzane*, which, on p. 256, he glosses as 'Malignant malarial fever ...'.

⁴⁴ Literally, the pass of the snake.

⁴⁵ *AbaBomvana abafanayo* literally means 'the AbaBomvana who resemble'. Certain light-skinned individuals among the Bomvana were commonly said to be descended from European castaways.

⁴⁶ The reference is to Socwatsha's testimony as given on 28.12.1901 and recorded by Stuart in File 70, p. 6.

⁴⁷ On his return from exile in the Cape in January 1883, Cetshwayo was officially installed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone as ruler of part of his former kingdom.

⁴⁸ Nqetho kaKhondlo was chief of a section of the Qwabe. He was killed in 1829 in a fight with a force of Mpondo in the Mzimkhulu-Mzimvubu region. The references are

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to John Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, first published in 1888, and to Robert Russell, *Natal: the Land and Its Story*, first published in 1891.

⁴⁹ Kito was George Cato, Mangcingci was Samuel Beningfield, Hohlo or Wohlo was Henry Ogle.

⁵⁰ In transcribing these notes, Stuart omits a statement which he recorded in his original rough notes in File 60, nbk. 1, p. 24, to the effect that the *inkatha* was made by *izinyanga*. In the rough notes, he has underlined the word '*izinyanga*' and placed a large question mark against it in the margin. He is presumably registering his doubt about this statement in the light of Socwatsha's further statement (see below in the text) that only the king was allowed to make the royal *inkatha*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 125, gives *izidwedwe* as 'old rags, soiled raiment, etc., containing the body-dirt of people and collected by an *umtakati* for his evil practices'.

⁵¹ Ntshелеle kaGodide and Somzica kaGodide were others of Stuart's informants: their testimony appears under Ntshелеle's name in volume 5 of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁵² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 260, gives *isihlungu* or *ubuhlungu* as 'Venom of a snake ...; medicine supposed to cause that anything struck by a man who takes it, shall experience unusual pain or ill-effects, as though it had been bitten by a snake; such pain or ill-effects caused ...'.

⁵³ The reference to 'those at the upper end' is to the members of ruling families who lived at the upper end of their *imizi*.

⁵⁴ John Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, p. 97, reproduces a paper written by H.F. Fynn in which Mxamama is referred to as 'one of Chaka's favourites'.

⁵⁵ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 193, gives *igwalagwala* as 'The Lory (*iGolomi*), *Turacus*'.

⁵⁶ The term *amanhlwenga* (sing. *inhlwenga*), meaning something like 'destitute beggars', was often used by people in the Zulu kingdom to refer to Thonga-speakers who lived to the north.

⁵⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 143, gives *imfibinga* as 'Opaque amber-coloured bead or beads, of two small sizes ...'. On p. 270 he gives *ukuhulula* as 'Slide off, slip off, strip off, as beads ... from a string ...'.

⁵⁸ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 255 gives *umkangala* (*umkhangala*) as 'Tree which supplies good staves; in Zululand Tshaka alone used a staff of this wood, it being forbidden to others to carry them'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 292, gives it as 'Cape Teak ..., a small tree growing in the coast bush-country and sticks made from which were not carried when going up to the chief's, being supposed to bring bad luck'.

⁵⁹ Literally, 'the umNtungwa which is green' or 'the umNtungwa which is unripe'. In the present context it may mean 'the umNtungwa who is uncultured'.

⁶⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 748, gives *abaZansi* (*abaZantsi* in his orthography; sing. *umZansi*) as a name for peoples who lived on or near the coast of what is now Zululand, as distinct from the abaNtungwa who lived in the inland regions.

⁶¹ Literally, 'Mthethwa kaNyambose, you from down-country'. The abakwaNyambose constituted the ruling house of the Mthethwa chiefdom.

⁶² Melmoth Osborn was British Resident in Zululand from 1880 to 1883 with his headquarters at Nhlazatshe. From 1883 to 1887 he was Resident Commissioner in the Zululand Reserve, and from 1887 to 1893 was Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate of the Colony of Zululand.

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⁶³ Zibhebhu's forces destroyed oNdini (uluNdi), Cetshwayo's main *umuzi*, in July 1883.

⁶⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 618, gives *ukutekela* as 'Speak in the Swazi, Lala or Baca dialect, which abounds in the *t* and *ts* sounds ...'.

⁶⁵ On *uhlanga* see note 21 above. '*Sakubona*', literally 'We saw you', was the common greeting among Zulu-speaking people. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 25, gives '*Bayede!*' as 'a word of salutation only used to the Zulu king'. On p. 410 he gives *uNdabezitha* as the praise name of 'several clans ... whose great ancestor seems to have been an individual (possibly one and the same) called *uNdaba*'.

⁶⁶ AbakwaLubololwenja literally means 'the people of the dog's penis'. Abakwasibongosibi means 'the people with the nasty name'.

⁶⁷ Others of Stuart's informants record that Ngqengelele of the Buthelezi, who was a menial in the service of Shaka, was forced by the latter to have his ears pierced.

⁶⁸ The note in parentheses appears in the original as an interlinear insertion.

⁶⁹ John William Colenso was Anglican Bishop of Natal from 1853 until his death in 1883. Luzipho kaNomageje was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*. The Duke of Cornwall and York visited Natal in 1901.

⁷⁰ *Ucingo*, literally 'wire', here means telephone or telegram. Sambana was chief of the Nyawo people near the Lubombo mountains from the mid-nineteenth century until his death in 1911.

⁷¹ Nzobo or Dambuza kaSobadli of the Ntombela people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. The *izinkomo zamahole* were cattle seized by the Zulu from the Ndebele in a raid conducted in mid-1837. Among them were cattle which had been raided by the Ndebele from parties of Boers a few months before. They subsequently became known as the cattle which had 'drawn' (*ukuhola*) the Boers into the Zulu kingdom.

⁷² Sotobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was an important chief in the time of Shaka and Dingane. He exercised authority over territory on the lower Thukela.

⁷³ The reference to Bikwayo may be to Bikwayo kaNoziwawa, who was another of Stuart's informants; his testimony appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁷⁴ G. Bruheim lived in the Mabhudu kingdom in the later nineteenth century and exercised considerable influence in its public affairs.

⁷⁵ Somkhele kaMalanda of the Mpukunyoni and Sokweshatha kaMlandela of the Mthethwa were important chiefs in the Zulu kingdom.

⁷⁶ John Shepstone was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1876 to 1884. From December 1882 to March 1883 he temporarily held the post of Resident Commissioner in the 'reserve territory' that was then being established in southern Zululand by the British authorities. His headquarters were at Eshowe.

⁷⁷ The isAngqu is otherwise known as the Orange or Gariep river. We have been unable to identify the other rivers named.

⁷⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 350, gives *umlandwane* (*umlandwana*) as 'Pregnancy in an unmarried girl; applied also to the resulting child'. Manzolwandle was a son of Cetshwayo; Ndabuko was a son of Mpande.

⁷⁹ Stuart probably meant to write 'Amala.' as an abbreviation for 'Amalanga'. The eLangeni and the amaLanga were quite different groups.

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⁸⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 94, gives *idebe* (pl. *amadebe*) as ‘Person with his face cut up with tribal incisions ...; used contemptuously of anybody’.

⁸¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 223, writes of *umhanga*: ‘Native of a very fair, merely tanned, whitish complexion ...; freq. applied to a Dutchman, as being of a similar light-yellow complexion, not *mhlope* (white) as English people’.

⁸² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 424, gives *ungoqo* as ‘... a person of the lower classes who doesn’t appear at the royal kraal, an inferior person, one of no consequence, a nobody ...’.

⁸³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 135, gives *ukweshwama* as ‘Perform ... the preliminary feast of the first-fruits, about a month before the great annual festival of the *um-Kosi* ...’. A chief’s right to perform the *ukweshwama* ceremonies was a mark of his political autonomy.

⁸⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 69, gives *umcatu* as the equivalent of *ingcatu*, which, on p. 174, he glosses as ‘A very slow walking or creeping along, as of an infant or very infirm person ...’. On p. 69 he writes, ‘... *umcatu ka’Bovungana*, the slow pace of Bovungana - a former chief who required his girls to walk slowly to and from the river, in order not to break their pots’.

⁸⁵ *Izinto* translates literally as ‘things’. The meaning here is not clear.

⁸⁶ *Inxusa* (pl. *amanxusa*) translates as messenger, envoy.

⁸⁷ *Ukwelama* is to follow in order of birth. *Andile* is the past participle of the verb *ukwanda*, to increase, multiply, become enlarged.

⁸⁸ Ngungunyane (Gungunyana) was head of the section of the Ndwandwe royal house which ruled the Gaza kingdom in what is now Mozambique. In 1895 he was defeated in war by the Portuguese, deposed and exiled. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 751, gives *abaTshweki* as the equivalent of *amaNhlwenga*: see note 56 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 524, gives *ukuqakaqa* as ‘Ornament the body, as girls do, by cutting patches of incisions about the body, or as the *ama-Nlenga* about the face, or as a woman does on the first menstruation of her first-born child by smearing spots of black or red colouring over her face and body’. Manukuza and Gasa (Gaza) were figures in Ngungunyane’s line of ancestors.

⁸⁹ The reference is to the raid which Shaka made on the Mpondo in 1828. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 326, gives *ukhukhulelangoqo* as ‘A universal driving along or bringing up of the whole common herd, as to the king’s kraal at an *um-Kosi*, or for being sent out on the war-path, nobody being left at home but females and children ...’.

⁹⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 239, gives *ihlambo* as ‘Custom of “washing the spears” (*uku-hlamba imi-konto*) at the conclusion of the month’s mourning following the death of a person’.

⁹¹ After his succession to the Zulu kingship, Dingane styled himself as the leader who had *lamula’d*, i.e. mediated or intervened, to save the Zulu kingdom from Shaka’s misrule. The reference to ‘hawkers’ (*abahwebi*, or *abarwebi* in an older orthography) is to the Zulu people, who, according to recorded tradition, had once had a reputation as traders of medicines.

⁹² *Isithunyisa* and *isibhamu* both mean ‘gun’.

⁹³ *Ihashi* and *injomane* both mean ‘horse’.

⁹⁴ *Abelungu* and *abelumbi* both mean ‘white people’.

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⁹⁵ *Abalumbi* or *abelumbi*, literally ‘doers of wonderful things’, derives from the verb *ukulumba*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 366, glosses as ‘Do or make anything ... of a wonderful nature, or with surprising skill ...; (in a particular sense) work evil of a surprising nature upon a person ...’.

⁹⁶ *Namathela kuye* literally means ‘be firmly attached to him’.

⁹⁷ The name uMvuthwamini derives from the verb *ukuvuthwa*, to ripen, and locative noun, *emini*, at midday.

⁹⁸ The reference is to the evidence which immediately follows.

⁹⁹ Mehlokazulu was chief of the Qungebe. Charles Saunders was Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and then Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand from 1897 to 1909. The Duke of Cornwall and York visited Natal in 1901.

¹⁰⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 343, gives *ukukwitiza* as ‘Speak indistinctly, unintelligibly, as a foreigner speaking so that one cannot catch what he says ...’.

¹⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 705, gives *ixuku* as ‘Group, as of people or cattle ...; clump or cluster of things standing together ...’.

¹⁰² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 364, gives *umlozi* (pl. *imilozi*) as the equivalent of *umlozikazana*, which, on the same page, he glosses as ‘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 ...’.

¹⁰³ The latter part of this sentence translates literally as ‘those who have converted are still *abantu*’, in other words, black people who still keep to customary ways.

¹⁰⁴ Yamela kaPhangandawo of the kwaTshange people was chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn (see note 62 above). Sir Marshal Clarke was Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate in Zululand from 1893 to 1897.

¹⁰⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 101, gives *indlelo* as ‘... that side of a slaughtered beast, or its hide, opposite to the wounded side - this latter, notwithstanding that it contains the assegai holes (and probably just on account of them), is the most prized ...’. *Inxeba* means wound.

¹⁰⁶ *Umzimba* means body. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 448, gives *inqulu* as ‘That part of the side of the upper-leg between the buttock and the outside thigh-bone, where there is a sinking in of the flesh, and upon which one rests when reclining’. *Idungamizi*, from the verb *ukudunga*, to disturb, and *imizi*, homesteads, means disturber of homesteads. This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰⁷ ‘The breaking of the rope’ is a reference to Mpande’s flight from the Zulu kingdom to the Boers in Natal in 1839.

¹⁰⁸ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰⁹ In the succession dispute between Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo which culminated in the victory of Cetshwayo in the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1856, the supporters of the former were known as iziGqoza and those of the latter as uSuthu.

¹¹⁰ The names are those of sons of Mpande.

¹¹¹ Stuart has mistakenly written ‘3.1.01’ in the original.

¹¹² We have been unable to establish the meaning of *ngcedi*.

¹¹³ Dabulamanzi was a senior son of Mpande.

¹¹⁴ Possibly references to Ndabuko and Tshonkweni (Shonkweni), senior sons of Mpande who were among Dinuzulu’s senior advisers.

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¹¹⁵ Maphitha was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house. After the break-up of the Zulu kingdom in 1879, some of the Mandlakazi, under Maphitha's son Zibhebhu, sought to establish their autonomy from the Zulu royal house. Hayiyana was the eldest son of Maphitha and head of another group of Mandlakazi which was at odds with the one led by Zibhebhu.

¹¹⁶ KwaBangonomo was Zibhebhu's main *umuzi*.

¹¹⁷ The reference is to the thirteen chiefs who were appointed by the British after their victory over the Zulu in 1879 as rulers of the former Zulu kingdom. Malimate (Malimade) was Melmoth Osborn: see note 62 above.

¹¹⁸ Mmango was Arthur Shepstone, a son of Theophilus. In the period 1883-87 he was engaged in recruiting labourers for a diamond mining company.

¹¹⁹ Somkhele kaMalanda was chief of the Mpukunyoni people.

¹²⁰ Mgojana was of the Ndwandwe chiefly house.

¹²¹ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. *Iviyo* (pl. *amaviyo*) was a group of fighting-men perhaps fifty or sixty strong.

