

## QALIZWE ka DHLOZI

<Stuart's notes of his interviews with Qalizwe exist in two forms. The notes that he made of the frequent interviews held in 1899-1900 are almost all to be found in the foolscap notebooks in which, in the early stages of his recording career, he wrote up often detailed transcriptions of his original rough notes. Only a few pages of the rough notes of these interviews appear to have survived. By contrast, the notes which Stuart made of his more occasional interviews with Qalizwe in the period 1903-8 exist only in rough form - eds.>

<16.6.1899>. Pietermaritzburg.

File 73, pp. 26-7.

- 26 <Contact with civilized races: Europeans.> Natal, Pietermaritzburg, per Qalizwe - hearsay.<sup>1</sup>

In a talk Qalizwe had with a ricksha puller named Tabalala, the following facts were elicited. That Tabalala, a man of say 25 or 26, lives in a kraal near Springvale and Hlutankungu, under Chief Miskofili (Kukulela).<sup>2</sup> He has recently become a Christian convert but has not been baptized yet. He is working, and has been working in Pietermaritzburg as a ricksha puller. He has been at work for 8 months and is about to go home on leave. He states that some of the inmates of his home have become Christians; others are heathen. He cannot write but is beginning to read. This man said in answer to the question whether it was satisfactory to become a Christian, that Christianity was agreeable as taught by the missionaries, seeing that what they preach sinks into and appeals to the heart. Temporarily speaking, *kolwas* are not as despised a class as they used to be; the reason is that there are now so many as to form a distinct class. At first those who became Christians seemed to be deserting their homes (*hlubukile*). Tabalala was induced to become a Christian because of the missionaries etc. saying they were in darkness, that they were guilty of many sins, and therefore ought to pray for forgiveness. If forgiveness is not prayed for, it is clear that people will be burnt after death.

Before the Europeans came there was no such day as a day of rest (Sunday).

- 27 Natal, Pietermaritzburg, per Qalizwe.  
Qalizwe, in a talk with Jakobe (Jacob), son of Tomase (Thomas), who is a

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Christian native. Jakobe is also a Christian, aged about 25; his home is near Umzimkulu, probably below Hancock's Drift.<sup>3</sup> He has been a Christian since the Zulu War. He is now working for Mr Sparrow, I fancy, next door to St. George's Hotel, in Henrietta St. He has worked for many years. Qalizwe got into intimate conversation this afternoon. Jakobe, in answer to a question, said what really caused him to be a Christian is something like the following, said to him by the missionaries: 'You people who live on the earth, you are not here to remain; *you are passing by; you will die. You should become converted, and believe, and confess your sins, for you have heard that there are people who believe. You know that you are great sinners; you take medicines and kill people. You know about stealing people's goods. You commit adultery with the wives of other men. You do this though you know that people should confess their sins. Don't say when you are burning that you weren't told to pray for forgiveness.*' This was what caused Jakobe to see that *Christianity is good.* The great point which caused conversion was this. *It is clear that what is causing him to become converted is that he is a sinner on this earth, for he has sinned greatly. He hears what the missionaries say; he hears that he will die and burn in hell (esirogweni). He hears that he should change his heart and confess his sins, and perhaps the Lord will look upon him for the first time.*

The conversation turned to *lobola*. Some Christians (*kolwas*) pay *lobola* and receive *lobola*, whilst others do not. But those who do not pay or receive *lobola* hand over money to one another on the sly, the *son-in-law* (*umkwenyana*) to the *father-in-law* (*umukwe*), even before the outbreak of rinderpest.<sup>4</sup> There is a law that *kolwas* were only to have one wife and marry her alone; this woman was not to be *lobola'd*, nor her children. The giving of money - it is about £30 or £40, but the amount is not fixed - is a secret transaction between the bridegroom and his father-in-law, and no claim arises in the law courts in respect thereto. This secret transaction is an *isigungu*, i.e. *secret* (*isifuba*) between *son-in-law* (*mkwenyana*) and *father-in-law* (*mukwe*). The *umyeni* (bridegroom) may have many cattle; these will sometimes be sold off, and people will wonder what has been done with the money: it often goes in the clandestine way referred to.

17.6.1899. Pietermaritzburg.

File 73, pp. 28-9.

28 <Contact with civilized races: Europeans.> Natal, Pietermaritzburg, per Qalizwe.

Qalizwe in conversation with a woman, Nomtimba. Nomtimba is a married woman; she and her husband live at Edendale, just outside of the village.<sup>5</sup> She is Dhlozi's brother's daughter, so first cousin to Qalizwe. She has 2 sons and 3 daughters. She has lived a number of years at Edendale. The whole family are Christians.

She considers that the state of Maritzburg is lamentable. A great change has come over the town since Somsewu's (Sir T. Shepstone's) death.<sup>6</sup> Many women are in the habit of leaving their husbands to come to Maritzburg ostensibly to wash clothes. They may or may not wash clothes. They leave their homes at Edendale and elsewhere early in the morning, and do not return till late at night. They bring back so

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much money that their husbands are astonished, whereupon they (women) assure them that it was all got from washing. The husbands remonstrate at their wives' conduct but it is all to no effect - they will come. Children, too, follow their mothers and *bunguka* (become deserters) from home; they follow their mothers' example and become prostitutes and good for nothing.

There is no black *inkosi* as in Zululand who keeps the people in order. People do just as they like, as they are kept in hand by no authority. Some women leave their husbands, come to Pietermaritzburg for good, and get other husbands. Girls from surrounding kraals get '*isimpantsholo*' and then are afraid to go back home.<sup>7</sup> They feel moreover *that they are people of no worth (abase bantu ba luto)* because of the disease they contract. There is no white person, no white authority, since Somsewu, who puts these things in order; there is no one who has the interests of the natives at heart.

- 29 Nomtimba blames herself for ever having come to Maritzburg; she would never have come to the place had she known what it was soon to become. As it is, she comes to town from Edendale only to make purchases. What she fears is that her children will be 'drawn' (enticed away) by others and then come to grief. She wants to return to Empofana near Msinga Division where she lived formerly.<sup>8</sup> If her husband is unwilling to go she would leave him, as the state of affairs is intolerable (for the sake of her children). As it is, one of her children is a prostitute, and lives and sleeps in Pietermaritzburg. Nomtimba did not want her daughter, whose name is Jwani, to work, but the girl insisted. The magistrate ordered her several times to return to her home but the girl refused. Jwani sometimes visits her home. She is now with child by some man.

The great change in the town has occurred since Somsewu's death. Although most of those white authorities who worked with Sir T. Shepstone are still alive, yet Sir T.S. was practically alone; the policy was his, and no one else but he came forward to *reprove (kuz)* the people. The existing state of affairs can be remedied if those in authority really wished to take the matter in hand.

<22.6.1899>.

File 73, pp. 31-3.

- 31 <Contact with civilized races: Europeans. Natal. Per Qalizwe.

Qalizwe had a conversation yesterday with a young man (a distant relation of his and one who had come to Grey's Hospital to be treated for some complaint - swelling about the throat) on the subject of one Johan or Johannes. The conversation took place at St George's Hotel after there had been some general talk about girls and about one in particular who had become a *kolwa* and taken to dressing. The name of the young man who spoke to Qalizwe is not known by Qalizwe, nor the name of the boy who accompanied him. The informant is about 30 years of age and an *unmarried man (insizwa)*. He said that the man Johannes (Johanise, as he called him) had, for some time past, been working as a missionary or teacher in amongst people belonging to the Chief Silwane's tribe, near Estcourt.<sup>9</sup> Johannes has now left Silwane's location for some other place, but intimated to the people that he would

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return. Silwana was so enraged with Johannes's influence, which seems to have been very considerable, that he threatened to stab anyone who should come to him or his kraal and induce anyone there to become converts to Johannes. It appears that many  
32 of those who live under Silwane have become converts, and that when Silwane tries to engage them for road party or other Government work they refuse to comply with his order, which of course emanates from the Government (magistrate). They say they will not work because they are *kolwas*. Silwana is strongly averse to his people becoming *kolwas*.

A result of Johannes's teaching [see a note thereon and on his own conversion on pp. 175, 176 of my notebook no. 6<sup>10</sup>] is that many girls who had *chosen husbands* (*qoma'd*) have given over their *sokas* or lovers for the reason that Johannes says a girl does wrong in becoming engaged to a man who is himself engaged or married to another woman. She will, when she dies, be burnt (go to hell) for such misdeed. Since Johannes left Silwana's some of the girls have reaccepted their lovers.

Qalizwe is convinced that the Johannes herein referred to is the same as that in my note in notebook 6 as above referred to. For instance, Qalizwe's informant states that Johannes is blind (*impumpute*), is conducted about by his holding on to a stick, and has been to Orana, a tributary of the Mkomazi in Polela Division and below Mahwaqa, this being the place where Qalizwe's people at Ixopo told him they met Johannes the *impumpute*.<sup>11</sup> Johannes is sometimes called simply the *impumpute* (blind man). His teaching is that all people, though they die, are destined not for this world but for another, and that therefore those who commit sin will all be burnt, and this of course means everybody, because all are in sin. He exhorts people to *cleanse themselves by praying* (*gez' umpefumulo wenu ngoku tandaza*). He is himself a convert to Christianity, but does not appear to be attached to any European mission. He has had very great influence in Silwane's tribe. Qalizwe's informant said he refused himself to become a convert to Johannes; he will not. Johannes' plan is to go about from kraal to kraal. He tells his message at a kraal and then is permitted to live at it, which he makes a base of operations. Johannes would be between 31 and 35 years of age now. He has caused very many of Silwane's people to dress, and become converts to him.

22.6.1899, evening.

