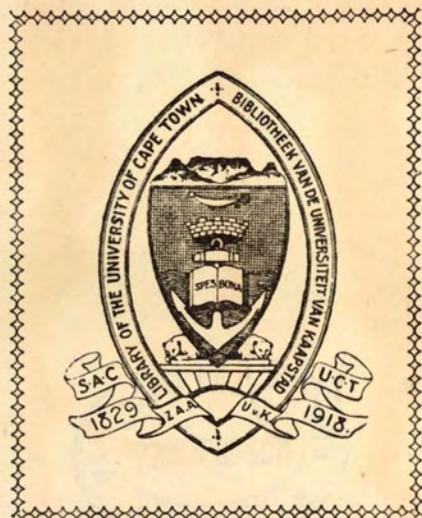




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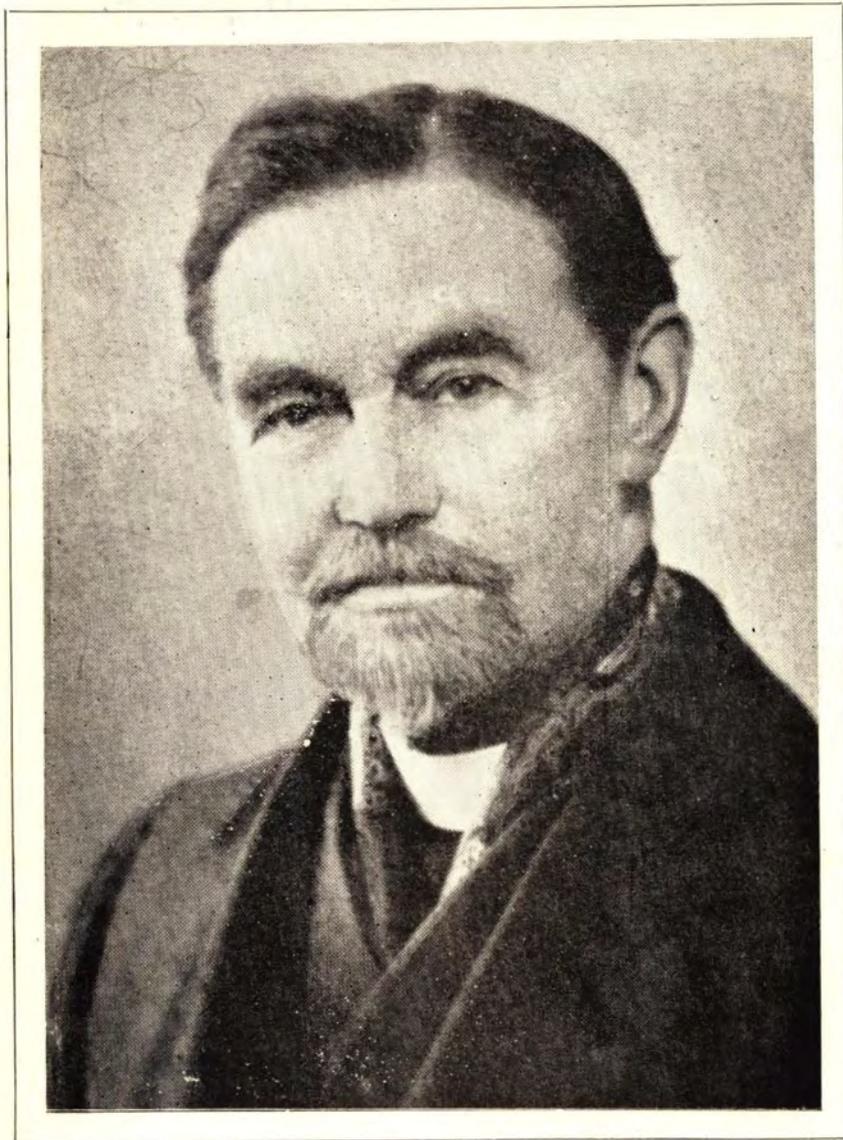


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No. 26

A. T. Bryant

THE ZULU PEOPLE



A. T. Bryant

THE ZULU PEOPLE

AS THEY WERE BEFORE
THE WHITE MAN CAME

VOLUME ONE

By

A. T. BRYANT,

D.Litt.



PIETERMARITZBURG
SHUTER AND SHOOTER

A Brief Biography of the Author.

The author of this work, the Rev. Dr. A. T. Bryant, was born in London, on February 26th, 1865. He was educated at the Birbeck Literary and Scientific Institute, which later, as Birbeck College, came to be affiliated with the University of London.

In 1883 Dr. Bryant migrated to Natal where he associated himself with the then recently established Mission Station at Mariannhill. Here he inaugurated mission work amongst the surrounding Natives and opened their first boys' boarding school.

In 1887 he visited Europe and was ordained as priest at the church of St. John of Lateran (the Cathedral Church of Rome). Ordained by the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, he was privileged to read his first mass on the high altar of St. Peter's, a sequence of happenings almost unique for a young priest.

On his return to South Africa he spent three years amongst the Xhosas and Thembus of the Transkei, but returned in 1896 to Zululand. He was given permission by the British Resident to establish a mission station on the oNgoye Range between the Mlalazi and Mhlathuze Rivers. At this station he lived and laboured amongst the Zulus for many years, and from them acquired much of the information contained in this book.