¹²² Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 663, give *iphini* (pl. *amaphini*) as 'Underling; inferior officer; personal representative'. On *amanhfwenga*, see note 56 above.

¹²³ Siyunguza and Mgitshwa are identified in Socwatsha's list above. Mavumengwana kaNdelela was chief of a section of the Ntuli people.

¹²⁴ Mngcangca ka Fabase of the amaKhabela people was a chief in the Umvoti Division in the 1880s and 1890s.

¹²⁵ The reference here is to an incident which occurred in October 1877 when a delegation of Zulu leaders met Theophilus Shepstone (Somsewu), then Administrator of the Transvaal, near the Ncome (Blood) river in an attempt to resolve the simmering border dispute between the Zulu kingdom and the Transvaal. Bhejane kaNomageje of the Cebekhulu people was one of Cetshwayo's *izinduna*. Michael Gallwey, the Attorney-General of Natal, was a member of the Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1878 to investigate the dispute; he did not accompany Shepstone to the meeting at the Ncome.

¹²⁶ The praise translates literally as 'the gun-muzzle of the policemen'. This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion on p. 4.

¹²⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 6, gives the verb *ukwambuka* as 'Break one's allegiance to or abandon one's chief ... in favour of another - the word 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'. On p. 382 Bryant gives the noun *imbuka* (pl. *amambuka*) as 'Traitor to one's chief, one who forsakes him and goes over to another - the name was chiefly applied to those Zulus of Cetshwayo who left him and came to live on the south side of the Umhlatuze, with John Dunn and other whitemen'.

¹²⁸ *Isikonkane* should presumably read *isikonkwane* (*isikhonkwane*), which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 316, gives as '... stake, bone, or stone set up ... by a doctor to charm away evil, etc.'.

¹²⁹ *Izwe lamafuta* translates literally as 'the country of fat'.

¹³⁰ *Ikilikiqi le qili* translates as the 'crafty person's clever feat'. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 656, give *impengu* as a *hlonipha* term for *inyanga*, a diviner or herbalist. We are unable to elucidate the meaning of this note.

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¹³¹ Qethuka kaManqondo was chief of the Magwaza people. Mnkabayi was a sister of the Zulu chief Senzangakhona.

¹³² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 285, gives *umkaba (umkhaba)* as 'Big hanging belly'. This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹³³ The notes in this sentence appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹³⁴ *Esikaleni se Bomvu* translates as 'at the pass of red ochre'.

¹³⁵ 'C.' is Cetshwayo, who returned to Zululand from exile in January 1883. Godloza was Socwatsha's elder brother.

¹³⁶ In his list of 'Native Names of Europeans' in File 73, pp. 130, 145-6 of the Stuart Collection, Stuart identifies Ladamu (Ladumu) as A. Adams, Momoyi as S.M. Samuelson, Mankankanana and Hanise as Bishop Schreuder, Nzimela as Rev. Robertson, Mondisi as Rev. O.C. Oftebro, Matshayinyoni as E.A. Brunner, Zobeyana as Galloway, Mfundisi as Rev. F. Owen, Maguquka as Sir F. Cardew, Faya as Jorgen B. Faye, and Bebedlana as Christopher Faye.

¹³⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 202, gives *ingquthu* as 'Ox given to a bride's mother, and extra to the *lobola* cattle ...'.

¹³⁸ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 475, gives *ukwomula* (causative: *ukwomulisa*) as 'Begin to eat *amasi* after certain periods of abstinence during which ... it has been abstained from ... - the word, from its connections, is almost confined in its use to females ...'.

¹³⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 135, gives *ethula (etula)* as '... present or put down before by way of recompense ...'.

¹⁴⁰ The meaning here is that the king presented cattle to certain of his leading subjects who would in return present the king with daughters for his *isigodlo*. When these young women married, the *ilobolo* cattle given for them would go to the king.

¹⁴¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 523, gives *isiqabetho - isiqabeto* - (pl. *iziqabetho*) as 'Common large-sized shallow basket of Native women = *i(li)-Qoma* ...'.

¹⁴² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 505, gives *uphiso (upiso)* as 'Large beer *i-mBiza*, with a small rimmed mouth like an *isi-Cumu* basket'. On p. 40 he gives *imbiza* as 'General name for any of the larger-sized earthenware pots in Native use (not those used for actual "table" use i.e. for eating or drinking out of - see *u(lu)-Kamba*) ...'. On p. 83 he gives *isichumu (isicumu)* as 'Large globular basket, with small mouth at top, used for carrying beer'.

¹⁴³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 150, gives *umfokazana* as 'Little bit of a fellow from some other tribe (by Natives always supposed to be inferior to their own) - diminutive form of *umFokazi* used in sense of contempt; hence, stranger in a poor way; poor fellow living as dependant or servant in a strange kraal, as old Native bachelors often do; any beggarly, menial-class person (term of contempt)'.

¹⁴⁴ *Ukuncama* means to eat before starting a journey.

¹⁴⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 339, gives *inkwebane* as 'Boy or boys of any particular kraal or place, between the ages of about five and twelve, i.e. until old enough to become <a mat-bearer>'.

¹⁴⁶ Bryant describes the *unomdede* rituals, which were performed by girls to bring fertility to the fields, in his *Dictionary*, p. 513, under *pukula (phukula)*. On p. 439 he gives *uNomkhubulwana (uNomkubulwana)* as 'Fabulous female, supposed to be the

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i-nKosazana yas' ezulwini (young lady of heaven) and virtually the Native Ceres, presiding over the growth of grains, mainly *amabele*, from which she is said to have taught the Natives to make beer'.

¹⁴⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 604, gives *umswani* as 'Grass in the paunch or first-stomach of cattle or other ruminating animals and awaiting re-chewing ...'.

¹⁴⁸ In a marginal note, Stuart indicates that *amavenge* means the same as *izigqu* (*iziqu*). Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 545, gives *isiqu* (pl. *iziqu*) as '... medicinal prophylactic or medicine, not used for curing diseases, but for preserving against or preventing all manner of evil emergencies, ... such as are worn as a neck-lace or string ornament round the body by a warrior who has killed a man in battle ...'.

¹⁴⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 115-6, gives *indondo* (pl. *izindondo*) as 'Solid brass ball, about an inch thick, and having a hole through the middle, for wearing round the neck as an ornament ...'.

¹⁵⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 591, gives *usinga* as 'Certain bundles of muscle, as on the upper foreleg and back of an ox, and which are dried and stripped up into strong fibres; such muscular fibre when stripped up and used for sewing, plaiting into strings, etc. ...'.

¹⁵¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 280, gives *injobo* (pl. *izinjobo*) as 'Single "tail" or piece of twisted skin ..., applied collectively to either or both of the bunches of such tails worn by a man dangling below the hips, between the *isinene* and the *ibeshu* ...'. The *isinene* is a man's front covering and the *ibeshu* the buttock cover. The *umutsha* (pl. *imitsha*) is the complete girdle.

¹⁵² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 726, gives *uzi* as 'Sewing-fibre, in any state, whether as the whole growing plant or tree, the rough unstringed bark or stalk brought home from the forest, or the strings when already twisted for use ...'.

¹⁵³ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 179, give *isidwenga* (pl. *izidwenga*) as 'Buck-skin blanket'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 149, gives *isifociya* (pl. *izifociya*) as 'Belt made of fibre worn by women from after the first childbirth ...'. On p. 19 he gives *isibamba* as the equivalent of *isifociya*.

¹⁵⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 557, gives *imiklezo* (*imirrezo* in his orthography) as 'covering of long cows'-tails (*ama-shoba*) worn round the neck and falling over the chest and back ...'.

¹⁵⁵ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 49, gives *isibotho* (*isiboto* in his orthography) as '... weak-footed person, a bad-walker, who cannot walk far'.

¹⁵⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 544, gives *uqhotho* - *uqoto* in his orthography - (pl. *izinqotho*) as '... strip of skin cut off from the ragged edges of a dressed hide, and which is used for making reims, strings, and the like ...'.

¹⁵⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 655, gives *intsonyama* (*intsonyama* in his orthography) as 'Meat covering the outside of the ribs of a slaughtered ox ... - this is considered the prime part of the beast, and the *intsonyama* on that side of the beast that has the assegai-wound ... is generally sent as a kind of tribute to the *induna* or headman of the particular district ...'.

¹⁵⁸ The Addison referred to may have been a medical doctor of that name who lived in Natal and for whom Stuart had briefly worked as an assistant in the late 1880s.

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¹⁵⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 668, under '*twala*', writes of the expression *ukuthwala izandla ekhanda*: 'to carry the hands behind the head ... i.e. to wail or cry ... for a dead person (from the custom of the women of so placing their hands when stricken with grief, on which account the adoption of such a posture at other times is not becoming or proper)'. Large numbers of cattle died in an epidemic of rinderpest which swept through southern Africa in 1896-97.

¹⁶⁰ In his *Dictionary*, Bryant describes the cattle whose colours are referred to in this list as follows: p. 633, *inhlamvukazi*, 'Cow of a light brown colour'; p. 473, *inzimemnyama*, 'Black ox'; p. 393, *mpofu*, 'Brown, in any of its lighter shades ...; tawny ...; light muddy brown ...'; p. 315, *inkone*, 'Beast, black or red, having a white patch along the back ...'; p. 368, *ilunga*, '... beast ... of a black colour with white on the back ...'; p. 407, *inco*, 'Red ox with large white patches distributed about the body'; p. 273, *ihwanqa*, '... bullock ... black with white spots or small patches all over the body - the markings being deeper and more clearly cut than in the *i-mPunga*; *i-Hwanqa elibomvu*, a beast marked similarly to above but with brown instead of black (= *i-Nala* ...)'; p. 691, *iwaba*, 'Black ox (- *i(li)-Wasakazi* being used for a cow) with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail ...'; p. 666, *intusi*, 'Red ox having patches or spots of white on the upper parts of the legs and beneath the belly'; pp. 492-3, *impemvu*, 'Beast (properly of a black colour) having a white head and neck, or merely a white face'; p. 400, *inala*, '... ox having white spots all over the body ...'; p. 517, *impunga*, 'Any grey-coloured thing ..., a black and white speckled beast ...'; p. 216, *ingwevu*, 'Ox, of any colour, having the front parts (face and chest) grey i.e. white carrying spots of a darker colour ... (= *i-mPunga*)'; p. 656, *insundu* (*intsundu*), 'Beast of a blackish-brown colour, and including such tints as puce, chocolate, marone, etc.'; p. 228, *ihemu*, '... an ox black or red on one side of the body and having white patches on the other ...'; p. 117, *umdubu*, '... any animal or thing ... of a light yellowish or dusty brown; also of a drab or pinkish grey tint'; pp. 539-40, *iqola*, '... ox of a black colour with a white patch on the rump, or back above the hinder-legs'; p. 733, *inzotha* (*inzota*), 'Beast spotted all over with chocolate-brown and white patches ...'; p. 623, *intenjane*, 'Dun or mud-coloured ox having patches of white about the back, flanks, etc.'; p. 383, *mdaka*, 'Of the colour of mud ..., dark brown ...'; p. 463, *unyaluti* '= *u-Nyawoti*'; p. 466, *nyawothi* (*nyawoti*), 'Ox, etc., of a light brown or light muddy colour'; p. 147, *ufipha*, 'Thing of a deep venous, or dark crimson, or purplish brown colour'; p. 550, *unqungu*, *umqunge*, '... stripe of an animal ...'; p. 36, *ibhidi* (*ibidi*), 'Variegated thing, commingling various colours ...'; p. 271, *ihungqu* (*ihunqu*), 'Thing or animal checkered with dark and light markings, motlings <sic>, streaks or mixed patches ...'; p. 452, *unhlekwane* (*untlekwane*), '... ox of a black colour having a patch of white running from the shoulders down the sides to the belly ...'; p. 312, *ukholo* (*ukolo*), '... beast ... with some, of a greyish blue or slate colour ...; with others, light whitish yellow ...'. In their *Dictionary*, Doke and Vilakazi give the following: p. 488, *mavovo*, 'Drab'; p. 306, *uhhwayiba*, 'Beast of greyish colour'; p. 485, *inkomo emaqanda kaHhwayiba*, 'a piebald, coloured beast'; p. 804, *umthuku* (*umtuku*), 'Mole-coloured beast'.

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¹⁶¹ *Luhlaza* usually means the colour green or blue. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 364, gives it as also meaning ‘glossy, shiny of colour’. *Inkone eluhlazakazi* means a glossy black beast with a white patch along the back.

¹⁶² The oNgoye is a range of hills between Eshowe and Empangeni.

¹⁶³ This phrase translates literally as ‘the *ihwanqa* with *izikhala* the colour of medicines’. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 288, gives *isikhala - isikala* (pl. *izikhala*) as ‘... temporal region ...’.

¹⁶⁴ In his *Dictionary*, Bryant glosses the terms given in this list as follows: p. 206, *ingudulwana* (diminutive of *ingudulo*), ‘Young bullock whose horns are just appearing ...’; p. 249, *isihleza*, ‘Bullock with only one horn, or with the core only remaining on the other side’; p. 187, *igodla*, ‘Bullock with one of its horns “concealed away”, as it were, i.e. away from the other one, and whether round before the face or away behind the head’; p. 104, *umdlovu*, ‘Horn or horns of an ox when growing with the points downwards so as nearly to touch the jaws, but not hanging loose as the *ama-Hlawe*’; p. 446, *amanqindi*, ‘Docked or stumped ends of a thing from which the tips or points have been cut off, as the horns of cattle ...’; p. 218, *ingxibongo, ingxobongo*, ‘Ox with horns going straight and uncurved forwards ...’; p. 284, *umjwaqu*, ‘Lean, “skinny” thing, as a bullock ...’; p. 72, *isicengeza*, ‘Beast with horns broadly spread out basin-fashion’; p. 542, *isiqongo*, ‘... bump or protuberance on the head of an ox between the horns ...’; p. 533, *isiqengqe*, ‘Bullock with horns broadly spread out like a shallow basin ...’; p. 116, *indonya*, ‘White star on the forehead of a horse or ox ...’; p. 232, *ihlabamvula* ‘= *i(li)Hlabazulu*’; p. 233, *ihlabazulu*, ‘Young bullock of about two years old, with its horns still “pointed heavenwards” ...’; p. 138, *infambele*, ‘Cow with one or more of the teats blind or wanting’; p. 558, *iklilathi (irrilati* in Bryant’s orthography), ‘= *i(li)rralati*’; p. 555, *iklalathi (iklalati)*, ‘Ox with a spot on the throat ...’; p. 58, *umbungu*, ‘... ox of an entirely white colour, horns and all ...’.