Qalizwe had a further talk today with the above-referred-to informant, whose name is Mqgayi. Mqgayi says he has not himself seen Johannes, but the boy accompanying Mqgayi saw him. Johannes is at this present somewhere near Mhlumba mountain in Weenen Division, and still in Silwane's location, which is a very large one.<sup>12</sup> His *isibongo* is *wakwaZondi*. He has lived at Hlatikulu in Weenen County near the Drakensberg.<sup>13</sup> The people of Silwane's tribe are looked upon as having been spoilt by Johannes' teaching and influence. His teaching exercises a real and genuine influence. He picks out *kolwas* who are sinners and tells them what their sins are. He can detect an *umtakati*. Those who keep on committing sin will not cross the Jontani (Jordan) on the way to heaven.

Two girls are known to have sworn to be true Christians and to leave off leading wicked lives. Of one of these, a *betrothed woman* (*inkehli*), Johannes predicted that

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33 she was with child, that she would bear the child, and that after this child was several years old, the girl would die. This happened exactly as Johannes had stated. No one at the time the prediction was made knew the girl was with child. He predicted of the other girl that she would become pregnant of 'air' which, after birth, would be visible in some form to people, but she would not die (soon) after giving birth to whatever she was pregnant of. The girl in course of time bore a monstrosity. She became barren and is still living.

Many of Silwane's people do not like Johannes and have expressed an intention of beating him. He dares anyone to assault or kill him, as such person would also die. Johannes says that those who have been in the habit of *hlobongaing* will, when they die, find their 'wasted' children in heaven. If a person emits during the night, there is no wrong done, as there was no intention, but it was due to God's will. Johannes is said to be able at once to turn to the right place in his book for hymns etc. He exceeds the missionaries in his prayers and addresses in earnestness, intensity and reality. Another place at which he lives a good deal is Orana [vide page opposite].

27.6.1899 - <evidence given 26.6.1899>

File 73, pp. 1-2.

1 <Lobola.> Natal. Per Nomsimekwana, Chief Ngangezwe's father, and through  
2 my boy Qalizwe who conversed with Nomsimekwana on 25th, and with me last night.<sup>14</sup>

Nomsimekwana says that originally ordinary people were paid 2 or 3 head of cattle as *lobola*, whilst men of higher standing received 5. The king's daughters were *lobola'd* with 20 head to begin with, and the person marrying was for the rest of his life under an obligation to pay more cattle. The debt could not be, or was not, settled all at once. A sense of responsibility for *lobola* always rested on the people who married girls of royal blood.

*Brass beads (izindondo)* used to be used for *lobola* purposes. [Vide p. 83, 17.8.1899. See also *umnaka*, same page.]<sup>15</sup>

27.6.1899 - <evidence given 26.6.1899>

File 73, p. 33.

33 <Contact with civilized races: Europeans.> Natal. Table Mountain, per Nomsimekwana, Chief Ngangezwe's father. I sent Qalizwe to him and this is what Qalizwe heard him say [on 25.6.1899 - my talk with Qalizwe last night].

That living under British rule is more preferable than living under the Zulu regime when people were killed for the slightest offence. If any person complained of another, this other would be killed without any further enquiry. '*We finished one another off (sa si qedana)*,' Nomsimekwana says. No man enjoyed safety. He himself was one of the *udibi* or mat-bearers in Tshaka's time, as he calls himself of the Impiyake regiment (equivalent to Izinyosi regiment, as Nomsimekwana says), as the *udibi* were known as Tshaka's *impi*. This would make him between 80 and 90. His other name is Mpupu.

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28.6.1899

File 73, p. 34.

34 <Contact with civilized races: Europeans.> Natal. Per Qalizwe, 28.6.1899.

Qalizwe says that since rinderpest broke out nearly three years ago, it has become quite a common thing for girls who have become with child to be married off hurriedly to their seducers for fear of a case being brought up in the magistrate's court and the seducer fined. The fact of the girl being with child is concealed, but other women detect this, and it is through their help that Qalizwe quotes the following cases in support of his assertions: (a) the wife of Nhlamba, (b) the wife of Babili, (c) the wife of Zimema, (d) the wife of Makundu. This sort of thing was also practised before the outbreak of rinderpest, but not to so great an extent. Babili, above named, is Nhlamba's brother. Qalizwe does not know how girls come to allow their lovers to penetrate instead of *hlobonga* or *soma-ing*.

The official witness appointed by the Government is appreciated chiefly by the men, for his action puts an end to further dispute re cattle etc.<sup>16</sup>

30.6.1899 - <evidence given 29.6.1899>.

File 73, pp.34-5.

<Contact with civilized races: European.> 30.6.1899, Natal. Per Qalizwe, Pietermaritzburg.

Qalizwe told me last night that yesterday afternoon (about 3 p.m.) he went towards the lower end of the town; he met a native (about 34 years old) with a beard working at a blacksmith's shop who told him of a wood and zinc house close by where they were seated which was a whore-shop. Qalizwe had been sent by me to find out this kind of place. Qalizwe, in conversation with this man, gathered that girls left their homes (a) because they wanted to work, (b) because they had been beaten or ill-treated by their fathers, (c) because the example was set them by their mothers' leaving home and becoming prostitutes. These seem to be the chief reasons, though of course there may be still deeper ones in the heart of each prostitute. After a girl has become a prostitute (*unondindwa*), and has contracted the disease (*isimpantsholo*), she is afraid to go home, and then makes up her mind to remain where she is.<sup>17</sup> A girl, Qalizwe says, is induced to leave her kraal or home because she wishes to earn money to dress herself, i.e. she desires to become a convert to Christianity. The native above referred to says a person enters the whore-shop any time in the afternoon or evening, where he will at once find a number of women who may or may not make overtures to him at the very door as he enters. He will then begin to be courted by the women, and one of them will hold out her open hand in the expectation of being paid money. Two, three, four or five shillings is the fee paid. Upon this the donor is kissed on the mouth etc. (the tongue of the woman is made to meet that of the man), and the man is invited to have carnal knowledge of her. Qalizwe does not know as yet if this takes place in the presence of others or not.

Qalizwe yesterday, near the market square, was curtsied and played before by

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four girls or women, showing that these said native women are not restrained by any set of feelings or customs. They do just as they like, and the natural boundaries or barriers between the sexes are wilfully overridden by them. Qalizwe said nothing to these women and they left him.

35 It seems this kind of woman (*unondindwa*) is in the habit of saying that they have control over themselves, that they enjoy 'responsible government' (*si zi pete*), and they say when they die they will be buried at Kettlefontein.<sup>18</sup> Qalizwe points out that there is a difference between '*isifebe*' and '*nondindwa*'. The former is a girl who, at home, in the ordinary native way of living in a location etc., is in the habit of allowing many men to have sexual intercourse with her, whereas '*nondindwa*' is a word applying to girls in towns who have left their homes altogether and become street-walkers. So then the '*isifebe*' is not a '*nondindwa*', but all *nondindwa*'s may be and probably are *izifebe*.<sup>19</sup>

There are very many native prostitutes in Maritzburg. I have directed Qalizwe to make further inquiries, and himself to enter a whore-shop and find out. Qalizwe is a boy who has worked for some months in Durban as a ricksha-puller and has a good knowledge of prostitutes, their ways and their diseases.

<1.7.1899? & 2.7.1899?>

File 42, item 41, pp. 1-2.

<The rendering which follows is of what appear to be Stuart's original rough notes. The informant is not identified at the start, but is referred to in the text as 'Q'. In part these notes were written up by Stuart on 7.7.1899 in File 73, p. 35: see below. We here give both versions, partly because the original contains much more information than the transcribed version, and partly to illustrate Stuart's method of noting evidence in the early years of his recording career. Apart from translation, we render the original version with minimal editorial intervention - eds.>

1 Mata (Martha) - about 26 years, was wife (*lobola* paid) and Christian, became so as a woman near Isipingo. There was something which she saw in her husband which she will not say. He beat her. She bore him 2 children. Husband's name not given. Became Christian as everyone else was doing so. Husband had another wife, as is a *kolwa* <sic>. She was divorced at Durban (Umlazi Court?). Lives *down the Umlazi*. Been here a number of years, perhaps 2 or 3 as she bore 2 children for her husband. She came to P.M.B. because she no longer wished to marry another man. Would not say why she parted from her husband although asked if *takata*, *stealing* or *adultery* (*pinga*). She made a great *secret* (*isigungu*) of this.

*We left to go and work for ourselves. Why not return home? We do return home to see friends but we are not able to remain at home, and all that remained was to come and work with our cunt (igolo letu) in P.M.B. We are no longer able to do white people's work, even with our hands.*

Saw 4 whores. One of these lying helpless on the ground and would not wake up, had been slept with by various people in the night and given spirits (*sikokeyana*).<sup>20</sup> The *gonorrhoea* (*isimpantshola*) was apparent only on Mata. A white man was

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stopping at the place and never went away. Q. saw him; he had *isimpantsholo*. Women said he never went away. Is about 26 years and walks with legs apart.

Get 2s, 3s, 4s, 6s but who pays 10s will sleep several nights. White man said good day. *He was pillowing his head on one of the other whores (isifebe)*. Not a good linguist.

Wood and iron house, 2 doors, did not go in, not *hot* (their house *they pay for it themselves* each month).

Has left *being a Christian* because she had done a great wrong. *You live knowing that you will be burnt in heaven (ezulwini)*. She prefers her own present life but 2 knows a great calamity awaits her. She sometimes goes and sees her children but does not stop more than one day and then returns.

Says there are very many *prostitutes (nondindwa)* in a large house at the barracks on the road to Table Mountain just outside P.M.B. and below road to Kettlefontein. Servants are also whores but not regular professional prostitutes.

*Are you not driven away? They failed. They were dispersed;* they then *rented houses* and lived outside the town. Not worried now.

What struck Q. most was that woman said she would not on any account whatever tell him what had caused her to leave her husband. She said it was a *secret (isifuba)* with which she would die.