¹⁶⁵ Qalizwe kaDlozi was another of Stuart’s informants. His testimony appears in volume 5 of the *Stuart Archive*.

¹⁶⁶ Mkhungo was a son of Mpande who fled to Natal after Cetshwayo’s uSuthu followers had defeated the iziGqoza followers of his brother Mbuyazi in 1856 in a dispute over the succession to the Zulu kingship.

¹⁶⁷ Ndube of the Magwaza was a chief in the Nkandhla division.

¹⁶⁸ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 869, give *umxukuzo*, as ‘Aperient, medicine used as an aperient’.

¹⁶⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 119, gives *iduka* as ‘A girl attached to the *ama-Duka* hut or section of the *i-nKwelemba* band of Cetshwayo’s *um-Ndhlunkulu*’. On p. 340 he gives *inkwelemba* as ‘One of a certain band of *isigodhlo* girls of Cetshwayo formed by him after the *ama-Tontsi* and said to have been taught the use of the gun’.

¹⁷⁰ We have been unable to trace this reference.

¹⁷¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 617-18, gives *tebhisa (ukutebisa* in his orthography) as ‘Wear or put on the buttock-covering or girdle in a loose manner, so that it lie low down upon the posteriors ...’.

¹⁷² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 445, gives *isinqekle (isinqerre* in his orthography) as ‘One with an arm or leg broken and not re-set’.

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¹⁷³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 324, gives *khubaza* (*kubaza*) as ‘Injure, harm, hurt a person ... by wounding in battle or an accident (used only of cut flesh wounds or *ama-Nxeba*, not of healable fractures, or knocks with a blunt instrument) ...’.

¹⁷⁴ Sikhunyana kaZwide succeeded his father as ruler of the Ndwandwe kingdom in the mid-1820s. The kingdom broke up after Sikhunyana’s forces were defeated by those of Shaka in 1826.

¹⁷⁵ On *uhlanga* see note 21 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 240, gives *umhlanga* (loc. *emhlangeni*) as ‘Reed, or reeds of any kind; reed-bed, reedy-place, as in a river’.

¹⁷⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 384, gives *isimema* (pl. *izimema*) as ‘United cry of a multitude, as of a regiment shouting its war-cry, a hunt the hunting-whoop ...’. ‘Isaacs’ is presumably Nathaniel Isaacs, who hunted and traded in the Zulu kingdom from 1825 to 1831 and was the author of *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* (1836).

¹⁷⁷ Stuart here seems to mean that amaQandele was the name of Godloza’s *umuzi*.

¹⁷⁸ This sentence would make better sense if it read ‘... the name not of his own principal kraal ...’.

¹⁷⁹ James King was leader of a party of hunters and traders at Port Natal from his arrival in 1825 until his death in 1828. His chief *umuzi* was called isiHlenga or esiHlengeni. Francis Farewell was leader of another party from 1824 until his death in 1829; his chief *umuzi* was called isiNyama or esiNyameni. It is not clear if this statement comes from Socwatsha or from Stuart.

¹⁸⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 167, gives *ingalathi* (*ingalati*) as ‘That portion of the navel-string left attached to the body of an infant at birth’. He goes on to write, ‘Native women declare or imagine that they can instinctively detect blood-relationship by navel sensations’. On p. 488 he gives *uphawu* (*upawu*) as ‘Mark, brand-mark, cut or stamped on anything in order to distinguish it ...’.

¹⁸¹ We have been unable to establish the precise meanings of *umcayo* and *umvetsho*. *Ukuhlabelela* is the general Zulu word for ‘to sing’.

¹⁸² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 549, gives *ukuqunga* as ‘... go through the process of self-fortification against evil consequences or influences by means of smearing the body with charred medicaments, charms, etc., as does a man who has killed another in battle, or the chief annually at the *ukw-eshwama* ...’.

¹⁸³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 593, gives *umsizi* as ‘... any medicine, etc., when burnt and ground up into a black powder ...’. He writes of the *umsizi* hut, ‘At the time of the annual *um-Kosi* ... the Zulu king went through the process of purification or fortification called *uku-qunga* ... While being thus treated, he remained alone in a particular hut, used for this purpose every year, and called *eyas’emsizini* <that of the *umsizi*>. At night time he was attended therein by a selected wife, or girl from the *isi-godhlo*, and with whom, if so willed, he had intercourse. A child born of such connection was called *owas’emsizini* <the one of the *umsizi*>. ‘Wiping of the hoe’ refers to the sexual intercourse which took place.

¹⁸⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 122, gives *iduna* as ‘... a highest-class *i-nDuna* ...’.

¹⁸⁵ The reference is to an extract from the papers of Henry Fynn published in John Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1 (1888), p. 97.

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¹⁸⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 439, gives *unomthebe* (*unomtebe*) as ‘Queen of white-ants’. On p. 272 he gives *ukuhuzuka* as ‘... became an *i(li)-Huzu* ...’. On the same page he gives *ihuzu* as ‘“Town-Kafir” of a low class, who has abandoned his home and leads a loose life among the White-people ...’.

¹⁸⁷ Gobizembe of the Ntuli was a chief in the Mapumulo division.

¹⁸⁸ Mfungelwa of the Ntuli was a chief in the Eshowe division. A. Boast was magistrate at Eshowe.

¹⁸⁹ Dinuzulu returned to Natal from exile on St. Helena in January 1898. The rinderpest epidemic which killed large numbers of cattle in southern Africa took place in 1896-97.

¹⁹⁰ It is not clear whether Mmiso was the son of Matshana kaMondise of the Sithole or of Matshana kaSithakuzza of the Chunu. Both were chiefs in the Nkandhla division, as were Mbuzo and Mphumela of the Ntuli, Siganda of the Cube, and Ndube of the Magwaza. We have been unable to identify Nozaza.

¹⁹¹ Meseni of the Qwabe was a chief in the Lower Tugela division.

¹⁹² The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁹³ Nyakana of the Mbo (Mkhize) was a chief with adherents in the Umvoti and Mapumulo divisions.

¹⁹⁴ Mthonga of the Zulu was a chief in the Eshowe division; Mgandeni of the Thonsi was a chief in the Umlalazi division; Sikhonyane of the eLangeni was a chief in the Eshowe division; Ntshingwayo of the Khoza was a chief in the Eshowe division; Lokothwayo of the Ngethe was a chief in the Umlalazi division.

¹⁹⁵ B. Colenbrander was magistrate at Nkandhla.

¹⁹⁶ This and the next ‘Where?’ in parentheses appear in the original as marginal insertions.

¹⁹⁷ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁹⁸ For Mphumela see note 190 above.

¹⁹⁹ Meaning when the horns of the cattle, *izimpondo zezinkomo*, start becoming visible.

²⁰⁰ Chakijana kaGezindaka played a prominent role in the rebellion of 1906 and its aftermath.

²⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 86, gives *incweba* as ‘Tiny skin-bag containing medicines or charms and worn singly or in numbers on a string round the neck’.

²⁰² The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁰³ Lieut.-Col. G. Mansel commanded a detachment of the Natal Police. *Umqhathi* means ‘the one who sets on a fight’.

²⁰⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 273, gives *ukuhwebeda* (*ukurwebeda* in Stuart’s orthography) as the equivalent of *ukugogoda*, which, on p. 189, he gives as ‘Scrape out clean or completely ... with a ladle or <gourd> ..., as one might the water ..., beer, porridge, or rice in a pot ...’. *Uhwebede* is the one who scrapes clean. ‘*Ubisi lu ya yeya impupu*’ literally means ‘the milk lacks porridge’.

²⁰⁵ Mqhawe was chief of the Qadi in the Inanda, Mapumulo, Ndwedwe and Impendhle divisions.

²⁰⁶ The names in this paragraph appear in the original as marginal insertions. Gence and Mnqandi were diviners who were murdered in Zululand in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1906. Manzolwandle was a son of Cetshwayo who was seen by some Zulu as the latter’s legitimate successor in place of Dinuzulu.

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²⁰⁷ The words ‘i.e. *umnikaziyo, noma induna noma inkosi*’ appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁰⁸ The *ikhohlo* was the left-hand house of the *umuzi*.

²⁰⁹ Literally, ‘the lightning of the heavens!’

²¹⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, does not have an entry for *ucibigoje*. On p. 73 he gives *uchibi* (*ucibi*) as ‘Immense multitude, as of people or cattle on one spot ...’. A free translation of ‘*Ugcinalitshone ucibigoje*’ would be ‘The multitude was so large as to finish passing by only at sunset’.

²¹¹ For *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) see note 38 above. *Isitha* means enemy.

²¹² The colours mentioned in this paragraph are glossed in note 160 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 546, gives *umqubula* as ‘Dress ... formed of three girdles or kilts of <monkey> tails, one of which was worn low over the buttocks, another above the hips and a third over the shoulders like a cape, thus covering the body entirely from neck to knee’.

²¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 26, gives *ukugwaza ibhece*, literally to stab an *ibhece* melon, as ‘to kill a defenceless or powerless person, massacre an enemy when already vanquished, surrendered, or overtaken in flight’.

²¹⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 8, gives *isangcobe* as ‘Old mealies or mabele of the current or last harvested season, which have become sour from the damp of the pit’. On p. 488 he gives *upata* as ‘Mouldy rotting mealies remaining at the bottom of the pit from the harvest before last’. On p. 616 he gives *umthathe* (*umtate*) as ‘Mealie grain or grains (collect.), when crisply dry and fresh, not yet tainted by the earth-pit ...’.

²¹⁵ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

²¹⁶ The reference is to Socwatsha’s evidence as recorded on p. 42 of File 59, nbk. 32 of the Stuart Collection. See the text below.

²¹⁷ Mtshaphi kaNohadu was another of Stuart’s informants. The reference is to testimony which appears in the *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 68.

²¹⁸ Literally, ‘the breaking of the rope’.

²¹⁹ Bhongoza kaMefu won fame in the Zulu kingdom for decoying Boer forces into an ambush after the Boer victory over the Zulu at the Ncome river in December 1838.

²²⁰ Stuart has wrongly identified Lunguza as his informant on p. 32 of File 59, nbk. 32: it was actually Ndabambi kaSikhakana. See his statement as rendered in the *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 177.

²²¹ We have been unable to establish the meaning of *o si yoto*.

²²² Sivivi kaMaqungo was another of Stuart’s informants: his testimony appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*. We have been unable to trace any evidence that he gave to Stuart on 27.2.1907.

²²³ Fort Yolland is situated some twenty kilometres west of Eshowe.

²²⁴ The date in parentheses appears in the original as an interlinear insertion. It may signify the date on which Stuart wrote up the testimony which follows.

²²⁵ Stuart usually used the spelling ‘Dingana’. Occasionally, as here, he slipped into using the spelling ‘Dingane’.

²²⁶ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 663, give *iphini* as ‘Underling; inferior officer; personal representative’.

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²²⁷ *'Ifa ini?'* translates literally as 'Is it an inheritance?' For *ivelo* read *imvelo*, which translates as 'nature', 'character'.

²²⁸ The first part of the praise translates loosely as 'the basket with which I learnt' (to weave?) It may refer to the fact that the inGobamakhosi was the first *ibutho* formed by Cetshwayo. Of the words in the second part of the praise, *hlafuna* means to chew and *izinkobe* means boiled grain, but we have been unable to make sense of the sentence.

²²⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 166, gives *igagu* as 'Bold, forward, shame-less person, in a good or bad sense, as a bold singer or dancer ...'.

²³⁰ The notes in this and the next two paragraphs appear in the original as marginal insertions.

²³¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 516-17, gives *ukuphunga* as 'Drive off by motioning, frightening, scaring, in some way, ... as a doctor when sprinkling an army or kraal with an *i-nTelezi* ...'. On p. 620 he gives *intelezi* as 'General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, ... and gen. administered by a "sprinkling" process ... and not carried about on the person ...'.

²³² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 94, gives *udekane* as 'Meadow-plant (*Vitis hypoleuca*) with raceme of tiny white sweet smelling flowerlets and used as an *intelezi* ...'. On p. 106 he gives *idlula* as 'Certain plant growing in woods, whose roots are used as an *intelezi* ...'.

²³³ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 678, give *uphunya* as 'Species of herbs, *Portulaca quadrifida*, and *P. caffra*, used as preventive medicine'. *Ukuphunya* means to 'Slip out of the grasp'. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 662, give *uphindamshaye* as 'Species of wild grenadilla, *Adenia gummifera*, used as a medicinal charm to react on a witch'. The word derives from *ukuphinda*, to repeat, go back, and *ukushaya*, to beat, strike. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 735, gives *umzungulu* as 'Certain bush (*Dalbergia obovata*), whose bark is used as rope, etc., for binding'.

²³⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 372, gives *umabophe* as 'Certain plant (*Acridocarpus Natalitius*) whose red roots are used as an *inTelezi* or sprinkling-charm against all manner of evil influence, coming dangers, etc., and as an *isi-betelelo* ...'. On p. 33 he gives *isibetelelo* as 'Any love-medicine ...'.

²³⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 412, gives *isindiyandiya* (pl. *izindiyandiya*) as '... certain plants (*Bersama lucens* and *Spermacoce Natalensis*) eaten by a man before appearing in a Native court as a charm in order to throw the minds of those trying the case into a general confusion'.

²³⁶ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 261, give *ugqamamaweni* as 'Begonia Dregei, species of edible flowering plant'. On p. 580 they give *unkungwini* as 'Species of plectranthus plant used as a love-charm'. On p. 769 they give *insulansula* as 'Protective charm against witchcraft placed in the kraal; charm for blinding, made from the herb *Spermacoce natalensis*'.

²³⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 217, gives *isigxa* as 'Iron rod, or wooden stake, used by a Native doctor for digging up medicinal roots ...'. On the same page he gives *ugxa* as 'Iron rod or stake, as above; fee for using it, nowadays a goat or half-a-sovereign'.