Did not hear where others came from.

Will always be a whore.

She says in reply to Q. that *the umgongwanyana inside becomes finished off with isimpantsholo* and only *the shell (igobongo)* remains.<sup>21</sup>

*'Come, let me "soak" (cwilisa) you.'* Policeman said, 'How can you "soak" me when your cunt (*umsunu*) is just an *igobongo*?' She said, 'You say that because you see others; *in the day-time you just "soak" yourself.*' The policeman is a night guard.

Spoke on Friday from lunch till late in afternoon (near sunset). Stayed a long time, 3 or 4 hours.

She wanted Q. to go inside. He said no, would return another day. Wanted Q. to get disease and so be unable to return home and be compelled to remain with her.

*Isimpantsholo* is taken in hand by doctors, others do not consult doctors.

They become with child. She does not *become pregnant* now. A man came to ask if there were any children as he wanted to buy them - they said no. *The man* not a *kolwa*. The child then grows up and becomes theirs.

Children are either killed, or sold or taken home to girls' homes. Sold for 2s. Europeans were not referred to as buying. Bought *when able to sit up*, and *brought up* by the wife of the man who has bought child. When child gets older may be sold for more. If kill children they are *arrested*; they now sell, perhaps as many sold as sent home.

7.7.1899 - <evidence given 1.7.1899 and 2.7.1899>

File 73, p. 35.

35 7.7.1899. On the 1st instant Qalizwe went to a house (wood and iron) close to the willow-bridge which he had been told the day previous [see above note of 30.6.1899]



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was lived in by whores. He gave me a full account of his experiences the same evening, and he supplemented this the following day, when I took short notes of everything, from which notes I now write.

On first coming to the house, Qalizwe saw 4 women sitting outside, whom he took to be whores. He went up to and spoke to them and they with him. One of these was lying helpless and in a disgraceful state on the ground; she could not be aroused. The women told Q. that this woman had had connection the night previous with various soldiers, who had also given her spirits (*sikokeyana*) to drink. Q. found also a white man on the place, aged about 26 and walks with his legs wide apart. He has *isimpantsholo*, as there were sores about his face. After a little while Q. winked to one of the women, and this woman came to where he was sitting. She was 26 years of age or thereabouts. She gave Mata [Martha] as her name. She stated, in the course of a long and intimate conversation, that she had been married, that *lobola* was paid for her, and that after becoming married under native law she became a Christian at some place at or near Isipingo.<sup>22</sup> She had now ceased altogether to live with her husband, and the reason for this was because of something which was done by her husband which she would not on any account whatever tell anybody. Q. asked if he beat her; she said yes, but there was evidently something else which, though Q. pressed her, she would not state. She bore her husband two children. She did not give her husband's name. [To be continued.]

7.7.1899

File 42, item 41, pp. 3-4.

### 3 Per Qalizwe.

Q. yesterday had a chat with a man, Msutu, and his wife, who told him that they had come to get to return to his home their son Mandhlakayise. M. had refused to return. Q. knows M. slightly. M. says there is no nice thing at home (*a kuko luto okuhle*). His parents went to visit him at his employer's, entered the boy's sleeping hut, and he is said to have remarked that the place had an effluvia of home about it (*ku nuk' ekaya*). His parents went to the *induna* of the City Court to see if there could be no legal interference and the boy compelled to return. The *induna* referred the parents to the boy's employer, saying a boy who was working could not be taken from his master.

It seems M. is about 16 years of age, has been working in PMB for about 17 months. On hearing from his parents that they were going to the P. about him he said, 'You had better prevent the trains from running,' meaning that if he were punished he would go off to another part of the country and beyond their reach.

The whole incident has greatly distressed the boy's mother as he is her only son. She fell into tears.

Q. does not know if M. is a Christian.

[Sunday, 9.7.1899. Saw Msutu myself today - he told me the whole story. Msutu has two wives; one has two children, a boy, Makubalo, aged about 20, and a girl about 15 or 16. Mandhlakayise threatens to go to Johannesburg to work if his parents

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4 persist. Even if the police take him home he will run away afterwards. Msutu lives about 20 miles more or less from the Mapumulo office - is under Swaimana ka Sipuku.<sup>23</sup>

3.8.1899

File 42, item 41, p. 4.

Per Qalizwe.

When Natives cut their hair they bury the hair or hide it.

Young men do not put on headrings, but at Xabatshe's this is still done as of old.<sup>24</sup>

7.8.1899. Umzinto.

File 73, pp. 35-6.

Also present: Gedle

35 <Contact with European races: Europeans.> Natal. Umzinto, per Qalizwe and Gedhle together, 7.8.1899.<sup>25</sup> (Gedhle was initiated today.)

Q. and G. spoke today to Nhlabati ka Bunywana of or near Harding, who has worked off and on in Mzinto for some years. He says it has become a very general practice for the white people serving in Langa's (Archibald & Co.'s) store at Mzinto to give native women and girls liquor, and to induce them to go with them into a  
36 back room on the premises, where presumably sexual intercourse takes place. The white people give goods and sweets etc. to the women and girls as a return for having intercourse with them. Nhlabati says this has become quite common, and the women and girls he refers to are those from the kraals, and not the ordinary dressed girls who belong to the town. There are many native prostitutes in the town. The women and girls go to Archibald's to buy goods, and they sell themselves, Nhlabati thinks, because no one will be able afterwards to detect that they have had intercourse with anyone. This sort of thing seems to have gone on at Archibald's for some years. Nhlabati may be 26 or 27 years of age.

Q. and G. also spoke to Mbapansi, a man of Mbuyingana's tribe near the Mkomanzi river in this (Alexandra) division near the Ixopo-Alexandra boundary.<sup>26</sup> He says the people of his tribe pay 14s hut tax as well as £1 on each hut, although they live on location lands, but they are not, or rather their chief is not, required to furnish labourers for the road parties. This taxation is felt as a considerable burden. The chief has been twice to the magistrate about the matter, but all that was said was that the young men should be made to go out to work.

Q. and G. again had a talk today with a man called Kiwayo, an *older man (kehla)* aged about 57, living at Ozwatini (near Hermannsberg), who has come to be attended by Dr Tritton for a bad, swollen eye. He expressed the following opinion: That the reasons why their people were in so unsatisfactory a state, so much given to loose morals or immorality, was because the white people allowed women and girls to work for them, because facilities were given for divorce, and because the white

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people gave them 'nice' things to enjoy [educated their tastes?]. Women did not go out to work for other people in Zululand, nor could they be divorced. Amongst the Europeans, divorces are granted readily. And this facility for divorce causes women to be very independent, for on the slightest quarrel with their husband they will threaten to go, or will actually go, and apply for a divorce. Under these circumstances, Kiwayo adds, prostitution, which was unknown in its present form in Zululand, will never be put a stop to. The white people are literally destroying the race. Boys are in the habit, moreover, of going off to Johannesburg and never returning; they go off with girls and they become accustomed to life at the goldfields and never want to return to their homes.

8.8.1899

File 73, pp. 36-7.

8.8.1899. Per Qalizwe and Gedhle.

These boys had a talk with the post cart driver, Kremer [?], who informed them that the late Mr Redman very frequently had sexual intercourse with native girls and women. He did this although married; he used to stand outside at night and wait for the girls or women. He is known to have had 5 children by natives in this way. I may  
37 add that I know Mrs Redman and live at her hotel. Q. and G. saw one of Mrs Redman's sons (a young boy) playing about in an obscene way with several native girls that were here today; he was called by his mother but did not readily obey her.

Q. and G. went again to Archibald's store, where they saw a flask of gin or spirits sold to a native. It was well wrapped up in paper, and stated by the white man to someone who had inquired in Q. and G.'s presence to be paraffine, whereas a native salesman had said it was spirits. A white man at this store called Makenisi [McKenzie?], who is a good native linguist, courted several dressed native girls, and it was Q. and G.'s opinion he was no new hand at that sort of thing. The girls were given spirits to drink, and seemed to be ready to have sexual intercourse; this was inferred from their general behaviour.

Qalizwe and Gedhle, late in the afternoon, entered a mill near Knox's place which they found crammed with headringed men, married women and one or two girls. Many were the worse for liquor; others were expecting to be served, the price being 3d a glass. Q. and G. heard several complain that water had been added to the spirit. The price of a flask of spirit (gin) is said to be 5s. My boys form the opinion that natives can get what they like in the shape of liquor in Mzinto; there seems to be no restriction whatever. There was loud talking and disputing whilst Q. and G. were there; they do not think the people were immoral, though, owing to women getting drunk, there might easily be immorality, especially after sunset, as all the women could hardly have got back to their kraals, unless they are quite close by.

9.8.1899. Umzinto.

File 73, p. 67.

67 Contact with civilized races - Indians, Arabs etc. Umzinto, Natal. Per Qalizwe,

## QALIZWE

9.8.1899.

In a conversation with Mgoba, a young man of Charlie Fynn's tribe near the Mtwalume river,<sup>27</sup> Q. learnt that natives resent the attitude of Indians towards them. That these Indians came to the country unsolicited; that the country belongs to the native or their native country; and now when they are here they assume an attitude of superiority over the native. This is seen when native and Indian work for the same master, when, even though such master has given the Indian no status or authority over the native, he will assume it and act accordingly. There is, Mgoba says, a good deal of ill-feeling over this matter, so much so that if the Europeans were to quit the country, the Indians would all be massacred to a man.

Qalizwe feels convinced that there is no such thing as sexual intercourse between Indians and Natives, either as regards the men or the women or both. The great objection the two races have to one another lies in their bodily smell - Indians say that Natives stink, and Natives say the same of Indians.

Natives do not appear to have as yet copied any of the Indian customs, which is probably due to the aversion the one people has to the other.