²³⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 39, gives *isibinda* as 'Certain large and hard-wooded forest tree'.

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- ²³⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 243. gives *umhlangwe* as ‘Large, dust-coloured snake, with prominent spine and not poisonous, but regarded as an *isi-Hlambamhlola* should it enter a kraal or hut ...’. *Isihlambamhlola* means bad omen.
- ²⁴⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 727, gives *ukuzila* as ‘Abstain from doing something in accordance with custom or ordinance ...’. On p. 511 he gives *ukuphothula* as ‘... purify oneself, cleanse away the defilement of “black medicines” ... by rubbing, anointing or washing one’s body in water or grease medicated with charms, and after which generally follows a completing dose of “white medicines” freeing the individual from all the restraint imposed upon him by the “black medicines”’.
- ²⁴¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 725, gives *izembe* (pl. *amazembe*) as ‘... certain disease (really several different diseases), appearing as dysentery, bleeding from the stomach, kidney diseases, culminating sometimes in insanity, and so on, and contracted, only by men ...; medicine, etc., used in the treatment of such disease ...’.
- ²⁴² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 654, gives *insizi* (pl. *izinsizi*) - *intsizi* in his orthography - as ‘Certain Native medicines or “black-powders”, consisting of the flesh, skin, feet, etc., of various animals mixed with certain herbs and burnt to ashes ...’.
- ²⁴³ *Ukunukisa* means to cause to inhale.
- ²⁴⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 324, gives *ikhubalo* (pl. *amakhubalo*) as ‘Any Native wood-medicine ..., as medicinal roots, bark and the like, not leaves, bulbs, stones, or animal powders ...’.
- ²⁴⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 480, gives *impaka* as ‘Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a “familiar” and sent by him on villainous errands ...’.
- ²⁴⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 356, gives *isilili* as ‘Sleeping-place in a hut i.e. that part of the floor on either side of the hearth where the sleeping-mats are laid - the husband appropriating one side or *isi-Lili* and his wife the other.’ *Izinhlangothi* (sing. *uhlangoti*) means the sides of the house. The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ²⁴⁷ An *isivivane* was an accumulation of stones left by travellers as good-luck tokens at prominent places along the wayside.
- ²⁴⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 322, gives *umkhovu* (pl. *imikhovu*) as ‘Familiar of an *umtakati*, whom he sends round by night for working evil, placing poison, etc., in the kraals ...’.
- ²⁴⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 254, *ukuhololela* as ‘Bring or send down on one ... an evil-sign or ill-omen, as an *umtakati* does on a kraal previous to attacking it ...’.
- ²⁵⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 115-16, gives *indondo* (pl. *izindondo*) as ‘Solid brass ball, about an inch thick, and having a hole through the middle, for wearing round the neck as an ornament ...’. The first part of the sentence in the text translates as ‘*Izindondo* were part of the dress which people of rank wore in former times, newly married wives and older wives’.
- ²⁵¹ ‘*Umango funa’d them*’ translates literally as ‘The hillside wanted them’. A free translation might be, ‘Ordinary people coveted them’.
- ²⁵² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 542. gives *ukuqonela* as ‘Overshadow a person ... by obtaining some occult ascendancy over him, or greater influence, prestige, or importance than he ...’.
- ²⁵³ We have been unable to establish the precise meanings of *uphathelanjalo* (literally, ‘the one who always carries’) and *utshomu*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 125, gives

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izidwedwe as ‘old rags, soiled raiment, etc., containing the body-dirt of people and collected by an *umtakati* for his evil practices’.

²⁵⁴ The reference is to a battle between the followings of Cetshwayo (the uSuthu) and Mbuyazi (the iziGqoza) at Ndongakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela in 1856.

²⁵⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 703, gives *ixoki* as ‘Person intolerable to others by the trouble he causes, by his bad temper, fault finding or quarrelsome nature ...’.

²⁵⁶ This event, if it happened at all, is usually said to have taken place in 1840, when the Boers recognized Mpande as king of the Zulu. Socwatsha seems to be confusing two quite different events.

²⁵⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 351, gives *ubulawu* as ‘Love potion or medicinal charm of any kind (mostly consisting of herbs), as so commonly used by young-men in their dealings with girls ...’.

²⁵⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 604, gives *ukuswaza* as the equivalent of *ukusileka*. On p. 588 he gives the latter as ‘... make a person ... become disfavoured or disliked, as by his companions or the other sex, or unlucky, unprosperous, in his undertakings or chances ...’. On p. 604 he gives *umswazi* as the equivalent of *isilela*. On p. 587 he gives the latter as ‘Disfavour, state of being disliked or unfavourably regarded, as in a person who is unpopular with the girls, not liked by his chief or companions; bad luck, not good fortune, as in one’s undertakings or chances ...’.

²⁵⁹ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 511, give *umpikayiboni* (literally, the army does not see) as ‘Medicine used to make people invulnerable’. On p. 167 they give *isidondi* as ‘Species of preventive medicine’.

²⁶⁰ The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Of the words in this list of *ubulawu*, Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, give the following glosses: p. 30, *ibheka*, ‘Species of herbs used as emetic for love-charm ...’; p. 137, *isidala*, ‘... wild pink carnation, used as a love-charm’; p. 568, *inhlanhla*, ‘... Species of medicinal plant, Secamone spec., a forest climber with latex’; p. 278, *uguqu*, ‘Herbalist’s name for the *isidenda* shrub, *Maesa alnifolia*, the roots of which are used as a love-charm (lit. the changer)’; p. 888, *izaza*, ‘Species of herbal love-charms: *i(li) zaza elimhlope*: *Behnia reticulata*. *i(li)zaza elimbomvu*: *Talictum rhynchocarpum*’; p. 509, *umoyomnandi*, ‘Species of herbal love-charm’; p. 200, *umfanozacile*, ‘Species of bush used as a love-charm’; p. 174, *umdumo*, ‘Species of tree, *Ilex nitis*, bark used as emetic’; p. 284, *igwayilazo*, ‘*Scabiosa columberia*, used as a love-charm’; p. 67, *ubani*, ‘Blue-flowering agapanthus lily, *Agapanthus umbellatus*, the roots of which are used by young men as a love-charm emetic’; p. 755, *usikisiki*, ‘Species of bush, prob. *Veronia*, whose leaves are used as a love emetic’; p. 94, *ibutha*, ‘Love-charm emetic, consisting of certain kinds of *Asparagus*’; p. 787, *isithathe*, ‘*Oxalis* ...’; p. 853, *isiwisa*, ‘Medicinal charm to keep hail from the gardens’; p. 274, *iguleni*, ‘Species of leafless climber with green flowers, *Bowiea volubilis*, herbalist’s name for the *ugibisisila*’; p. 245, *ugibisisila*, ‘Species of leafless climbing plant with large bulb and small green flowers, *Bowiea volubilis*, used as protective and love-charm’; p. 658, *impephotshani*, ‘Species of plant, prob. *Gazania longifolia*’. Bryant, *Dictionary*, gives the following glosses: p. 686, *uvuma*, ‘= *isi-Kwali*’; p. 337, *isikhwali*, ‘Certain shrubby climbing pant (*Vigna triloba*) bearing a flower resembling a sweet-pea’; p. 576, *ishinga*, ‘... groundsel-like weed ...’; p. 561,

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umusa, ‘... small veldt-plant with white flower, used as love-charm by young men; also forest shrub, used for same purpose ...’; p. 494, *umpendulo*, ‘Any medicine used for changing the sex of children (in the womb), and for other matters in regard to child-bearing’; p. 494, *iphengulula*, ‘Certain tree’; p. 494, *iphengulule*, ‘Small veldt-herb, used for chest complaints ...’; pp. 668-9, *intwalabombo*, ‘Certain climbing-plant ...: a young man uses it as an emetic in order to make his bodily appearance (*i-gazi*) nice when going out courting, or washes his face with it to give it a beautiful reddish glow; the man afflicted with sexual impotency drinks an infusion of it, mixed with goat’s milk, in order to restore the lost powers which some evil person has charmed away from him ...’; p. 310, *imkhokha*, ‘... certain climbing plant ... whose small red seeds are carried “for luck” in one’s purse ...’; p. 237, *ihali*, ‘Herb whose roots are mixed with the flesh of a kingfisher (*isi-Vuba*) and used as a love-charm ...’; p. 665, *umthunyelelwa*, ‘Bastard Safraan or Mountain Hard Pear (*Cathastrum Capense*) used as an *intelezi* against lightning ...’; p. 694, *umwelela*, ‘Certain shrub, whose roots are used as a love-emetic, dream-medicine, etc., by young-men in their dealings with the girls ...’; p. 640, *umtholo*, ‘Certain kind of mimosa, common in the bush veldt ...’; p. 263, *umhlwazimamba*, ‘... certain forest climber, used an *i-nTelezi* ...’; p. 391, *umondi*, ‘Certain forest climber, whose aromatic bark and roots are used as a stomachic for giving appetite and relieving flatulence’.

²⁶¹ Gedle was another of Stuart’s informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.

²⁶² This praise translates as ‘The one who is sent and agrees, like an *impaka* sent by its father, the *umthakathi*’. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 480, gives *impaka* as ‘Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a “familiar” and sent by him on villainous errands ...’.

²⁶³ *Umwelela* derives from *ukuwela*, to cross over; *kweliphesheya* means ‘on the other side’.

²⁶⁴ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 86, gives *incweba* (pl. *izincweba*) as ‘Tiny skin-bag containing medicines or charms and worn singly or in numbers on a string round the neck’. On p. 710 he gives *isiyaya* (pl. *iziyaya*) as ‘String of feathers worn as an ornamental circlet round the neck; also sometimes (incorrectly) applied to *ubu-Tekwane*’. On p. 619 he gives *ubuthekwane* as ‘Bunch of feathers of any kind worn dangling from the back of the head by young-men ...’. On p. 380 he gives *amambatha* as ‘Circlet worn round the neck or head by a man who has killed another in battle, and consisting of a number of tiny skin bags stringed <sic> together and containing medicinal-charms against evil results, etc.’. The ordinary meaning of *isambatho* (pl. *izambatho*) is covering for the body.

²⁶⁵ The noun *inswelaboya*, which literally means ‘one which lacks hair’, derives from *ukuswela*, to lack, and *uboya*, hair. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 656, gives *inswelaboya* (*intswelaboya* in his orthography) as ‘One without hair, i.e. an *imPisi* or hyaena ... without hair, a hairless human *im-Pisi* or hunter after dead men’s flesh ...’.

²⁶⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 95, gives *idelabuthongo* as ‘Hyaena; an *um-Takati* ... - lit. a thing that gives up sleep, i.e. goes about during the night’.

²⁶⁷ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 207, gives the locative *emgulugulwini* as ‘the place immediately in front of the pillar nearest the doorway in a Native hut ...’. On p. 357, he gives *umlindaziko* as ‘That part of the Native hearth immediately behind the first pillar opposite the doorway ...’.

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²⁶⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 348, gives *umlanda* as ‘Term applied by any member of the husband’s family ... to any member of the wife’s family (except her father and mothers, who are *u-mamezala*)’. *Umlandakazi* is the feminine form; *umlandakazana* is the diminutive form of the feminine.

²⁶⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 496, gives *impepo* as ‘Small plant, bearing a yellow everlasting-flower, and burnt by <diviners>, it giving off a fragrant smell ...’.

²⁷⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 263, gives *umhlwehlwe* as the equivalent of *umhlelo*. On p. 247 he gives *umhlelo* as ‘The caul or network of adipose tissue covering the viscera of a beast and forming part of the peritoneum’. On p. 440 he gives *amanoni* as ‘often used for the fat generally on the beast’s body’.

²⁷¹ *Igama* means song. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 182, gives *isigekle* (*isigerre* in his orthography) as ‘Any form of wedding-dance that is accompanied by clapping of hands, and generally of a quick spirited nature ...’.

²⁷² The original Zulu reads:

Ngi ray’ inkanyezi, inyang’ itwasile! (men)

Hey’ inkanyez’ inomsila, ku pamben’ (or xaben’) amakosi! (women)

²⁷³ The notes in the paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁷⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 256, gives *ukuhlonza* as ‘... lead in music or reed-playing (... of the second party *vuma* would be used) ...’. On p. 559 he gives *ukuklwaza* (*ukurrwaza* in his orthography) as the equivalent of *ukuti klwa* (*rrwa*). On the same page he gives the latter as meaning to make a sound like ‘the distant shrill singing of female voices’. On p. 686 he gives *ukuvuma* as ‘... sing the low accompaniment or second part in any song ...’. On p. 115 he gives *ukudokoza* as ‘Speak in a low, base <sic>, gruff tone ...’.

²⁷⁵ The statements in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁷⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 290, gives *ikhambi* (pl. *amakhambi*) as ‘Medicinal herb, of any kind, such as grows on the veldt and the fresh leaves of which are common “household remedies” ... (not applied to “professional” medicines, such as are used by Native doctors, and which consist mainly of barks, dry roots, powders and the like ...)’.

²⁷⁷ KwaNyakamubi was a small homestead on the outskirts of Shaka’s main *umuzi* at kwaDukuza.

²⁷⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 325, gives *umkhuhlane* as ‘General name for any acute disease accompanied by fever, etc., such as ague, influenza, enteric, small-pox, pneumonia, pleurisy, severe cold, etc.’.

²⁷⁹ *Ofeni lwenyoni* translates as ‘at the fissure of the bird’. Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 579-80, gives *umshokobezi* (pl. *abashokobezi*) as ‘Wearer of *ubu-Shokobezi* i.e. a warrior of the *u-Suthu* or Cetshwayo’s army (not that of *u-Zibebu*), who adopted this custom’. On p. 580 he gives *ubushokobezi* as ‘Head-ornament made of the bush of a cow’s tail and carried in two pieces erect on the top of the head’.

²⁸⁰ Zihlandlo of the Mkhize (Mbo) people was a chief in the time of Shaka and Dingane.

²⁸¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 368, gives *ilunga* as ‘beast ... of a black colour with white on the back encircling downwards over the flanks towards the hinder-legs and sometimes also from the shoulder downwards towards the fore-legs ...’.