[I spoke to a storekeeper (Mohammedan) from Bombay this evening. He said his language was Gujarati and that in Umzinto there are not over a dozen Arabs (Indians). They are not Arabs but Indians who are Mohammedans.]

11.8.1899

File 73, pp. 67-8.

<Contact with civilized races - Indians, Arabs etc.> 11.8.1899. Per Qalizwe.

In conversation with Babekene ka Momoyi (chief: Mabunu, of Ixopo division<sup>28</sup>), about 20 years of age, and known to Q. He once worked for an Indian living in the village (Mzinto) for 15 days, but was ordered to leave because he drank out of the same cup as that used by his master. His old master is a store-keeper 50 yards from Mrs Redman's Royal Hotel. He was sent on several occasions to the Indian settlement on or near Mr Charlie Reynolds' sugar estate, where he learnt that natives come in closer contact with natives<sup>29</sup> than in the village of Mzinto. He heard of natives having sexual intercourse with Indians there.

Q. also spoke to another native this afternoon, who said he had himself had sexual intercourse with a coolie girl who lives in Durban. He has never heard of a coolie girl or woman having a child by a native.

Babekene went on to say that natives have noticed coolies never speak of their chief (*inkosi*), and so imagine they have none. If anything should occur in the shape of disturbance, the Indians would fly to the English for protection; they are *kept* (*fuyiwe*) by the English like sheep or cattle. Babekene too has not heard of a coolie  
68 having a child by a native. He has seen coolies for (several years past) some time past.

## QALIZWE

17.8.1899

File 73, pp. 68-9.

<Contact with civilized races - Indians, Arabs etc.> 17.8.1899.

Qalizwe had a conversation today with an *older man (kehla)*, about the age of his father (58), named Mageza (chief: Tshonkweni<sup>30</sup>), who lives about one and a half or two miles from the village of Umzinto. He said many natives have been compelled by coolies to leave the neighbourhood of Umzinto, their kraals and families, for Saoti's (Dumisa) and Tshonkweni's tribe in other parts of the division.<sup>31</sup> A coolie will turn up suddenly and *plant (gxumeka)* his house right in front of a native kraal without notice. The native is then directed to clear out. Many kraals have to leave in this way. Mageza wonders when the natives will be permitted to *busa* (enjoy life by not having incessant cares). They do everything they are ordered by the white people to do. Even though they are in the habit of paying taxes when living on land, they are ordered to quit because it is said a coolie has bought the land. Natives do not see the reason for this. They are at present in the midst of troubles, but do not know where to fly to. Natives, Mageza says, see that the white people treat the coolie with greater consideration than that with which they are treated. Mageza lives on a white man's farm. He has for many years past lived near the village of Umzinto. He has one wife; 69 there are 3 huts in his kraal. Mageza blames the white people for causing natives to make way for the coolies. They (natives) have been conquered and are obedient in every respect to their conquerors. There is no white person who represents the natives and stands up for them; they are afraid of stating their own grievances to the authorities.

18.8.1899. Umzinto.

File 73, p. 2.

2. <Lobola.> Umzinto. Per Qalizwe, 18.8.1899.

Qalizwe went up the Mzimayi stream for about four miles today to one Bangizwe's kraal, chief Tshonkweni. He spoke to Bangizwe, aged about 35, with his brother (younger) called Mubi. Bangizwe has lived for many years in this part; he is now on private land; his kraal has 3 huts. He said that now that rinderpest has cleared off the cattle, people are disposed to lend to one another, i.e. give credit on security. When a girl *accepts a man for marriage (gana's)*, the *husband designates (imisa's)* his sister, and says her cattle will *lobola* the woman he wishes to marry, that is, the sister is made security for the bride's *lobola*. This is a purely private arrangement, and made no mention of in a court of law when, for instance, the husband goes to report his marriage or ask that a hut be added to his kraal. If the sister should die prior to marriage, or the married woman die before giving birth to a child, a difficulty would arise. A case of this kind has not as yet occurred, but Bangizwe believes the husband would have to pay the *lobola* in some other way - the misfortune would be his. This sort of bargaining is freely carried on in Tshonkweni's tribe, Bangizwe says, but is kept secret as much as possible. A result of the loss of cattle is the fact that many girls are *made pregnant (mitisa'd)*. Many are *made pregnant*, but complaints are not often made in the magistrate's office. People are apt to refrain

## QALIZWE

from complaining and they hide the crime from the court.

18.8.1899

File 73, p. 69

- 69 <Contact with civilized races - Indians, Arabs etc.> 18.8.1899. Per Qalizwe in conversation with Bangizwe [vide p. 2].

Bangizwe said that the coolies are driving natives out. The reason for this is, he believes, because coolies are thought by Europeans to have more money (wealthier). Bangizwe lives on private land. Qalizwe noticed that a garden came right up to his kraal, which Bangizwe pointed to, and said was a coolie's. He called them *beasts that cause trouble (izilwane ezonayo)*.

18.8.1899

File 73, p. 83.

- 83 <Manufactures.> 18.8.1899. Per Qalizwe. In conversation with Bangizwe [p. 2].

Q. saw an-old *inhlendhla*, an assegai (barbed). Bangizwe said *brass beads (izindondo)* were to be obtained chiefly along the coast but, as they are articles of value, they could not be purchased cheaply. *Newly married women (omakoti)* use these to *cwaya* or adorn themselves with. The reason, B. thinks, why so few old curios can be got now is because most of the old people are dead, and each death necessitated old things being buried (*lahla'd*) with the deceased. The younger generation have taken to using European goods.

21.8.1899

File 73, pp. 13-14.

- 13 <Marriage.> Natal, per Qalizwe.

Qalizwe tells me that it is a common practice amongst natives for the bridegroom-elect to arrange with his fiancée that she shall leave her father's kraal for his own home on a fixed day shortly after night-fall without her father's knowledge or consent. The girl will go to *gana*, which means that she will live at her husband's home for about a month, and she will be escorted or abducted from her home by friends or relations of the bridegroom-elect, the bridegroom himself not being present. The girl as a rule will inform the junior wife of her father of her intention to elope shortly before leaving, and when she has gone the junior wife will or may inform the other wives, but the husband is on no account informed. The girl will, as has been stated, leave in the early part of the evening. She will have food with her relations as usual and then, pretending to go to bed, she will take up her already prepared few belongings (or ornaments), and leave at once, meeting her abductors close to the kraal, but not in it (for fear of detection). Next day early, the abductors (excluding the  
14 bridegroom) will return to the girl's father to report that 'a dog of theirs came in the night and stole away a lamb or kid (*izinyane*)'. They will feign great regret and then await the decision of the father.

## QALIZWE

The abductors are treated in different ways by different fathers. Sometimes they are well beaten with sticks, and sometimes they will not be spoken to until a handsome fine has been paid for their wrongdoing.

The custom was tried in Qalizwe's own home when his sister was about to be married. When the abductors came, Dhlozi was so taken aback with the news that he folded his blanket about him and over his head, and there and then lay down to sleep! The abductors, seeing that D. was very angry, moved away home. After they had gone, Dhlozi, who expected them to return the following day, told Qalizwe to speak to them for and on his behalf. Q. was told to demand a horse, saddle and bridle as a fine for what had been done, and when the men came, Q. made the demand and they went away. The horse etc. was duly paid, and the good relations between all were restored and the marriage consummated.

This betrothal visit of course takes place some weeks before the wedding is arranged. Those who represent the bridegroom and assist him in gaining his father's consent, arranging *lobola*, presents etc., are called *abakongi* from the verb *konga* and they have to *gqigqa*, i.e. go many times to the father before he gives his full consent,

21.8.1899

File 73, p. 37.

- 37 Per Qalizwe, who spoke to people at or near Bangizwe's kraal [vide p. 2], who seem to have come to Bangizwe to *konga* or arrange preliminaries prior to marriage of the kraal head's daughter.

Q. heard the father demand, over and above the 10 head of cattle (*lobola*) and one beast (*ingqutu*), a sum of £2 as *ubikibiki*, then £1 for a pot (*ibodwe*), 10s for an *ingubo* (blanket), and 10s for a *itshali* (shawl).<sup>32</sup> These moneys were all for the girl's mother, apart from the *ingqutu*. Then the husband, in addition to the 10 head (*lobola*), required 10s for an *ijazi* (greatcoat), and £5 as a fine for abduction of his daughter when she went off without his consent on the betrothal visit (*gana*). All these items are due to European influence. The *ubikibiki* item is the most interesting of all. *Ubikibiki*, Q. says, is known in Ixopo division as *uzinqezimuncu* (*uzinqeyimuncu*), and its meaning is the 'nursing and looking after and bringing up' of the girl-to-be-married by her mother.<sup>33</sup>

[Read entry on pp. 13 and 14, date 21.8.1899, in respect to the fine above referred to.<sup>34</sup> I remember in May last, when at Richmond, hearing a case in which the *ubikibiki* was referred to. I asked where the practice first made its appearance, and one of the native police mentioned the Embo tribe (Mqolombeni, Ngunesi etc.) as originating it.<sup>35</sup>]

<29.8.1899>

File 73, pp. 39-40.

Also present: Gedle

- 39 Per Qalizwe and Gedhle together.

## QALIZWE

They had talk today [29.8.1899] with Ngqumbazi, an elderly woman of Umzinto. Her *elder brother (umnewabo)* is Maweni; he lives at Gwalagwala's in the Umsinga division.<sup>36</sup> Ngqumbazi is a prostitute. She has been many years at Umzinto. She said to Q. and G., 'Why do you not have connection with the *kolwa* girls?' 'What if they *become pregnant as they part the legs (hlekeza imilenze)?*' 'Even if pregnant,' replied Ngqumbazi, 'there is a place where illegitimate and orphan  
40 children can be put, i.e. those borne by *nondindwa*.' 'Where is this place?' 'There is a *Loma* [Trappists or Roman Catholics] in Durban who protects and cares for children borne by *nondindwa*.' 'Are there many of these children with the *Loma*?' 'Yes, that *Loma* has many of these prostitute children. They grow up with the *Loma*; they are taught and christianized. If you do not wish to get *isimpantsholo*,' continued Ngqumbazi, 'when you feel that you want to *ejaculate (tunda)*, withdraw and *ejaculate on the ground*.'