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- ²⁸² Nzobo kaSobadli was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ²⁸³ The uMavalana and uHayelwengwenya were *ambutho* formed by Dinuzulu. The uFalaza was an *ibutho* formed by Cetshwayo.
- ²⁸⁴ Mankulumana kaSomaphunga was one of Dinuzulu's principal advisers.
- ²⁸⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 464, gives *unyandla* as 'Man sent with secret message, as to warn another of approaching danger ...'.
- ²⁸⁶ Tshanibezwe of the Buthelezi was a chief in the Mahlabatini division. Mciteki of the Mandlakazi was an acting chief in the Ndwandwe division.
- ²⁸⁷ Khambi of the Zulu was a chief in the Ngotshe division.
- ²⁸⁸ Mabhoko of the Ntshangase was a chief in the Ngotshe division.
- ²⁸⁹ Arthur Shepstone, a son of Theophilus, was Secretary for Native Affairs in the colony of Natal from 1909 to 1910 and then Chief Native Commissioner in the province of Natal until his death in 1912.
- ²⁹⁰ Mmango was Arthur Shepstone.
- ²⁹¹ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ²⁹² Mkhungo and Sikhotha were sons of Mpande.
- ²⁹³ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ²⁹⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Masiphula kaMamba was Mpande's principal counsellor.
- ²⁹⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 712, gives *isiyendane* (pl. *iziyendane*) as 'Hair dressed so as to hang in long twisted strings ...; person wearing such ...; plur. *izi-Yendane*, Shaka's name for the *ama-Hlubi*'. *IziYendane* was also the name for a group of fighting-men formed by Shaka from among the Hlubi and related peoples. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 711, gives *umyeko* (pl. *imiyeko*) as 'Hair (whole head thereof) twisted in long strings ... so as to hang down over the head all round = *isi-Yendane*, *isi-Yendhle*'.
- ²⁹⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *ububende* as 'Blood found in the body of a slaughtered beast, which is mixed with minced-meat and eaten ...'.
- ²⁹⁷ The expeditions referred to took place in 1828.
- ²⁹⁸ For *inkengane* see note 38 above.
- ²⁹⁹ For KwaNyakamubi see note 277 above.
- ³⁰⁰ To 'wash the hands' was to go through various purification rituals: for details see Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 238, under *hlamba*. On *uhlanga* see note 21 above.
- ³⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 131, gives *ukwendlala* as 'Lay down or spread flat out anything ... for sleeping or lying upon ...'. *Ukwendlalela* means 'to spread out for'.
- ³⁰² Lokothwayo kaManzini of the Nganga was a chief with adherents in the Camperdown, Inanda and Umlazi divisions.
- ³⁰³ Mnkabayi kaJama was a sister of Senzangakhona, the father of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.
- ³⁰⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 546, gives *umqubula* as 'Dress ... formed of three girdles or kilts of <monkey> tails, one of which was worn low over the buttocks, another above the hips and a third over the shoulders like a cape, thus covering the body entirely from neck to knee'. On p. 557 he gives *imiklezo* (*imirrezo* in his orthography) as 'covering of long cows'-tails (*ama-shoba*) worn round the neck and falling over the chest and back ...'. On p. 33 he gives *ibheqe* (pl. *amabheqe*) as 'Strip of dry skin, of

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the <blue-monkey, genet>, etc., worn dangling on each side of the head before the ears, as a full-dress ornament ...'. On p. 462 he gives *umnyakanya* (pl. *iminyankanya*) as 'Single stick of <widow-bird> feathers, of which a couple ... are fixed to the head as an ornament at dances, etc.'. On p. 635 he gives *inhlendla* (pl. *izinhlemdla*) - *intlendhla*, *izintlendhla* in his orthography - as 'Barbed assegai ...'.

³⁰⁵ Dingane's mother Mpikase was a daughter of Mlilela (Myiyeya) of the Qungebeni people.

³⁰⁶ Dabulamanzi was a brother of Cetshwayo. Entumeni is some fifteen kilometers west of Eshowe.

³⁰⁷ Hashi of the Biyela, Mbuza of the Ntuli, Mavumengwana of the Ntuli, Siyunguza of the Mpungose, Nonzama of the Biyela, and Mgitshwa of the Biyela were chiefs in Zululand. Yamela was chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn, who at this time was Resident Commissioner in the Zululand Reserve. Zibhebhu was head of the main house of the Mandlakazi.

³⁰⁸ Malimade was Melmoth Osborn.

³⁰⁹ Misjana was John Shepstone.

³¹⁰ The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

³¹¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 349, gives *umlandwana* as the equivalent of *umlanjwana*, which, on p. 350, he gives as 'Pregnancy in an unmarried girl; applied also to the resulting child'.

³¹² The Ngoye hills lie between Eshowe and Empangeni.

³¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 341, gives *umkhwenyana* as 'Term applied by any members of a wife's family ... to any member of her husband's family, though more especially to the husband himself ...'.

³¹⁴ Ntshingwayo was of the Khoza people. A photograph of him appears in Bryant, *Olden Times*, opp. p. 275.

³¹⁵ Dinuzulu died on 18 October 1913, eight days before Socwatscha made this statement to Stuart.

³¹⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 390, gives *umnyama* (*umnyama* in his spelling) as 'Pitchy darkness, as of night; ... darkness of depression or sorrow in the heart, as brought over a kraal by the death of one of its chief inmates, and which is supposed to be removed by the *uku-hlamba* custom; quality in a thing for causing ill-fortune, evil-influence ...'.

³¹⁷ *Umsinsi* is the common Erythrina, and *umhlonhlo* the euphorbia. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 494, give *umumbu* as 'Species of soft-wood trees, *Conniphora caryaefolia*, *C. harveyi* (of the Incense family), and *Sterculia Rogersii*'.

³¹⁸ *Oyise* literally means 'fathers', and *oyisemkhulu* 'grandfathers'.

³¹⁹ *Umgando* was the purification ceremony held after a person's death. *Ukugqiba* and *ukulahla* mean 'to bury'.

³²⁰ Nsokonsokwana was William Shepstone, one of Theophilus' sons. The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

³²¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 403-4, gives *umnawe* as 'Any brother or sister younger than oneself ...; used by married women to their brothers (married or unmarried) even when older than themselves ...'.

³²² Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860, give *isixebhe* as '1. Paramour, concubine. 2. Sweetheart ...'.

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³²³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 256, gives *isihlonti* as 'Hair growing about a man's chest, back, in the ears, etc. ...'.

³²⁴ The words 'before Ndongakusuka' appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

³²⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 137, gives *ifa* as 'Property of any kind (including girls) left by one deceased, to be acquired by succession or inheritance'. Cope, *Izibongo*, p. 97, gives '*Oth' esadl' ezinye wadl' ezinye*' ('He who while devouring some devoured others') as one of Shaka's praises.

³²⁶ *Ukweqa* is to jump over. The reference here is to the practice by which a chief who had been victorious in battle jumped over a prostrate defeated chief.

³²⁷ The apparent meaning of the passage is that all the men who took part in the killing of Mbuyazi in the battle of Ndongakusuka did so with their faces averted behind their shields out of respect for his status as a chief. Later they fled from the Zulu kingdom for fear of being put to death by Cetshwayo for having dared to kill a chief, as Mbopha had dared to kill Shaka.

³²⁸ The battles of Isandlwana and kwaWombane (or Nyezane) were fought in the first days of the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in 1879. Cetshwayo's reference to the son of Sonzica was to Theophilus Shepstone. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 322, gives *inkovu* as 'Pumpkin or vegetable water i.e. in which the pumpkin or *imifino* have been boiled ...'. He writes, 'Phr. *umtele ngenkovu emehlweni*, you have thrown pumpkin-water in his eyes i.e. have slushed him with abuse, abused him to his face'.

³²⁹ Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone.

³³⁰ This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

³³¹ The events referred to took place in 1873. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 736, gives *uzwathi* as 'Firestick i.e. either of the sticks used for producing fire by friction ...'.

³³² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 588, gives *umsila* as '... the fur-trimmed end of the stick of a shield; hence, sometimes applied to the whole stick when so ornamented'.

³³³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 268, gives *ihubo* as 'Tribal song; regimental song ...'. He writes, 'Each separate Zulu clan has a different *ihubo* or perhaps two of them. This song is treated with great respect by all the members of the clan, possessing as it does a certain sacred sentimentality of character ...'.

³³⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 682, gives *iviyo* (pl. *amaviyo*) as 'Group, cluster ... moving or standing in a body ...'.

³³⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 359-60, gives *umlobokazi* as 'Young wife - applied to such from the time of her having first put on the top-knot (as an *i-nKehli* or betrothed girl still unmarried) until she passes her prime as a wife; and even indefinitely after that, by such women as are much older than herself ...'.

³³⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 629, gives *umthimba* as 'Bride's party (males as well as females), with which she comes to the wedding-dance ...'.

³³⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 163, gives *isigaba* as 'Section, or portion divided off from the whole, as of a regiment, a field, contents of a book, a sleeping-mat, girl's beadwork girdle, etc.; - hence troop, detachment, division, column, chapter, paragraph, verse, etc.'.

³³⁸ Doke and Vilakzi, *Dictionary*, p. 270, give *ukugubha* as '... dance with violent body movements'.

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³³⁹ Ntunjambili is marked on older maps as Kranskop mountain. The Ndongondwana ford over the Thukela lies below the mountain. Fort Yolland was situated to the north-north-east near the road from Eshowe to Nkandla.

³⁴⁰ The original reads:

*Ogandagand' umbango ku ngo wa kwa Nyuswa
Kwa Nyuswa kwa ku nga banga luto
Kwa ka bangw' izinhlakuv' emanxiweni.*

³⁴¹ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 252, give *isigodi* as meaning a valley or a division of territory.

³⁴² Shaka attacked and broke up the Ndwandwe kingdom under Sikhunyana kaZwide in 1826.

³⁴³ Literally, 'Go; you have been eaten up by the mountain'.

³⁴⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 164, gives *igabe* as 'Anything done heap-wise, in large single quantity, as ... a whole beast cooked at one cooking ...'.

³⁴⁵ *Amashumi* literally means 'tens'. Figuratively it could here mean 'dozens' or 'by the dozen'. *Amagolo* means anuses.

³⁴⁶ Weli was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears elsewhere in the present volume. Stuart is here referring to a visit which he (Stuart) made to Zululand early in 1914.

³⁴⁷ *Ithanga* is a temporary or makeshift cattle enclosure.

³⁴⁸ These words translate as 'In all the places hollowed out in the earth'. It may refer to grain pits.

³⁴⁹ For *inhlwenga* (pl. *amanhlwenga*) see note 56 above.

³⁵⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 594, writes 'Phr. *amehlo amhlope!* our eyes are white! – a greeting expressed to a person upon his safe return from battle or any other dangerous undertaking (in which cases the usual *sakubona* is never used)'.

³⁵¹ The praise translates as 'You who grew great while others delayed'.

³⁵² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 88, gives *ukudabuka* as '... get broken out into being, get sprung forth into life ...; originate, have their origin, as a tribe ...'.

³⁵³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 669, gives *itwane* (*itwani*) as 'Fourth or digesting stomach of cattle ...; hence, tripe'.

³⁵⁴ The reference is to p. 34 of File 58, nbk. 24 of the Stuart Collection. See below in the text.

³⁵⁵ The original Zulu reads:

*Utshil' o ngatshoyo
Umlom' o nga teti manga.*

³⁵⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 59, gives *ukubusa* as 'Enjoy a "fine" life, as one with plenty to eat and drink and nothing to do ...; hence, live the gentleman, be a lord; lord it over a country i.e. reign over it ... as a chief ...'.

³⁵⁷ This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of the page. *Umhlalandlini* literally means 'the one who remains in the house'.

³⁵⁸ *Uvel' enkosini* translates as 'He comes from the king'. *Udhlamile* may mean 'the one who eats while standing (*udla emile*), which is a sign of bad manners. We have been unable to establish the precise meaning of *uxoloxolo*.

³⁵⁹ These sentences appear in the original as a marginal insertion. They translate respectively as 'Here! Socwatsha kaPhaphu!' and 'Friend, the order is heard.'

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³⁶⁰ The reference is presumably to the manuscript of uKulumetule: see the following note.

³⁶¹ The Zulu original of the account that follows forms one of the bases of the account published by Stuart in his reader uKulumetule (1925), pp. 7-14. (The section based on Socwatsha's evidence runs from pp. 9 to 14.)

³⁶² Mtshinane of the Khanyile was a chief in the Nkandhla division.

³⁶³ The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference to Ilanga, 24.3.1916, col. 2 is to an anonymous article written in Zulu and entitled '*Abantu nemikuba yabo ukuhlazululwa kwohlanga*' (which translates as 'The people and their customs; the breaking up of the ancestral stock'). Among the historical topics dealt with in the article is the incident involving Ngoza described in the text below. Xubhu kaLuduzo was another of Stuart's informants. His testimony on this incident appears in the present volume, pp. 376-7.

³⁶⁴ Mgungundlovu was the Zulu name for Pietermaritzburg.

³⁶⁵ Somopho of the Thembu was a chief in the Zulu kingdom.

³⁶⁶ In the original of the sentence, the word used by Somopho for 'white man' is given as the *ukuthefula* form *umyungu* rather than the more usual *umlungu*.

³⁶⁷ In the original, the first of the two sentences which we have placed in parentheses appears as an interlinear insertion and the second as a marginal insertion.

³⁶⁸ Nzibe was a younger full-brother of Cetshwayo's father, Mpande. He died in 1828 during the expedition which Shaka sent against Soshangane, ruler of what later became the Gaza kingdom.

³⁶⁹ *Nyakeme* is the stative perfect tense of *ukunyakama*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 462, gives as '... make a grim, morose, scowling face, as one angry ...'.

³⁷⁰ The reference to notebook 57 is to the Stuart Collection, File 61, nbk. 57, p. 6, where, on 8.4.1905, Stuart made the following note: '*Kwa mbila mhlope = Nowhere, as there are no white rock-rabbits.*' The Zulu phrase translates as 'At the place of the white rock-rabbit'.

³⁷¹ *Esikhaleni sebomvu* means 'the pass of the red ochre'. Mgungundlovana was the Zulu name for Greytown.

³⁷² Dlamvuzo, literally 'eater of gain', was a praise-name for Cetshwayo.

³⁷³ The Zulu original of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader uBaxoxele (1924), pp. 187-90.

³⁷⁴ *TheIwe ngomlotha* literally means 'covered in ashes'.

³⁷⁵ By 'Tembu' is here meant the Sithole. The Thembu and Sithole regarded one another as closely related.

³⁷⁶ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁷⁷ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 511, gives *ukuphothula* as '... purify oneself, cleanse away the defilement of "black medicines" ... by rubbing, anointing or washing one's body in water or grease medicated with charms, and after which generally follows a completing dose of "white medicines" freeing the individual from all the restraint imposed upon him by the "black medicines"'.

³⁷⁸ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 550, gives *iqungo* as 'Insanity caused in an *i-Nxeleha* who has neglected the process of *uku-qunga* ...'. On p. 459 he gives *inxeleha* as 'Person who has killed another, gen. in battle, and who, before returning home, must first

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perform certain ceremonies to purify himself of the evil taint (see *qunga*) ...'. On p. 549 he gives *ukuqunga* as '... go through the process of self-fortification against evil consequences or influences by means of smearing the body with charred medicaments, charms, etc., as does a man who has killed another in battle ...'. He goes on to give a detailed account of the rituals involved.

³⁷⁹ The names are those of British hunters and traders who operated from Port Natal in the 1820s and 1830s. Wohlo was Henry Ogle, Mbuyazi was Henry Francis Fynn, Phobana was Frank Fynn, and Febana was Francis Farewell.

³⁸⁰ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁸¹ Tilonko of the Mkhize (Mbo) people was a chief with adherents in the Umgeni, Umlazi and Upper Umkomanzi divisions. He was deposed in 1906. Bubula, who was also of the Mkhize, was a chief with adherents in the New Hanover, Umgeni, Umlazi and Upper Umkomanzi divisions.

³⁸² John Shepstone was the first Resident Commissioner of the Reserve territory which was set up by the British between the Thukela and Mhlathuze rivers. His term of office ran from December 1882 to March 1883.

³⁸³ Melmoth Osborn, who had previously been British Resident in Zululand, succeeded John Shepstone (Misjana) as Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory in April 1883. Mmango was Arthur Shepstone, who was appointed as Resident Magistrate of the Lower Umfolozi district in the new British colony of Zululand in 1887.

³⁸⁴ Landelisa was A. Pretorius, who was appointed as Resident Magistrate of the Nkandhla district in 1887.

³⁸⁵ The note on Yamela appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁸⁶ J.L. Knight was appointed as Resident Magistrate of Entonjaneni district in 1887. Ndube of the Magwaza people and Sigananda of the Cube people were chiefs in the Nkandhla district.

³⁸⁷ Charles Saunders held office first as Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and then as Commissioner for Native affairs in Zululand from 1897 to 1909. Mgomo may have been a son of Yamela. Mthonga and Mkhungo were sons of the Zulu king Mpande. Mfungelwa, of the Ntuli people, was a chief in the Eshowe division. Sikhonyana kaLuhleko of the Langeni house was an *induma* to John Dunn. Ntshingwayo kaSikhonyana was head of a section of Khoza people. We have been unable to identify Ngwenya kaMajiya. Mbango kaGawozi of the Mpungose was a chief in Zululand from 1879 until his death in 1880.

³⁸⁸ Hashi of the Biyela, Mphumela of the Ntuli, Mbuzo of the Ntuli, Luzindela of the Dlomo, Matshana kaSitshakuza of the Chunu, Matshana kaMondise of the Sithole, and Siswana of the Biyela were chiefs in the Nkandla region.

³⁸⁹ B. Colenbrander was magistrate at Nkandla during the rebellion of 1906.

³⁹⁰ The notes in this sentence appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁹¹ Sibindi of the Bomvu, a strong supporter of the Natal government, was a chief at the time of the rebellion of 1906. Meseni of the Qwabe was a chief with adherents in the Inanda, Indwedwe, Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions. Ndlovu of the Zulu was a chief in the Mapumulo division. Meseni and Ndlovu were leaders of resistance to government forces in the lower Thukela-Mvoti region.

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³⁹² The reference is to Socwatsha's evidence as recorded in File 58, nbk. 22, p. 1 of the Stuart collection: see below, pp. 142–3.

³⁹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 348, gives *umlanda* (pl. *abalanda*) as 'Term applied by any member of the husband's family ... to any member of the wife's family (except her father and mothers ...)'.
³⁹⁴ The uGcongco is a ridge in the Nkandla region which runs down to the Nsuze river.

³⁹⁵ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁹⁶ *Omafungebema* literally means 'the ones who make oath while taking snuff'.

³⁹⁷ The name translates as 'The place of the men who chose other men instead of girls'.

³⁹⁸ Ndlela kaSompisi was of the Ntuli, not the Luthuli as recorded here. On Bovu, see also the testimony of Lazarus Xaba in this volume, p. 359.

³⁹⁹ The reference is to a major raid made by a Zulu force against the Pedi under Sekwati in 1851.

⁴⁰⁰ OZwatini or Great Noodsberg is the name of a hill south of the middle Mvoti.

⁴⁰¹ Dubuyana kaSihayo of the Nyuswa was a chief in the colony of Natal.

⁴⁰² The note in parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of the page.

⁴⁰³ Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 646, gives the inGobamakhosi *ibutho* as consisting of men born in the early 1850s.

⁴⁰⁴ The reference is to evidence given by Socwatsha under date 29.8.1921: see below, pp. 128-9. Bhongoza kaMefu won fame in the Zulu kingdom for decoying a party of Boers into an ambush after the Boer victory over the Zulu at the Ncome river in December 1838.

⁴⁰⁵ Mavumengwana of the Ntuli was a chief in the Zulu kingdom.

⁴⁰⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 14, gives *ubabekazi* as 'Any brother or half-brother of my or our father, i.e. paternal uncle ...; any sister or half-sister of my or our father, i.e. paternal aunt; any *um-Zala* (male or female) of my or our father'. On p. 720 he gives *umzala* as 'Cousin, i.e. male or female child born of one's father's sister ... or any other child of such woman's kraal; also any child of one's mother's brother ...'.

⁴⁰⁷ Mphathesitha of the Magwaza was a chief in the Nkandhla division.

⁴⁰⁸ The Zulu original of the account that follows forms the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uTulasizwe* (1923), pp. 47-9.

⁴⁰⁹ Lunguza kaMpukane was another of Stuart's informants. The reference is to a statement which he made to Stuart on 21.3.1909, and which the latter recorded in File 59, nbk. 32, p. 17 of the Stuart Collection. For our rendering, see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 342.

⁴¹⁰ The reference is to a note that Stuart has inserted at the end of the account that follows.

⁴¹¹ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 269, give *ukugqwasha* (*ukugqwatssha*) as the *ukuhlonipha* word for *ukuhlaba*, to stab.

⁴¹² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 636, gives *inhlonhlo* (pl. *izinhlonhlo*) - *intlontlo*, *izintlontlo* in his orthography - as '... certain lump of meat ... above the kidney on each side of an ox'.

⁴¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 313, gives *umkhombe* (pl. *imikhombe*) as '... present of meat from a slaughtered beast sent by one friendly woman to another (females not

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being supposed to go about to strange meat-feasts as do the men) ...'. *Imikhombe yenanana* translates literally as 'Presents of meat are exchanged' and figuratively as 'One good turn deserves another'.

⁴¹⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 475, gives *ubomi* as 'Maggot or maggots of meat when fly-blown - a condition much appreciated by the Zulus; hence, fly-blown meat ...'.

⁴¹⁵ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 35, give *umbezi* as 'Plant, whose large bulbous roots are eaten in time of famine'.

⁴¹⁶ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 45, give *ubhoqo* as 'Several species of Ipomaea ... with bulbous roots; e.g. Ipomaea ovata, whose black bulbs are eaten in famine time and used as a love-charm emetic, for smoking fields, and as a charm against lightning ...'.

⁴¹⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 146, gives *imifino* as 'Any wild-growing vegetable or edible herb (mainly leaves and stalks), cooked as vegetables for food ...'. On p. 617 he gives *intebe* as 'Arum-lily ...'.

⁴¹⁸ *Umbidi kaSomsewu*, literally 'the multitudes of Somsewu', refers to the rush on the part of numbers of people in Natal to get married before the colonial marriage regulations of 1869 came into effect.

⁴¹⁹ Sidoyi kaBaleni of the Nhlanguwini was a chief who lived near the lower Mkhomazi river. In 1857 he fell foul of the Natal colonial authorities and moved off to the territory south of the colony.

⁴²⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 726, gives *umuzi* (pl. *imizi*) as 'Certain kind of grass, used for plating women's girdles, roof-mats, etc.'. On p. 72 he gives *incema* as 'Long rush, growing in swamps about the coast, and making the best kind of sleeping-mats ...'.

⁴²¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 85, has *chwasha* (*cwash* in his orthography) as an ideophone pertaining to the act of lightly pricking someone or something, or of loosely inserting something. If this was in fact the word from which 'Socwatsha' was derived, the name would be spelt Sochwasha in modern orthography. See also the gloss of *chwasha* in Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 117.

⁴²² The Zulu original of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uHlangakula* (1924), pp. 60-62. The reference to p. 18 is to Socwatsha's evidence on p. 124.

⁴²³ In his writings Stuart usually used the form 'Dingana'. In the passage that follows he uses 'Dingana' and 'Dingane' inconsistently.

⁴²⁴ Piti was the Boer leader Piet Retief who, together with a party of followers, was killed by Dingane in February 1838. The uBhalule or Olifants river rises in what is now Mpumalanga province.

⁴²⁵ Mjokwane kaNdaba was a praise-name for the Zulu chief Senzangakhona.

⁴²⁶ Battles between Zulu and Boer forces took place near the Mtshezi (Bushmans) river in August 1838 at a site subsequently known in Zulu as emaGeben, and at the Ncome (Blood) river in Natal in December 1838.

⁴²⁷ Mpande and his following fled from the Zulu kingdom to seek an alliance with the Boers in Natal in September 1839.

⁴²⁸ Ndondakusuka was the name of a locality on the north bank of the Thukela near its mouth. Here, in April 1838, a Zulu force overwhelmed a cattle-raiding expedition led by British traders from Port Natal.

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⁴²⁹ Literally, ‘the little root of the *umsenge* tree’. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 567, gives *umsenge* as ‘Cabbage tree ... , having very soft, rotten-like wood; applied to any rotten old *isi-dwaba*’, or skin petticoat. The amaQongqo were hills near the Mkhuze river where Mpande’s forces defeated those of Dingane in January 1840.

⁴³⁰ The Zulu original of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader uTulasizwe (1923), pp. 83-8.

⁴³¹ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 207, gives *ukuguleka* as ‘Go off towards one side, get drawn towards one side ...’. Here, as elsewhere in Stuart’s notebooks, the words ‘noted in Bryant’ may indicate that Stuart made a written note in his own copy of Bryant’s Dictionary.

⁴³² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 268, gives *ihubo* (*irubo* in Stuart’s orthography) as ‘Tribal song; regimental song ...’. He writes, ‘Each separate Zulu clan has a different *ihubo* or perhaps two of them. This song is treated with great respect by all the members of the clan, possessing as it does a certain sacred sentimentality of character’.

⁴³³ The original Zulu reads,

Hamba, Mdayi!
Si ye kiti!
Si bulal’ izwe la mankengane!
Au-u-u-nhu!
Hamba, Mdayi!
Si ye kiti!
Si bulal’ izwe la mankengane!
Au-u-u-nhu!

⁴³⁴ The reference seems to be to notes which Stuart made in his own copy of Bryant’s Dictionary.

⁴³⁵ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 557, gives *imiklezo* (sing. *umklezo*) - *umrrezo*, *imirrezo* in his orthography - as ‘... covering of long cows’-tails (*ama-shoba*) worn round the neck and falling over the chest and back ...’.

⁴³⁶ For *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) see note 38 above.

⁴³⁷ The reference seems to be to a note which Stuart made in his own copy of Bryant’s, Dictionary.

⁴³⁸ Sikidi was one of Shaka’s praise-names.

⁴³⁹ Socwatsha here uses the siSwati word *ukubita*, to call, summon, invite, in place of the Zulu word *ukubiza*.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ubuhlungu* means medicinal herbs.

⁴⁴¹ Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 579-80, gives *umshokobezi* (pl. *abashokobezi*) as ‘Wearer of *ubu-Shokobezi* i.e. a warrior of the *u-Sutu* or Cetshwayo’s army (not that of *u-Zibebu*), who adopted this custom’. On p. 580 he gives *ubushokobezi* as ‘Head-ornament made of the bush of a cow’s tail and carried in two pieces erect on the top of the head’.

⁴⁴² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 382, gives *imbuka* as ‘Traitor to one’s chief, one who forsakes him and goes over to another - the name was chiefly applied to those Zulus of Cetshwayo who left him and came to live on the south side of the Umhlatuze, with John Dunn and other whitemen’.

⁴⁴³ On Sitimela see note 33 above. The reference to nbk. 49 is to Stuart Collection, File 61, nbk. 49, pp. 5-6, where, on 9.11.1904, Stuart recorded testimony from Ngidi

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kaMcikaziswa on Somveli. See his statements as rendered in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 5, p. 70.

⁴⁴⁴ The reference to p. 23 is to Socwatsha's evidence of 2.10.1921 as recorded by Stuart on p. 23 of File 58, nbk. 25. See the text below, p. 134.

⁴⁴⁵ The expression '*Mpondo zamthini*', literally 'the horns of the otter', refers to the period before dawn when these imaginary horns are becoming visible. The expression '*Ukwanyisa kwemithini*', literally 'the suckling of the otters', carries the same meaning, as does the expression '*Mpondo zankomo*', literally 'the horns of the bullock'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 629, writes, 'Phr. *seku-mpondo za'mtini* (or *seku'sikati sokwanyisa kwemitini*), it is already the horns of an otter (i.e. the time when its horns (?) just become visible), it is already the time when otters suckle their young = in the darkness just preceding the dawn'.