The old woman invited Q. and G. to go with her. Q. and G. said they had no money. She said she would agree if paid 3d each, and promised to introduce them to another *nondindwa*. She made no mention of any intention to return home. She is about 60 years old. She washes clothes at the Hotel (Royal). She stops at the *tshisanyama* opposite or near the Indian temple.<sup>37</sup> There are, Ngqumbazi says, many prostitutes who come to Umzinto, but they come only to go on to Durban. N. goes to Durban herself sometimes.

30.8.1899

File 73, p. 40.

Also present: Gedle

40 Per Q. and G. together.

They had further conversation with Ngqumbazi. She says she has had 10 children, of whom 6 are dead and 4 are living. The Indian people (coolies) are not happy (*hlupeka*). Whenever the master or overseer comes to them they hide from him the fact that they are miserable. Women *hlupeka* or are not happy because they are indentured as well as men. Women are always grieving or lamenting the having to go out to work, but they hide this grievance; they do not tell their master about it. Ngqumbazi heard this from certain Indians who are friends of hers; they told her not to let the news spread.

30.8.1899. Umzinto.

File 73, p. 39.

39 <Contact with civilized races: European.> 30.8.1899. Umzinto. Per Qalizwe and Gedhle together.

Both together have become familiar with a woman called Mamlungu, daughter of a chief named Mgomeni living at Hlokozi (on border of Ixopo and Alexandra divisions) and formerly married.<sup>38</sup> She said she had *isitete*, i.e. *isimpantsholo*. She will not return home as she is used to living with white people. She needs nothing



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here, she says, and would not consent to marry anyone unless it were certain that she would receive from her husband both clothes and money. She said to Q. and G., 'If either of you or both wish to have connection with me you may do so; anybody may have carnal intercourse with me. Some will say that I am old, but if I were to take off my clothes you would not agree with that opinion. I am still young, and if you desire you may have connection with me.' 'Do people who live as you are doing ever become with child?' Q. and G. said, 'Yes, some do and others not. Some will take a particular kind of medicine to prevent their becoming pregnant, and this medicine is given them by their *lovers (amasoka)*, who obtain it from the white people. Some women who get children sell them.' Mamlungu did not know the prices paid for children.

She has been staying lately at Mageza's kraal near Umzinto. She was formerly married but divorced. Her husband (divorced) is dead. The divorce was granted in court at Umzinto; this happened a number of years ago. Her husband turned against her (*cunukela 'd*).<sup>39</sup> At first she was liked by her husband, but his other 2 wives were jealous and *doctored (elapa 'd)* her with medicines which caused her husband not to like her. She was then directed to leave, and everybody, towards the end of her home life, made her life miserable by always beating her. Q. and G. did not ask if she had had any children by her husband. Her father is dead. She intends never again to go back home. She says that prostitutes charge a fee for having connection, but did not state the amount.

The barman at the Royal Hotel, Umzinto (I think his name is Pratt), has had connection with her; he is barman at the hotel belonging to Mrs Redman. She, Mamlungu, is waiting to see if such connection will have any effect on her, as P. has connection with other women who she knows *have isimpantsholo*. She and other women, Q. and G. say, are served with liquor by Pratt; Q. and G. have themselves seen this, as of course they are staying at the hotel with me.

When women become pregnant they will sometimes take medicine which then kills the child whilst in the womb.

9.3.1900. Durban.

File 73, pp. 51-2.

51 <Contact with civilized races: European.> 9.3.1900. Durban. Per Qalizwe.

Q., at my request, had a conversation with some native. The name of the one spoken to is Mswani; his chief is Ndhlovu of Lower Tugela division.<sup>40</sup> Mswani began with a talk about the war. He wondered what would happen as far as natives were concerned when the present war was over, when, that is, Boer restraint on England had been done away with, for the English were afraid of the Boers in a way. The Natives would be more at England's mercy than ever, and the state of affairs as it is

52 is bad enough. The natives are all going to the dogs; things are done now which would never have been tolerated under the old system of native government. What is wanted is a single native sovereign in South Africa who shall take in hand the whole people; he should derive his authority from the Queen. Many, many natives if they had the opportunity, if for instance someone, an Englishman, should champion their

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cause, would come forward and state their grievances. At present all they do is to shut their mouths and say and do nothing. The land question is sorely troubling the people, and it is a piece of impudence and presumption on the part of the English to call on natives to pay taxes to the Government (increased by the way from 7s to 14s) and at the same time allow private persons to levy additional taxes. Where is justice in this? Where then is that land which is the property of the Government? Taxes moreover have to be paid although there have been heavy losses from rinderpest. If only the natives had a king there would be an end to this sort of thing; there would be war with the whites. As it is, things must go on from bad to worse. If there was a king, and he had authority, he would compel all natives to conform to native law, and soon put a stop to the innumerable objectionable and injurious tendencies - *kolwas*, prostitutes etc. This could be done even though the English were in the country. A strong hand only is required. People go out to work and the money they earn is swallowed up in taxes. What is required is a king to redress grievances.

4.8.1900. Pietermaritzburg.

File 73, p. 54.

54 Imperial Hotel, Pietermaritzburg. (About Ixopo.) 4 August 1900, per Qalizwe.

I remember some time ago having a talk with Q. about his own home but do not recollect if anything was recorded. When Dhlozi returned to Ixopo from Eshowe [before going with me to Swaziland or to Ubombo - this would be about the year 1892 or early in 1893], he found one (or more) of his children - girls - had taken to wearing European clothing, frocks etc.<sup>41</sup> He took hold of the dress of one of the eldest girls, after laying a sickle beside him, and then, putting the sickle to it, ripped the clothing through, asking as he did so who had given her permission to wear clothes in that way. He was very angry indeed about the matter. The girl after this took off all European clothing and reverted to her former condition. And the others seem to have followed her example.

Dhlozi afterwards went away to me in Swaziland and Ubombo. During his absence one of Nhlamba's girls took to clothing, and then almost all Dhlozi's household followed her example. When Dhlozi got back he felt he could do nothing. He let matters go their way. One or two of his wives then asked permission to 'dress', and Dhlozi said that those who cared to dress might do so, but that if they did so they acted against his wishes. Several of the girls and one of the women have not to this day taken to 'dressing'.

Q. says what his father seems to feel most is that, when girls dress, their dresses in time wear out, and this creates a strong desire in them to go and work in order to buy other dresses. And when girls go out to work they generally go to the bad altogether, and desert from home. What he felt intensely, too, was when he killed a fine large '*intondolo*' (goat) for his family.<sup>42</sup> He invoked the *amadhlozi*, went through the whole ceremony in accordance with custom, and, when the meat was ready to be eaten, none of those who had 'dressed' would partake of it. They merely looked on whilst the others ate. Dhlozi moreover feels very much the departure from native custom which 'dressing' involves; it is something foreign to him. To this day

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he is not reconciled to the innovation, though he is powerless to do anything. His old mother is still living. He has 3 wives and 14 children.

5.8.1900. Pietermaritzburg.

File 73, p. 55.

55 Pietermaritzburg, 5.8.1900, per Qalizwe.

Q. went out yesterday by my direction and came across a friend of his, aged about 36, name Nkwitshi ka Mboza who, he soon discovered, was employed in the town (Pietermaritzburg) as a detective. The chief duty this man is employed on at present is the tracing of those who get liquor at the various canteens. It seems that a good deal of liquor is secretly issued to natives from the canteens. Q. says he was much astonished when this friend told him he was a detective and proceeded to prove his assertion by showing Q. a pair of handcuffs hidden on his person. Q. believes, and has reason for believing, that the whole native community in the town is now on the alert, and will not impart information on any subject to anyone unless it be a friend.

It should be said that I have frequently pressed Q. to try and get information of various kinds for me, and he has often complained to me of the difficulty of getting it; this difficulty he directly attributes to these detectives, who are undoubtedly careless and inexperienced, as the above incident proves. A man who is a detective should not be the first to say he is one.

12.8.1900, Sunday. Howick.

File 73, p. 56.

56 Howick. Per Qalizwe, 12.8.1900, Sunday.

Q. says he yesterday afternoon had a conversation with a man called Melise (chief: Mzimba<sup>43</sup>) about the extraordinary amount of adultery that goes on at the Mlambomunye stream or river (tributary of the Umgeni), and further down the Umgeni than Howick is. It seems that about this stream there are European farms on which natives *konzaing* Mzimba as well as Teteleku live.<sup>44</sup> Their chiefs do not occupy the same lands as they do. A remarkable amount of adultery goes on here, so much so that native families are removing to other places. The cause seems to be that men have drugs or medicines which lure the women into committing adultery with them. The Europeans, or one of them, is said to have fined a man (or woman) 30s once for committing adultery. The chiefs seem to have no control over these people. There are no missionaries close by. The place is a day's journey on foot from Howick.

13.8.1900. Howick.

File 73, p. 107.

107 <Contact with civilized races - Europeans.> Howick, per Qalizwe, 13.8.1900.

Qalizwe tells me he had conversation with Mgawuli ka Nomatshitshi (chief: Mzimba) today. This man said that several months ago, after the large hospital

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(military) was established about 2 miles from Howick, cases occurred where not only women were caught by soldiers when proceeding along paths near the hospital at night-time and carnally known, but men as well, young and old, have been similarly caught and sodomy committed on them by soldiers, one after another having connection per anus. This affair was reported to Chief Mzimba, who came and saw the magistrate at Howick. The magistrate appears to have represented the matter, when there was a lull in natives being molested, but Mgawuli states the same sort of thing is going on again. Natives are assaulted if they resist. Soldiers know they are safe as it would be impossible to point out offenders amongst so many others. Q. says he heard a similar complaint from Mr Stainbank's native servant at Impendhle several weeks ago in connection with British forces at Mpofana.<sup>45</sup> Such conduct has greatly stirred the native mind.