⁴⁴⁶ Magolwana kaMkhathini was a leading *imbongi* in the Zulu kingdom in the time of Mpande.

⁴⁴⁷ Nandi was the mother of Shaka; Mpikase was the mother of Dingane; Songiya was the mother of Mpande; Ngqumbazi was the mother of Cetshwayo; Nomvimbi was the mother of Dinuzulu; Nomantshali was a favourite wife of Mpande and mother of Mthonga and Mgidlana; Mnkabayi was a senior daughter of Jama, the father of Senzangakhona and grandfather of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.

⁴⁴⁸ Ntombazi was the mother of Zwide, king of the Ndwandwe.

⁴⁴⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 100, gives *umdlebe* as 'Certain bush (*Synadenium arborescens*), the smell of which when in flower is said by the Natives to be fatal to one inhaling it'.

⁴⁵⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 670, gives *ukuthwebula* as 'Spirit or conjure away, remove by some magical process, the *isi-Tunzi* of a person or thing ...'. On p. 665 he gives *isithunzi* as '... the living principle in man, spirit ...; quality in a thing which imposes, is commanding of respect, impresses with power or superiority ...'. On *amanhfwenga* see note 56 above.

⁴⁵¹ *Unhloyile* is the yellow-billed kite.

⁴⁵² *Isihlenga* is a raft of reeds for crossing rivers.

⁴⁵³ Literally 'the grass coil of the nation', an important royal emblem in the Zulu kingdom.

⁴⁵⁴ Literally 'the earwax of the dog'. This phrase formed part of an insulting expression which, according to others of Stuart's informants, was current before the nineteenth century in the region that became the Zulu kingdom.

⁴⁵⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 595, gives *usogekle* (*usogerre* in his orthography) as 'Maze, labyrinth, as drawn by Natives with spittle on the hut-floor when smoking hemp; applied to any arrangement of fencing, etc., designed to block up apparent passages or entrances into a kraal ...'.

⁴⁵⁶ Socwatsha has previously identified Sihayo of the Nyuswa, Thondolozu of the related emaLangeni, and Mafongosi of the related Ngongoma as chiefs in the time of Shaka.

⁴⁵⁷ Dunjwa kaMabhedla was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*. *Ulimi* means tongue.

⁴⁵⁸ '*Umnyayiza-ndimi, ungwadla zi bomvu, nemithando*' is a praise which translates as 'the forked assegai, the assegais are red, together with the binding'.

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⁴⁵⁹ *Ukunyaliza (ukunyayiza)* is to move the tongue in and out, as a snake does. Hence *umnyayiza* means an assegai with a blade forked like the tongue of a snake.

⁴⁶⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 211, gives *ingwadla* as ‘Any *um-Konto* (for which it was an old name)’. *Umkhonto* is a general term for assegai or spear. *Isijula* is a long-bladed assegai.

⁴⁶¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 611, gives *umthando* (pl. *imithando*) as ‘... the string bound round an assegai-blade to fix it ...’. On p. 346 he gives *umlala* as ‘One of the tendons running along each side of the back of the neck, and commonly used for binding on assegai-blades ...’.

⁴⁶² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 111, gives *udimi* as a mostly obsolete word for tongue. A snake’s tongue, he writes, is spoken of only in the plural, *izindimi*, and is never referred to as *ulimi*, which is the usual word for tongue.

⁴⁶³ The original Zulu reads:

Mpengula-jozi,
uNkonjan’ e zi ruq’ udaka.

⁴⁶⁴ The original Zulu reads:

Waliwa nguNdhlela!
Waliwa heyi!
Ha-o-o-o.

Or

Waliwa uZulu
Wo wo wo!

⁴⁶⁵ Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 645-6, gives the men of the uKhokhothi or amaWombe *ibutho* as having been born c.1818, and the men of what he sees as a different *ibutho*, the inDabakawombe, as having been born c.1821. He sees the men of the umBelebele or iWombe *ibutho* as having been born c.1775-85, and the men of the inTontela *ibutho* as having been born c.1785-90.

⁴⁶⁶ Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 646, sees the inDabakawombe as having been formed in 1841. The birth referred to in this sentence is that of Phaphu’s eldest son, Sifile.

⁴⁶⁷ The original Zulu version of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uKulumetule* (1925), pp. 51-8.

⁴⁶⁸ *Isibi* is a piece of rubbish. In the context of Socwatsha’s statement it translates as ‘mote’. The name Sibisidi literally means ‘large mote’. *Ukuphandla*, *ukuzungeza* and *ukuxhophha* all mean to hurt the eyes, to blind.

⁴⁶⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 545, gives *isiqu* (pl. *iziqu*) as ‘... medicinal prophylactic or medicine, not used for curing diseases, but for preserving against or preventing all manner of evil emergencies, ... such as are worn as a neck-lace or string ornament round the body by a warrior who has killed a man in battle ...’.

⁴⁷⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 62, gives *imbuya* as ‘Common weed (*Amaranthus Thunbergii*), much liked as *imifino* when young ...’. On p. 146 he gives *imifino* as ‘Any wild-growing vegetable or edible herb (mainly leaves and stalks), cooked as vegetables for food ...’.

⁴⁷¹ *Iqiyana* (pl. *amaqiyana*) or *iqilana* (pl. *amaqilana*) is the diminutive form of *iqili*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 536, gives as ‘Crafty, wily person, smart in cunning and trickery ...’.

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⁴⁷² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 310, gives *umkhokha* as ‘A train of ugly, unpleasant consequences which a person brings along with him ...’.

⁴⁷³ On the *izinkomo zamahole* see note 71 above.

⁴⁷⁴ The Zulu word *idube* means zebra.

⁴⁷⁵ The word *umhlathi* (pl. *imihlathi*) means sections or columns.

⁴⁷⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 341, gives *umkhwenyana* as ‘Term applied by any member of a wife’s family ... to any member of her husband’s family, though more especially to the husband himself; hence, son-in-law; brother or sister-in-law’.

⁴⁷⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 188, gives *isigodi* as ‘Dale, broad flattish valley with hills surrounding ...’.

⁴⁷⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 610, gives *intandane* as ‘Child without father or mother, or both ...’.

⁴⁷⁹ Nsikeni is a prominent hill near the middle Mzimkhulu.

⁴⁸⁰ Ntunjambili, or the Kop, is a hill near what is now Kranskop village.

⁴⁸¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 148, gives *imfithi* as ‘Amabele, in ear or grain, of a poor, wild-like quality, which is sorted out from the other when harvesting’.

⁴⁸² Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 729-30, gives *isizinda* as ‘... certain hut, and more especially the eldest son thereof, appointed by the father of every well-established Zulu kraal to be the “formal head” of the family in his own stead after his decease ...’. *Ondlalifa* means ‘the ones who will inherit’. The *ikhohlo* is the left-hand section of an *umuzi*. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 588, give *inqadi* as ‘Second chief wife in a kraal (second in importance), appointed by the tribe to bear the heir should the chief wife fail ...’.

⁴⁸³ The original Zulu reads:

*O wa dabul’ emtanjeni a bant’ aba ka Tayi
E be godola be ya ku Macing. eNgonyameni.*

For *emtanjeni* read *ematanjeni*.

⁴⁸⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 697, gives *umwowane* as ‘Certain kind of trap for catching large animals ... in which heavy logs and stones fall crushingly upon them ...’.

⁴⁸⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 424, gives *ungoti* (pl. *ongoti*) as ‘Unusually smart, clever *i-Nyanga* or professional of any kind, who masters everything in his line’. *Inyanga* here means skilled person, expert. On p. 393 he gives *umpetha* (pl. *ompetha*) as ‘Sharp, cunning person; artful dodger’.

⁴⁸⁶ The original Zulu version of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uHlangakula* (1924), pp. 22-4.

⁴⁸⁷ This sentence is incomplete in the original.

⁴⁸⁸ *Izinkobe* is a dish of boiled maize or sorghum. *Isijingi* is a mash of pumpkin with maize or sorghum.

⁴⁸⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 261, gives *isihluthu* as ‘Hair of a young man or girl when grown in a long thick mass’.

⁴⁹⁰ The name ekuDinekeni derives from the verb *ukudineka*, to become tired.

⁴⁹¹ *Esiweni samanqe* means ‘the cliff of vultures’.

⁴⁹² The reference is to Socwatsha’s evidence of 3.10.1921 as recorded by Stuart on p. 42 of File 58, nbk. 25. See below in the text, p. 142.

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⁴⁹³ The original Zulu version of the account that follows formed the basis of most of the account published by Stuart in his reader uKulumetule (1925), pp. 116-20. (The part based on Socwatsha's evidence runs from p. 116 to p. 119.)

⁴⁹⁴ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 716, gives *uyisekazi* as 'Any brother or half-brother of his, her, or their father, i.e. paternal uncle ...; any sister or half-sister of father, i.e. paternal aunt ...'.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ishinga* means ruffian, wrong-doer.

⁴⁹⁶ The iNtshangwe ('Inchanga') is a hill overlooking the Mngeni from the south halfway between Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

⁴⁹⁷ The breaking-up of the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu by the Natal colonial government took place in 1873-74. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 203, gives *ingqwele* as 'The chief or principal among a number of herdsman or herdsboys <sic>, whether by age, or as self-constituted "cock" of the gang ...'.

⁴⁹⁸ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 351, gives *ilawu* as 'Hut of unmarried man or boys, or unmarried girls, in a kraal; private hut of a married man ...'.

⁴⁹⁹ Dingane's main *umuzi*, umGungundlovu, was built near the Mkhumbane stream.

⁵⁰⁰ The name Songololo derives from *isongololo*, or millipede. The reference to p. 39 is to a statement made by Socwatsha on 3.10.1921 and recorded by Stuart on p. 39 of File 58, nbk. 25 of the Stuart Collection. See above, p. 141.

⁵⁰¹ The reference is to File 74, pp. 125, 126, evidence of John Gama given on 17.12.1898 and 18.12.1898. See Gama's evidence as rendered in the Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 133, 135.

⁵⁰² The reference is to nbk. 22 in File 58 of the Stuart Collection: see below in the text.

⁵⁰³ The original Zulu version of the account which follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader uTulasizwe (1923), p. 46.

⁵⁰⁴ The reference is to File 57, notebook 2, p. 70. See Socwatsha's evidence above, p. 120 under date 21.5.1916.

⁵⁰⁵ See Stuart's note, 'Go in p. 1', in the text below. The words in parentheses were presumably inserted by Stuart when he was editing his original notes of Socwatsha's testimony for publication in uTulasizwe.

⁵⁰⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 413, gives *umne* as 'Elder brother; used by girls to any brother, older or younger ...; also by one man to another older than himself, even though not his brother (used with *wetu*, *wenu*, *wabo*)'. *Umnewabo* means his or her elder brother.

⁵⁰⁷ I.e. 'Ntombazi of the people of Langa'. Stuart originally recorded the name as *uNtombazi wa oYanga*, presumably reflecting Socwatsha's use of the *ukuthefula* form. At a later stage, probably when he was editing his original notes for publication, he crossed out the 'Y' and wrote an 'L' above it.

⁵⁰⁸ The original Zulu version of the story which follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader uHlangakula (1924), pp. 7-11.

⁵⁰⁹ The praise-name uNongomba presumably derives from *umgomba*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 190, gives as the equivalent of *igojela*. On p. 189 he gives the latter as 'Long tail-feather (of which there are usually two) of cock, <widow-bird>, etc., used as head ornament ...'.

⁵¹⁰ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 481, gives *umpakathi* as '... all the common men serving under any particular *inDuna*...'

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⁵¹¹ The *ikhala* or ‘nose’ of an *ibutho* is usually given as meaning the vanguard. *Uhlangothi*, or ‘flank’, refers to the various sections which made up the main body of the *ibutho*.

⁵¹² The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 696, gives *isiwombe* as ‘Single meeting or joining in conflict between two contending armies, charge, onslaught, attack (referring not to the on-rush, but to the actual meeting in conflict)’.

⁵¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 65, gives *ucaca* as ‘Anything lying “scattered” or fallen about over the ground, as Kafir-corn blown down (in grain, or plant) by the wind, mealies spread all about the ground to dry, or men strewn killed over a field of battle’.

⁵¹⁴ The original Zulu praises read: ‘*uMweli, i wele yonk’ iNtontela, uMwelela kwe li petsheya; ugog’ o lu hlal’ amaNkayiya*’. The praise makes a pun of the noun *umweli*, meaning ‘the one who crosses over’, and the noun *umwelela*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 694, gives as ‘Certain shrub, whose roots are used as a love-emetic, dream-medicine, etc., by young-men in their dealings with the girls ...’. Bryant goes on to write, ‘In spitting out the charm in the direction of the girl he wishes to make dream of him, the young-man would say, *hamba! mwelela-kwelipesheya ...*’, literally ‘Go! Mwelela to the one on the other side ...’. Socwatsha gives the *amaNkayiya* as one of Zwide’s *amabutho*.

⁵¹⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 49, gives *isibotho* (pl. *izibotho*) as ‘Young locust or grasshopper just putting on wings but not yet able to fly ...; weak-footed person, a bad-walker, who cannot walk far’.

⁵¹⁶ Somaphunga was a son of Zwide.

⁵¹⁷ *Ukufulathela* literally means ‘turn the back on’.

⁵¹⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 608, gives *ukuthalalisa* as ‘Pretend not to hear or see a thing ... from contempt, perverseness, etc. ...’.

⁵¹⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 389, gives *mnyama* as meaning ‘Black ...; ruffled, angry, as one’s heart ...’.

⁵²⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 125, gives *udwendwe* as ‘Train or file of people or cattle, moving or standing one behind the other ...; in an especial sense, the train of people accompanying a girl to her wedding, the bridal-party ...’.

⁵²¹ The Yamela referred to is presumably the man of that name who was chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn. For the latter, see note 62 above.

⁵²² Nqetho was a son of Khondlo.

⁵²³ Mapholoba of the Nyuswa was a chief in the time of Shaka.

⁵²⁴ *Imbabala* is the Zulu for bushbuck, sometimes specifically the female.

⁵²⁵ Mlokothwa kaMphumela was chief of a section of the Ntuli.

⁵²⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 192, gives *ingono* as ‘... short stalk by which a pumpkin hangs to the mother-stem’.

⁵²⁷ The original Zulu version of this account formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uHlangakula* (1924), pp. 86-7.

⁵²⁸ Mgungundlovu was the Zulu name for Pietermaritzburg.

⁵²⁹ Socwatsha’s account is confused in several respects. Theophilus Shepstone, who was then Administrator of the Transvaal, held a meeting with a Zulu delegation near the Ncome river in October 1877 to discuss a long-standing border dispute between the Zulu kingdom and the Transvaal. Michael Gallwey, the Attorney-General of

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Natal, was a member of a commission appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal early in 1878 to inquire into the dispute.

⁵³⁰ The incident described in the paragraphs that follow took place during the meeting between the Zulu delegation and Shepstone referred to in the previous note.

⁵³¹ Siyunguza of the Mpungose was a chief in the Zulu kingdom.

⁵³² *Ukunyenzeza* is to whisper, speak in a low voice.

⁵³³ The reference is to Socwatsha's evidence as recorded in File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 24-7 of the Stuart Collection under date 2.10.1921. See above, pp. 135-6 .

⁵³⁴ The name *amadlelandongeni* literally means 'those who eat in the gullies'.

⁵³⁵ David and Solomon were sons of Dinuzulu who, after his death in 1913, disputed the succession to his position.

⁵³⁶ Mankulumana, a senior member of the Ndwandwe chiefly house, was Dinuzulu's chief counsellor. Ndabenkulu of the Ntombela was a chief in Zululand. Lokothwayo was of the Ngadi chiefly house.

⁵³⁷ I.e. Harriette Colenso, daughter of Bishop John Colenso and a staunch supporter of Dinuzulu.

⁵³⁸ Mnyayiza and Mkebeni were senior members of the Zulu royal house through their fathers, both of whom were sons of Mpande.

⁵³⁹ The name Mhlabangubo means 'the one who stabbed the blanket'.

⁵⁴⁰ Mkebeni was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 3 of the *Stuart Archive*. The reference is to File 58, nbk. 25, p. 5 of the Stuart Collection.

⁵⁴¹ *Umbani* (loc. *embaneni*) means lightning.

⁵⁴² Dinuzulu's mother, Nomvimbi, was a daughter of Msweli of the Nzimela people.

⁵⁴³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 726, gives *isizi* as 'Confiscated property (collectively) of any and every description (cattle, children, wives, etc.) taken by the chief from any particular kraal, whose owner has been killed by the king's order or has died without heirs'. On p. 198 he gives *isigqila* (pl. *izigqila*) as 'Female servant, "slavery", i.e. young girl obtained to do the menial work for any of the wives of a chief's kraal (a class of servants who became noted for the harsh treatment they had to endure at the hands of their mistresses - see *gqilaza*); applied derisively to a man in a similar menial position ...'. On p. 199 Bryant gives *ukugqilaza* as 'Punch or pommel away at a person ... with the fists, as when down on the ground - a common habit of the chief's women when punishing their maid-servants ...'.

⁵⁴⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 641, gives *intombi* as 'Girl of full-grown, marriageable age; (in a particular sense) sweetheart'.

⁵⁴⁵ The verb *ukulinga*, from which *ukulungisa* derives, means 'to try out'.

⁵⁴⁶ Sekethwayo of the Mdlalose was a senior chief.

⁵⁴⁷ Masiphula, a senior figure in the emGazini chiefly house, was chief counsellor to Mpande.

⁵⁴⁸ Mashiqela was Sir Charles Saunders: see note 387 above. Dinuzulu returned to Zululand from exile on St. Helena in January 1898. KwaNdunu was a ridge near the Nongoma magistracy where the forces of Dinuzulu decisively defeated those of Zibhebhu in June 1888.

⁵⁴⁹ Empandeni was the site of the magistracy in the Nkandhla division.

⁵⁵⁰ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a starred insertion in a space further down the page.

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⁵⁵¹ I.e. the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in 1879.

⁵⁵² Misjana was John Shepstone. Hlubi was chief of a group of Sotho in the Nquthu area. Jantoni was John Dunn.

⁵⁵³ Mfanawendlela of the Zungu, Ntshingwayo of the Khoza, Sekethwayo of the Mdlalose, Somkhele of the Mpukunyoni, Siyunguza of the Mpungose, Mgitshwa of the Biyela, Mlandela (Myandeya) of the Mthethwa and Faku of the Ntombela were senior political figures appointed by the British to rule in Zululand after the defeat of the Zulu kingdom in 1879.

⁵⁵⁴ Mmango was Arthur Shepstone: see also notes 118 and 383 above. *Isibhalo* meant the system of compulsory labour on government works implemented by the Natal colonial government. In the present context it refers to a gang of labourers.

⁵⁵⁵ Mahu and Hayiyana were of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house.

⁵⁵⁶ Ndabuko was a full-brother of Cetshwayo. *Isijingi* is a mash of pumpkin and other vegetables.

⁵⁵⁷ Shonkweni (Tshonkweni) was a son of Mpande.

⁵⁵⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 662, gives *isithundu* (pl. *izithundu*) as 'Any medicine mixed up (*pehlwa*) and drunk as an emetic, in order to render oneself favoured by the *amadhlozi* or by the girls ...'.

⁵⁵⁹ '*Bayede!*' was a salutation for the Zulu king. The reason for Stuart's reference to it here emerges from the text below.

⁵⁶⁰ The praise-name, meaning 'Wave of the sea', was Mthonga's.

⁵⁶¹ '*Inkonyan' ebomvu, e nga qotshelwa mcilo*' in the original.

⁵⁶² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 35, gives *ibibi* as '... immensely big broad person "appropriating all the room" to himself ...'.

⁵⁶³ Mgungundlovu was the Zulu name for Pietermaritzburg. Mkhungo was another son of Mpande who had fled to Natal to escape being put to death by Cetshwayo.

⁵⁶⁴ The persons named were all senior sons of Mpande.

⁵⁶⁵ The *ikhohlo* was the left-hand house of an *umuzi*.

⁵⁶⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 403-4, gives *umnawe* as 'Any brother or sister younger than oneself ...; used by married women to their brothers (married or unmarried) even when older than themselves'.

⁵⁶⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 716, gives *uyisekazi* as 'Any brother or half-brother of his, her, or their father, i.e. paternal uncle ...; any sister or half-sister of father, i.e. paternal aunt ...; any *um-Zala* (male or female) of father'. On p. 720 he gives *umzala* as 'Cousin, i.e. male or female child born of one's father's sister ... or any other child of such woman's kraal; also any child of one's mother's brother ...'.

⁵⁶⁸ Melmoth Osborn (Malimade) was British Resident in Zululand from 1880 to March 1883. His headquarters were at Nhlazatshe to the north-west of present-day Ulundi. In April 1883 he was appointed Resident Commissioner in the Zululand Reserve territory with his headquarters at Eshowe. See also note 62 above.

⁵⁶⁹ Hlobane and Nkambule (often written as 'Kambula' in the literature) were scenes of fierce engagements during the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in 1879. Lukhuni, which means a piece of wood, was Colonel Evelyn Wood, a British column commander during the invasion.

⁵⁷⁰ Godloza was Socwatssha's elder brother.

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⁵⁷¹ Socwatsha's original account in Zulu of the restoration of Cetshwayo, beginning with this sentence, formed the basis of the first part (pp. 168-70) of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uKulumetule* (1925), pp. 168-81. The Lala country presumably here means the lowlands of Zululand.

⁵⁷² The note in parentheses appears in the original as an interlinear insertion.

⁵⁷³ We have been unable to establish the meaning of *ubusula*.

⁵⁷⁴ Mnyamana, chief of the Buthelezi, had been Cetshwayo's chief counsellor before the latter's deposition by the British in 1879.

⁵⁷⁵ The original Zulu version of the account that follows formed the basis of the account published by Stuart in his reader *uHlangakula* (1924), pp. 92-5.

⁵⁷⁶ *Malebemade* literally means 'long labia', from *amalebe*, a vulgar term for the labia majora, and *made*, 'long'. In using it here, the women were making a derisive play on Osborn's Zulu name, Malimade, which was derived from his first name, Melmoth.

⁵⁷⁷ The names Msekispana and Misospana were derived from the name Osborn.

⁵⁷⁸ Mazwana, Manqondo and Ndube were Magwaza chiefs.

⁵⁷⁹ The *izinhlangothi* (sing. *uhlangothi*) were the 'sides' or 'flanks' of the *umuzi* which together constituted the main part of its body of men.

⁵⁸⁰ The reference is presumably to notebook 21 in File 58: see the text below.

⁵⁸¹ The note in parentheses appears in the original as an arrowed insertion. In his unpublished list of 'Native Names of Europeans' (Stuart Collection, File 73, p. 156), Stuart gives Maphuzingwebu as 'Mr Lamb, store-keeper Matigulu'.

⁵⁸² For Sotobe see note 72 above.

⁵⁸³ For *umnnewabo* see note 506 above.

⁵⁸⁴ The original reads:

*Iyakulek' intombi ka Bunge wo ku Ntwayiza,
A gxubuza nge tshoba ka mkumbi no lwandhle,
Ka Dada li se manzini,
uManz'a puma nge mbobo zo mtshezi.*

Several plays on names are made in these praises. *Umkhumbi* means ship, *idada* means duck, *amanzi* means water. The *uMtshezi* river is otherwise known as the Bushmans.

⁵⁸⁵ The original Zulu version of the account that follows was incorporated by Stuart as pp. 170-81 of the account which he published in his reader *uKulumetule* (1925), pp. 168-81.

⁵⁸⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 227, gives *iheheba* as 'Anything with a rough, uneven surface ...'.

⁵⁸⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 654, gives *izinsipho* (sing. *intsipho*, *intsipo* in his orthography) as 'Dregs of *u-tshwala*, which are squeezed out again with water and drunk as a kind of small-beer; such small-beer itself'. *Utshwala* is beer made from sorghum or maize.

⁵⁸⁸ The assembly which Socwatsha is describing took place in January 1883.

⁵⁸⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 602, gives *usungulo* (pl. *izinsungulo*) as 'Native awl, or needle for piercing ...'.

⁵⁹⁰ Gwalagwala was Henry Fynn, who had been appointed as British Resident with Cetshwayo.

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⁵⁹¹ For *injobo* see note 151 above.

⁵⁹² The reference is to H.F. Fynn's testimony of 16.11.1913 as recorded by Stuart in the Stuart Collection, File 54, nbk. 5, pp. 23-9.

⁵⁹³ The praise given here was one of Cetshwayo's. The original Zulu reads:

*uHlamvana bul' umlilo,
o bu baswe uMantshonga no Ngqelebana.*

⁵⁹⁴ Hemulana of the Sibiya people was chief *induna* to Mnyamana.

⁵⁹⁵ To *sisa* is to place livestock in the care of another person who is given certain rights of usufruct.

⁵⁹⁶ Mlandela (Myandeya) kaMbiya of the Mthethwa was a senior chief.

⁵⁹⁷ Siyunguza of the Mpungose was a senior chief.

⁵⁹⁸ Msushwana of the Mdletshe was a senior chief.

⁵⁹⁹ I.e. the soldiers who accompanied him.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ukubeka* usually means to place, to appoint. Here it seems to mean 'to make an announcement'.

⁶⁰¹ Of the Sibiya people.

⁶⁰² Of the Qungebe people.

⁶⁰³ On *imbuka* (pl. *amambuka*) see note 127 above.

⁶⁰⁴ Matshana kaSitshakuza was a Chunu chief. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 408, gives *uncukubili* as 'An hermaphrodite or double-sexed thing; double-faced person, who unites himself with both parties in a conflict - comp. with *i-nCuke* (hyaena, etc.), this animal being supposed by the Natives to be an hermaphrodite'. *Impisi* is the Zulu for hyena.

⁶⁰⁵ In March 1883.

⁶⁰⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 670, gives *ukuthwebula* as 'Spirit or conjure away, remove by some magical process, the *isi-Tunzi* of a person or thing ..., as that he become no longer highly esteemed by the chief or among the girls, or that his crops lose their fine-looking, thriving appearance.' On p. 665 he gives *isithunzi* as '... the living principle in a man, spirit (while living), "shade" (after death = *i(li)-Dhlozi*); quality in a thing which imposes, is commanding of respect ...'.

⁶⁰⁷ *Unhloyile* is the yellow-billed kite. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 429, gives *ungqwashi* as the equivalent of *umangqwashi*, which on p. 376 he gives as 'Rufous-naped Lark'. He writes, 'This bird is in great request among young-men, who use its fat as a love-charm'.

⁶⁰⁸ Nsuze kaMfelafuthi was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 5 of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁶⁰⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 423, gives *ungiyane* as 'White viscous material found attached to the *um-Zungulu* and other trees and which, mixed with the juice of *um-Bodiya* roots, is used for making the black material of men's headrings'. On p. 735 he gives *umzungulu* as 'Certain bush (*Dalbergia obovata*), whose bark is used as rope, etc., for binding'. On p. 42 he gives *umbhodiya* as 'Small plant growing by rivers, the viscous fluid of whose bulbous root is used for mixing with the *u-Ngiyane* in the making of a Native headring ...'.

⁶¹⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 542, gives *uqondo* as 'Inner framework of a man's *isi-Coco* or head-ring and which is formed of a rope of palm-fibres (see *i-nGqondo*) bound

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round by string or tendon ...'. On p. 200 he gives *ingqondo* as 'The stringy, fibrous edge or middle rib of a palmetto leaf, which are bunched together to form the rope-like frame of a man's head-ring, etc. ...'. On p. 203 he gives *ingqwanga* as 'Any tough, strong thing or person; framework of a headring ...'.

⁶¹¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 654, gives *insingo* as 'Native razor, resembling a large rough blade ...'.

⁶¹² On *uzi* see note 152 above.

⁶¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 682, gives *iviyo* as '... edible fruit of the *um-Viyo* tree ...'. On the same page he gives *umviyo* as 'Kind of wild medlar tree, bearing a brown edible fruit ...'. The *ikhiwane* is the wild fig.