5.10.1900

File 73, pp. 110-11.

- 110 Qalizwe tells me the following rumour which just at present is very widespread in Ladysmith: that numbers of native girls will be required in order to be married to soldiers as soon as the war is concluded; in consequence of this, native boys' wages will be withheld so that they will not be able to *lobola* girls and marry them. Only girls that have 'dressed' are required, and they are required for the purpose of bearing children (soldiers) in order to balance military with Boers. The prostitutes of
- 111 Ladysmith are not required, only good girls. [I think this rumour must find its origin in the notion to settle numbers of soldiers in South Africa at the conclusion of the war.]

16.10.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 112-13.

- 112 Ladysmith. Per Qalizwe, 16.10.1900.

Q. was sent to Pietermaritzburg on 12th instant, and returned on 15th (last night). He met one Velamuva at Estcourt yesterday whilst waiting for the train, of Chief Siyepu's tribe, æt. about 21, on his way to work at Harrismith.<sup>46</sup> He said that all chiefs of Estcourt division have been called to Pietermaritzburg. He thinks it is because they are to be told that all girls are to be *married off to soldiers* (*endisa'd emasotsheni*) so that they might *bear more soldiers* (*zala amasotsha*). A man with a number of wives would have all but one taken from him - a woman who no longer bears would be left and, in the event of there being such a woman, an additional one,

113 who is still fertile, would be left. All boys are to be made soldiers of. One girl and boy belonging to the remaining fertile woman will be taken and transported off to England to be educated there.

On 12th Q. spoke to another man, age about 35, who had come to Colenso to *put girls of his place* on the train (his chief is Mzimba). He said that all girls will be married off to soldiers. Those natives who worked for Muhle (J.S. Marwick) at Ladysmith were the persons who originated the rumour;<sup>47</sup> Muhle *told them privately* (*hlebel'a'd*) at Ladysmith, and said all girls would be taken and that they were to be

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on their guard.

Q. walked back from Colenso, he says; he traversed part of that country which Buller and the Boers fought over.<sup>48</sup> He found that the Boers, as natives complained, had *looted* all *livestock (izimpahla)*, also assegais. Natives would *conceal* assegais in the grass of their huts, Boers would pull the grass off a hut in armfuls and throw it about in order to find assegais.

[Vide pp. 110, 111 for above rumour.<sup>49</sup>]

1.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 121.

Ladysmith, per Qalizwe.

- 121 He hears persistent rumours about soldiers going to marry native girls. He spoke to a native from Weenen division yesterday who says that Silwana and Mabizela were recently called up at Nobamba (Weenen) and warned to cause all their girls to be married off as soon as possible, for those remaining would be taken by soldiers who would bear more soldiers by the girls they marry.<sup>50</sup> The result of this communication is that many girls are actually being married off in all directions, reminding one of the *mbidhli ka Somsewu*.<sup>51</sup> Q. came across several girls at this (Royal) Hotel - they slept here - on their way to be married. They come from the direction of Nobamba.<sup>52</sup>

14.11.1900

File 73, p. 122.

Per Qalizwe, 14.11.1900.

- 122 He yesterday heard two native girls remonstrating or protesting in a loud voice in Ladysmith, saying their letters had been withheld from them by the (English) Postmaster, Ladysmith. Q. went towards the post office and heard the same cause of complaint from others, including young men. They say if the postmaster has any objection to giving them their letters why is not a separate room built next to the present post office and a native put there to give out letters? So loud is the complaint - for it seems the postmaster has piles of native correspondence, all of which he does not go through when natives come for letters, and, when anyone applies, goes through the letters he holds in his hands and says he finds nothing and says, 'Go' - so loud is the complaint that *they will go to the magistrate about him (ba zo m mangalela)*, probably.<sup>53</sup> Before the post office left what is at present the telegraph office, natives had no fault to find. At other post offices natives are permitted to go through all native correspondence and pick out their own letters, which is done on a separate table, so they say.

The day before yesterday Q. met Nsimbi from Homoyi's near eHlimbiti and Greytown, who calls himself a 'brother' of Ngcukumana, who says the rumour re girls probably having to marry British soldiers is prevalent in Umvoti division. The notion is that an instruction on the matter will be given as soon as the present Colonial Offices in Pietermaritzburg have been completed, and at the conclusion of

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the present hostilities (Boer War), that is shortly after Xmas next. Chiefs in the Umvoti division are all advising their followers to marry off their daughters, and this is occurring in the same way, with the same kind of precipitancy, as when the *mbidhli ka Somsewu* took place. Nsimbi is a young man of about 34. He came up to seek work, but has returned home again. This marrying off is called up here *isitabataba*.

17.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 10.

10 Courtship. Ladysmith, per Qalizwe, 17.11.1900.

When a girl gives her consent to her lover she is alone with him, but she arranges with him a day on which their engagement shall be publicly done, or rather in the presence of others in the veldt. She will then arrange with her girl friends to meet her lover, which is as a rule in the veldt away from her home for fear of interference of parents and elderly persons, and when the little gathering assemble the girl will prove her acceptance of the lover by giving him a small string of beads. This gift becomes the announcement of the engagement. At a future date the girl will not be able to say she was not engaged.

Q. came yesterday from near the junction of the Sundays River (Indaka) with the Tugela, where he was on a day or so's visit by my wish. He then happened to be told of a highish, upright hill called Iancane or Tange (tank), on the top of which there was said to be a spring of water and, as he was told, where engagements were made by lovers in the neighbourhood. Water may be drawn by strangers from the spring upon their making a payment. When engagements take place at the spring, *izigubu* are taken, and there is *bongaing* done there with music.<sup>54</sup> Q. saw the hill in question and a path up it, but did not ascend. He does not know the tribe who follow this custom, or whether it is merely local.

17.11.1900

File 73, p. 123.

Per Qalizwe, 17.11.1900.

123 I sent Q. on a visit to the country near the junction of the Sunday's River (Indaka) and Tugela. He left on 14th and returned on 16th (last night). I told him to acquire such information as he could. He says: I saw Chief Bande at a kraal when he entered a hut in which some 15 or more headringed and other men were seated; they all at one and the same time shouted out, '*Bayete*' to him.<sup>55</sup> They treated him with great respect and were evidently afraid of him. He is a young man, some 22-25 years of age, although with a beard, and stout. He gave me a *pot (kamba)* with a little beer in it which he told me to finish (*miny*). I at first sat *at the back of the hut (emsamu)* with one leg out; one of the men directed me to draw my leg up, which I did, this to show becoming respect to the chief. (I remember when Chief Meseni visited at the Residency, Stanger, his people *saluted (kulekela 'd)* him with '*Bayete*', whereupon we servants remonstrated with them.<sup>56</sup>)

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I saw quite a young man during my tour with a headring newly put on. I asked how he came to have the headring; he told me his chief Bande had *juba'd* him and told him to *put on the headring (tunga)*. It seems Bande had ordered others too to *do so*, though as yet he has no headring himself.

I again heard rumours about girls being required for British soldiers, and that in consequence of this rumour, which some believe and others not, many girls are being married off as rapidly as possible, not unlike *mbidhli kaSomsewu*. It is called *taputapu* or *isitabataba*. Even young girls are married off in this way. When a girl *puts on the topknot (kehla's)*, she is said to *tunga* too (as men are said to do), and men, when told to *tunga*, are said to be *jutshwa'd* for that purpose.

I noticed very few 'dressed' natives; most of those are still 'raw' natives and follow their old customs. They all live on farms; there are absentee landlords there who are said to have their homes in Pietermaritzburg. There is much scarcity, very little water, and the crops have not yet begun to grow. The land is very stony, with the Tugela running through gorges and ravines (*eziroqobeni*). Various tribes seem to live on the land visited, a mixture of people - Bande, Mabizela, Mgodini and Sibamu. Across the Tugela there is a dark, forest-like *bush country (ihlanze)* which, I was told, was country occupied by Chief Silwane.<sup>57</sup>

18.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 70-1.

70 Ladysmith, 18.11.1900, 7.42 p.m., per Qalizwe.

Have just concluded talk with Q. He says there is a good deal of ill-feeling between natives and Indians (including Arabs) for various reasons. One is because Indians invariably receive higher wages than natives, as, for instance, at this Hotel (Royal), although the work done by natives is about the same. Again, at the court (magistrate's), Indians are treated with greater consideration than natives, as witness  
71 Peter's treatment at Stanger, who is a mere Indian. Indians have been brought to this country, which is the natives' country, and they lord it over the natives to such an extent that if the white people were to withdraw, all of them would be massacred. One thing done by Indians, objectionable as well as laughable, is their washing their anus with their hand, using water, and this each time they have a motion. The Indians at this hotel, however, use paper, but Q. has seen the other done by Indians at Stanger.

Whenever natives quarrel with Indians they are afraid of beating them for fear of punishment, especially as the Indian is not a worthy enough object to be punished for. Natives do sometimes warn Indians that were it not for the protection afforded them by white people they would be killed. Indian girls do sometimes show a liking for natives. Natives look on Indians as dogs, and vice versa.

21.11.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 49.

49 Per Qalizwe.

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Men talking, 20.11.1900, in street near railway station, Ladysmith - Kehlana ka Ndungana of Mkankanyeki's.<sup>58</sup> Indians - *much quarrelling* during siege. Don't know cause of ill-feeling, *their contempt for us*, for our skins are alike. Cannot give any reason for the ill-feeling.

11.12.1900

File 71, p. 11.

11 Per Qalizwe, 11.12.1900.

Q. confirms what N. told me on 10.12.1900 [vide p. 10] about soldiers wishing to commit sodomy on him, offering him 10s if he would consent.<sup>59</sup> He at first did not understand, but was horrified when Q. told him. It was quite early in the evening, before 7.30, and at the corner of the street below the Masonic Hall and on that side of the street. Q. says he has heard that some natives in Ladysmith allow soldiers to commit sodomy by kneeling and *presenting the buttocks (dunuzaing)*, the soldier having connection by the anus.

<Here Qalizwe's evidence, as it exists in the form of transcriptions made by Stuart from the rough notes of his interviews, comes to an end. The evidence which follows exists in the original in the form of rough notes only. We have had to make a correspondingly greater number of interventions to literate our rendering of these notes - eds.>

5.9.1903

File 60, nbk. 30, pp. 16-19.

Also present: Ndukwana

16 Ndukwana and Qalizwe.<sup>60</sup>

Qalizwe. I do not call out my, eldest brother by name. I say, '*Mfowetu*', because I am afraid of him.<sup>61</sup> When called by my father I say, '*Baba*,' not '*E*.' This applies also to uncle and near old relatives.

If I go into a hut where my father is seated with others (old), I would sit and say nothing - make no remark as to subject-matter.

17 A man does not stand in front of another so as to let his shadow fall on the man seated. The latter would say, '*So you are keeping the sun off me?*'

Qalizwe. If I visit my chief and he presents me with a *pot (ukamba)* of beer and, whilst I am drinking it, others enter and I hand it to them to drink, the chief will object to this on the ground that I am making his guests presents of what has been given me. The proper course is to ask his permission to give the beer.

If given bread or meat too much for consumption, one should take as much as one can away, and ask the chief if one can give it away. He would not refuse such a request.



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If a man, older than I enters, I would give way to him and find another place in the hut or leave altogether.

18 A man respects his step-mothers, and if he and one of them were going towards a door he would step back and not dispute (*banga*) the door with her. But if he and his sister were going to a door, the latter will allow her brother to enter. The same happens if a man meets one of his step-mothers on the road.

Grandmother's hut takes the place of the *boys' hut (ilawu)* (of Zululand) in Natal, for there all the boys congregate and have their food.

Ndukwana: In Zululand, if there were *unmarried youths (izinsizwa)*, they would sleep in a *ilawu* even in a three- or four-hut kraal. They would not sleep in their mother's kraal.<sup>62</sup>

Qalizwe: If there was, only one wife, a *temporary hut (ixiba)* would be built alongside for the boys and girls to sleep in. If they slept with their mothers this would be objectionable to the husband, who could not then go about as he likes.

19 A husband visits his various huts freely at night. This is done to keep a kind of watch over the women.

Ndukwana: A girl might sleep in the hut of her mother - who is advanced in years.

Qalizwe: If a girl, known to me, visits in company with her mother and even her step-mother, I would merely say good-day to both, but I would refrain from entering into conversation with her, much less courting her, out of respect to her mother or step-mother. This is a strict rule.

If you were, an acknowledged lover or *isoka*, you would not even enter the same hut, much less speak to the girl.

A *newly married woman (makoti)* may be asked to go and call a girl, but she must be a young bride. This may be done, for instance, when I know she is at her home and I am visiting there.

6.9.1903

File 60, nbk. 30, p. 20.

Also present: Ndukwana

20 Per Qalizwe.

When eating with *my elder brothers*, and I have had enough, I would not leave off, because they would say *that by leaving them behind I was being cheeky*. I would continue pretending to eat.

*Rinsing the mouth (xuba)*. If they have not *xuba'd*, or especially if they have not finished eating and I start *xubaing*, they would regard me as disrespectful.

Strangers - treated with respect, given a nice dish to eat from, also a good *sleeping mat*, so that he may not go off and speak unkindly. He will be given a place

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to sleep in the husband's mother's hut. Sometimes the stranger will occupy the same hut that the headman does; this is done so that the headman may keep an eye on him.

<24.10.1904>

File 61, nbk. 4, pp. 12, 14.

Also present: Mmemi kaNguluzane

12 Qalizwe [my boy] ka Dhlozi ka Langa ka Gobizembe ka Jama.<sup>63</sup> We are of the Cunu tribe; we are addressed as 'Mcumu! Ba kwa Ngqulunga! Ba kwa Majola! Ba kwa Nyanda! Ba kwa Pond' olukulu lwase Mngeni!'<sup>64</sup>

14 Qalizwe tells me there is a tradition to this effect: A leg (*umlenze*) of beef, the meat covering the ribs (*insonyama*), the ribs (*umhlubulo*) and the foreleg (*umkono*) were all set out by the father of Mcunu, Nyanda, Majola and Ngqulunga. The four were told to choose, whereupon Mcunu selected the *insonyama*, Ngqulunga the leg, Majola the *umkono*, and Nyanda the *umhlubulo*. Mcunu was then told that he had selected the portion indicating to him that he would be a king and worthy of reigning over people.<sup>65</sup> Ngqulunga, in taking the leg, showed himself an *isigwili* or glutton, and therefore unworthy, whilst the other two were passable and would become respectable tribes.

<29.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 68, pp. 15-16.

15 I sent Qalizwe to Dinya and Maziyana to find out about the 'Botwas' referred to on several occasions in the second volume of Isaacs' book.<sup>66</sup> These are the *abatwa* who come from above or beyond the *Drakensberg (Undi)* and from that direction. Dumisa visited them under their chief Fodo.<sup>67</sup> He was supplied by them with *poison (isihlungu)* for killing game. He met Mbuyazi and told him about them.<sup>68</sup> Fynn and Dumisa entered an agreement under which Dumisa assisted with *abatwa* would supply him for ivory for value received <sic>. These *abatwa* had no fixed residence in Natal. They then went about hunting elephants for Fynn. They travelled on foot and Dumisa was their principal in Natal. Dumisa is the father of Saoti (late), and the tribe is known as the Duma one.<sup>69</sup> [See below for a more correct account.<sup>70</sup>]

11.5.1908. Pietermaritzburg.

File 42, item 12, p. 2.

2 Macibise and her people.

Per Qalizwe, who met a man in the street a good deal older than his father. This man lives at Esidakeni, Pietermaritzburg. Q. questioned him as to the people who in the old days lived where Pietermaritzburg is now. He said that Macibise's people lived here when Tshaka reigned; she herself lived at Cedara. She belonged to the Lutshaba clan, an off-shoot of the AmaZizi. They were true aboriginals of these

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parts. She and her people were dispersed by Tshaka's forces. They fled for refuge to Pondoland and there Macibise died. This man evidently knows a good deal more - afraid to speak out, not knowing Q.

Q., previously to this, and some days ago, met a younger man who said Macibise used to live just beyond or by Kettlefontein (where one just emerges from the Pietermaritzburg valley).<sup>71</sup>

3.6.1908

File 42, item 15, p. 1.

- 1 Qalizwe's conversation with Ndabambi (aged about Ndhlonhlo,<sup>72</sup> i.e. c.76), of the *Kunene people*, of Edendale, re Macibise - 3.6.1908.

I sent Qalizwe to Stephen Mini to ask for information regarding Macibise.<sup>73</sup> He missed Stephen, but I met and told Stephen in Pietermaritzburg what I wanted. He promised to write to a grandchild of Macibise living at Lesseyton [?]. This man is an instructor of persons who are to go out teaching.

Ndabambi says Macibise was an *intombi*.<sup>74</sup> Her father was Dweba. Her *isibongo* was Dhlamini, also Zizi. She came from the sources of the Tugela, under the Berg. She was appointed chieftainess by her father as he had no male issue. She and her people came to live where Edendale now stands. The site of her kraal was near the Umsunduze. (The Umngeni in those days was called Umsonganyati.) The custom of the tribe in the summer months was to leave the valley and go on to the hills to live to escape the fever. Macibise did not herself live where Pietermaritzburg is, though some of her people may have done so. The reason for her coming down here was because of the people from Zululand encroaching on them in the north. [This was probably Matiwane, at the same time as this part is well-known to have been occupied by Macibise, she must have lived more than about eight years.<sup>75</sup>] She was chased away to Pondoland by Macingwane (of the Cunus), who in his turn was chased by Tshaka. She died in Pondoland. Dweba died and was buried at the sources of the Tugela.

<3.6.1908?>

File 42, item 12, p. 1.

- 1 Qalizwe was referred by Ndabambi to another elderly man, Mxakaza, living near Edendale, this man being a member of the tribe to which Macibise belonged, but Q. had no time to go to him.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>In File 73, p. 1, under date 27.6.1899, and in File 61, nbk. 45, p. 12, under date 24.10.1904, Stuart refers to Qalizwe as 'my boy' (see below). One of Stuart's nieces later recorded that 'Qaliswa' was Stuart's mother's 'houseboy' (Esmé Stuart, I

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Remember, p. 6). In File 61, nbk. 45, p. 12, Stuart notes that Qalizwe was of the Chunu people, and gives his line of descent as Qalizwe kaDlozi kaLanga kaGobizembe kaJama. Qalizwe's father, Dlozi, worked for the Stuart family, and was another of James Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.

<sup>2</sup>Springvale Mission is situated some twenty kilometres south-south-west of the village of Richmond. Hluthankungu is the name of a railway station some twenty-five kilometres further south. Msikofeli was chief of the Khuze in the Ixopo, Upper Umkomanzi and Ipolela divisions.

<sup>3</sup>The village of Umzimkulu lies on the middle reaches of the Mzimkhulu river.

<sup>4</sup>In 1897 a major outbreak of rinderpest killed off very large numbers of cattle in Natal and Zululand, as well as many other parts of southern Africa.

<sup>5</sup>Edendale is on the south-western outskirts of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>6</sup>Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. He died in Pietermaritzburg in 1893.

<sup>7</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 392, 488, gives *isimpantsholo* (*isipatsholo*) as 'Gonorrhoea, gleet - from the breaking forth (*ukuti patsha*) of the discharge (mod. word from Natal, the disease not having been known in Zululand before the arrival of the European)'.

<sup>8</sup>The iMpfana or Mooi river joins the Thukela some ten kilometres east of Tugela Ferry. Msinga mountain overlooks the confluence from the north.

<sup>9</sup>Silwane was chief of the Chunu in the Estcourt, Lion's River, New Hanover and Weenen divisions.

<sup>10</sup>We have been unable to trace this reference.

<sup>11</sup>Mahwaqa is otherwise known as Bulwer mountain.

<sup>12</sup>Mhlumba mountain lies fifteen kilometres south-east of Weenen village.

<sup>13</sup>Hlathikhulu mountain lies some thirty kilometres south-west of Estcourt.

<sup>14</sup>Ngangezwe was chief of the Coseni people in the Umgeni and New Hanover divisions. He was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears elsewhere in this volume. His father, Nomsimekwana, was a survivor of the upheavals of the 1820s; he died in 1901 (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 558-61). This Ngangezwe should not be confused with the Ngangezwe kaSambela, who was chief of groups of abaMbo (Mkhize) in the Upper Umkomanzi, Alexandra and Ixopo divisions. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406, records that the latter died in 1898.)

<sup>15</sup>The reference is to the evidence of Gedle in File 73, p. 83: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 148.

<sup>16</sup>In terms of a Natal colonial law passed in 1869, every wedding ceremony performed in accordance with African customary law had to be witnessed by a person appointed for the purpose by the local magistrate.

<sup>17</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 440, gives *unondindwa* as 'Female who wanders about for immoral purposes, who has thrown herself on the streets, a prostitute'. The word derives from the verb *ukundinda*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 411, gives as 'Rove about, wander without any useful object, as an idler among the kraals, or a loose girl...'.

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<sup>18</sup>Kettlefontein is a locality on the north-western outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. According to one of Qalizwe's informants, the area was frequented by prostitutes (see his next statement).

<sup>19</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 140, gives *isifebe* as 'Male or female, of any age or state, who habitually lends him- or herself to unlawful sexual intercourse with the opposite sex'.

<sup>20</sup>*Isikokeyana* ('skokiaan') is an alcoholic drink made from molasses.

<sup>21</sup>We have been unable to establish the precise meaning of *umgongwanyana*.

<sup>22</sup>Isipingo is a locality on the southern outskirts of Durban.

<sup>23</sup>Swayimana kaSiphuku was chief of the Nyuswa in the Mapumulo, Umvoti, and New Hanover divisions.

<sup>24</sup>We have been unable to positively identify the Xabashe referred to.

<sup>25</sup>For statements made to Stuart by Gedle alone, see his evidence in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.

<sup>26</sup>Mbayingana (Nombayingana) was chief of the Bhele in the Alexandra division.

<sup>27</sup>Charlie Fynn was chief of the iziNkumbi in the Alexandra and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.

<sup>28</sup>Mabhunu was chief of a section of abaMbo (Mkhize) in the Ixopo division.

<sup>29</sup>This word should presumably be 'Indians'.

<sup>30</sup>Shonkweni was chief of the Cele in the Alexandra division. He was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in volume 6 of the *Stuart Archive*.

<sup>31</sup>Sawoti kaDumisa was chief of the Duma in the Alexandra division.

<sup>32</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 36, gives *ubikibiki* as '...large abundance of food, as at a feast; great multitude, as of a <sic> cattle...'. The *ingxuthu* beast was the one given to the bride's mother. *Ibhodwe* is a European-type metal cooking-pot.

<sup>33</sup>*Uzinqezimuncu* literally means 'the one with the emaciated buttocks'.

<sup>34</sup>The reference is to the previous passage of Qalizwe's evidence.

<sup>35</sup>Mqolombeni kaNgangezwe was chief of sections of abaMbo (Mkhize) in the Alexandra, Ixopo and Upper Umkomanzi divisions. Ngunezi kaSiyingela(e), who belonged to a different branch of the abaMbo chiefly house, was chief of other groups in the Umgeni, Umlazi and Upper Umkomanzi divisions in the later nineteenth century.

<sup>36</sup>Gwalagwala was Henry Francis Fynn junior, who was resident magistrate at Pomeroy in the Msinga division from 1876 to 1896.

<sup>37</sup>*Itshisanyama*, from the Zulu words for 'burn' and 'meat', was a cooked-meat stall.

<sup>38</sup>Ngomeni was chief of the Nyavu in the Alexandra division.

<sup>39</sup>*Ukucunukela* derives from *ukucunuka*, to be offended, become tired of something.

<sup>40</sup>Ndlovu was chief of the Thonsi.

<sup>41</sup>On Dlozi see note 1 above.

<sup>42</sup>*Intondolo* is a castrated sheep or goat.

<sup>43</sup>Mzimba was chief of the iNadi people in the Impendhle, Ipolela, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umgeni and Umvoti divisions.

<sup>44</sup>Teteleku was chief of sections of Mpumuza who lived in several of the magisterial divisions in the Natal midlands.

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<sup>45</sup>It is not clear which locality is being referred to here. Mpofana is the Zulu name for the Mooi river.

<sup>46</sup>Siyephu kaLangalibalele was chief of the Nene (Hlubi) in the Estcourt division.

<sup>47</sup>J.S. Marwick represented the Natal Native Affairs Department in Johannesburg from 1895 to 1899.

<sup>48</sup>I.e. in late 1899 and early 1900.

<sup>49</sup>The reference is to the statement made by Qalizwe under date 5.10.1900: see above.

<sup>50</sup>Silwana(e) was chief of the Chunu in six magisterial divisions in the Natal midlands. Mabizela was chief of the Thembu in five magisterial divisions in the midlands.

<sup>51</sup>*Umbhidli kaSomsewu*, literally the multitude of Somsewu, refers to the marriage law implemented by the Natal colonial government in 1869.

<sup>52</sup>I.e. the Weenen area.

<sup>53</sup>Writing in 1905, Bryant, (Dictionary, p. 376), comments on the word *ukumangalela*, as meaning to lay a charge against someone, that '...this use of the word is of quite modern introduction from Natal...'

<sup>54</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 204, gives *isigubhu* (pl. *izigubhu*) as '...drum, as of a military band...'. On the same page he gives *ugubhu* (pl. *izingubhu*) as 'Musical instrument formed of a stringed bow with a calabash attached as a sounding-board...'

<sup>55</sup>Bande was chief of the Sithole in the Dundee, Klip River and Umsinga divisions.

<sup>56</sup>Meseni was chief of the Qwabe in the Inanda, Indwedwe, Mapumulo and Lower Tugela divisions.

<sup>57</sup>For Bande see note 55 above; for Mabizela and Silwane see note 50 above.

Mgodini was chief of the Mabaso in the Dundee and Klip River divisions. Sibhamu was chief of the amaNgwe in the Estcourt, Klip River and Upper Tugela divisions.

<sup>58</sup>Mkhankanyeki was chief of groups of Swazi in the Dundee, Klip River, Newcastle, Umsinga and Upper Tugela divisions.

<sup>59</sup>The reference is to evidence given to Stuart by Ndukwana: see Stuart Archive, vol. 4, p. 341.

<sup>60</sup>Stuart recorded Qalizwe's evidence of 5.9.1903 and 6.9.1903 in the course of recording testimony on the same subjects from Ndukwana. For the latter's statements, see Stuart Archive, vol. 4, pp. 374-7.

<sup>61</sup>*Mfowethu* means 'my brother'.

<sup>62</sup>'Kraal' should here presumably read 'hut'.

<sup>63</sup>Stuart recorded the statements in this and the following paragraph in the course of recording evidence from Mmemi kaNguluzane. See Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 254.

<sup>64</sup>Qalizwe is here giving *izithakazelo* of the Chunu people. The final phrase translates as 'People of the great horn of the Mngeni'.

<sup>65</sup>The *insonyama* meat was regarded as the perquisite of the chief hut of an *umuzi*.

<sup>66</sup>Dinya kaLanga and Maziyana kaMahlabeni were others of Stuart's informants: their evidence appears in volumes 1 and 2 respectively of the Stuart Archive. The reference to 'Isaacs' book' is to Nathaniel Isaacs' Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 vols., London, 1836.

<sup>67</sup>The word *abathwa* is often glossed as 'Bushmen'. In the present context it refers to the Hlangwini (Nhlanguwini) people under Fodo kaNombewu, who, in the 1830s,

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lived about the middle reaches of the Mkhomazi river. Dumisa later became chief of the Duma people in the Mzinto area.

<sup>68</sup>Mbuyazi was Henry Francis Fynn, one of the British hunter-traders who, from 1824 onward, were operating from Port Natal.

<sup>69</sup>For Sawoti see note 31 above.

<sup>70</sup>The statement refers to evidence given to Stuart by another of his informants, Maziyana kaMahlabeni, on 30.4.1905, and recorded in File 62, nbk. 68, pp. 17-18. This statement will appear in the Addenda in volume 7 of the Stuart Archive.

<sup>71</sup>For Kettlefontein see note 18 above.

<sup>72</sup>The inDlondlo was a Zulu *ibutho*.

<sup>73</sup>Stephen Mini was chief of the amaKholwa in Edendale on the south-western outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. He was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in vol. 1 of the Stuart Archive.

<sup>74</sup>*Intombi* means a girl of marriageable age. The sense here could be either that Machibise was a woman, or that she was unmarried.

<sup>75</sup>We have left the punctuation of the original unamended. Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane people in the early nineteenth century.