The whole of the information contained in this book was collected by the author between the years 1883 to 1935. Throughout that period he had as his neighbours and daily companions (especially during the earlier years) many men and women who had been born and lived during the reign of Shaka himself (d. 1828)—one of whose actual sisters he personally met—and still more who had lived throughout the reigns of Dingane (d. 1840), Mpande (d. 1872)—from one of whose daughters and several of whose sons much of our information was obtained—and Cetshwayo (d. 1884). Throughout the whole time of our sojourn among them, the daily life of the Zulu people had continued practically unaltered (in its fundamental aspects) since the days of Shaka (indeed, since long before his time), and, in the main, it had so remained until about the year 1900, when the government of Zululand was taken over by Natal, and the first White settlers were permitted to enter the country, and so to disturb and destroy the ancient life of its Native inhabitants.

The book here before us deals with the life of the Zulu people 'before the Whiteman came,' that is, roughly until the year 1900. From the latter year onwards, many of the younger men (of 20 to 30 years of age), who had previously remained in their kraals, now commenced to leave their homes to work for money in the labour centres of Durban and Johannesburg, as well as on the farmlands of Zululand. All which has resulted in the engraftment upon or the omission from the older Zulu life of so much that is new and foreign to it, that much of the matter contained in this work will, to the younger generations, be absolutely unknown; while other habits and customs now quite common and natural to them will find no place whatever in this book: a fact which our European readers must ever keep in mind.

It is to be understood that our personal claim to accuracy of statement or interpretation does not extend beyond the boundaries of our own *Zulu field*. For the rest, our knowledge is, not always and wholly indeed, but in the main second-hand and dependant on the accuracy of our informants, either verbally or through their writings. However, in regard to those informants, we have always endeavoured to confine ourselves to such only as appeared to be themselves reliable authorities within their own fields.

Readers, again, must clearly understand that certain details of more ancient history suggested by us in Chapter I (as, for instance, the *date* of the southward migration of the Nguni group of Bantu peoples, the *size* of the then Nguni population, and other such points), though reasonably based on other well known facts, are themselves purely *guesswork* on our part and have no further value.

In order to secure that our subject be treated as comprehensively as possible, we have compared our *Index* here with that in the official guide-book of the Royal Anthropological Institute of London, namely, their *Notes and Queries*; and it will be found, we believe, that no point mentioned in the latter list has remained undealt with here, that is, if the Zulu had anything at all to tell us on the subject. Absence from our *Index* of any particular point may therefore be taken as indicating the absence of such a matter from Zulu life.

We have not found it always possible to avoid a certain amount of repetition, the same point constantly cropping up in different connections. Thus the matter of *Names* had to be touched upon when dealing with *Birth Customs*; again when treating on *Daily Life*; and once more when describing the *Family and State Organization*. Whenever desirous of covering the whole range of any such subject, the reader should consult the *Index*.

This book is, mainly, a work of reference and information; a record of the older system of Zulu life and custom (now rapidly passing away into obsolescence and oblivion) for the enlightenment of those seeking knowledge thereon. Again, the book is written, not solely to serve the purposes of anthropological and ethnological students (which, of course, it also does), but also to meet the tastes and requirements of that much larger public which comprises missionaries, Government officials, Native overseers, farmers and other such, who, though uninterested in the science of the subject, are nevertheless just as deeply interested as are the scientists in the life and history of the Native people amidst whom they live and work. Belonging ourselves to that greater public, we know exactly what it wants and likes; and it is to meet that particular need, that we have taken a broader view of our subject, and in its treatment included many subsidiary facts and observations not customarily found in works descriptive of some specific primitive people.

Dr. Bryant is probably best known as the author of his Zulu-English Dictionary, an outstanding work of more than 20,000 entries, published in 1903. In addition to this, however, his literary output has been considerable. Besides divers small works, written in Zulu, on a number of religious and educational subjects, of which perhaps "*Ukuphila Kwomzimba*" (The Health of the Body) and "*Imisebenzi Yamapulazi*" (The Work of the Farms) may be singled out, he was the author of a monogram on "The Zulu Medicine Man" published by the Natal Government Museum in Pietermaritzburg, and also of a pamphlet on "Zulu Foodstuffs and Their Preparation" printed by the Native Affairs Department. He also published an English-Zulu "Word-Book" of some 11,000 entries.

In 1920 he was appointed Lecturer in Bantu Studies in the University of Witwatersrand, a post which he held for three years. On relinquishing this work he wrote his "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", an historical survey of the tribes of Natal and Zululand, which was published in 1929.

The present work, the cumulative effort of over fifty years, was completed in 1935, but for various reasons was not published until now. It is regarded by the author as his *magnum opus*. It is probably the most exhaustive work on Zulu civilisation so far produced.

In recognition of the original and distinguished work which Dr. Bryant had done in the fields of Zulu literature and language, the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him by the University of South Africa in May, 1939.

At present Dr. Bryant is living in retirement in England.

H. C. LUGG.

PREFACE

The importance of this work may not be fully realized at the present moment; but its lasting value will be better appreciated a hundred years hence, when Native-born historians, then beginning to emerge, will be highly thankful for our having herein put on permanent record this account of the simple civilisation of their forefathers.

Of the Bantu tribes swarming in their hundreds down and across the African continent, it has been the unhappy fate of all, save perhaps not more than half a dozen, that nobody deemed it worth his while before too late to seek out and record the Story of their Past. Alas! that story has now passed away into utter oblivion and become irretrievably lost.

Our Zulus have been among the more fortunate few. More than fifty years of our lifetime have been spent in close association with those people and have been continuously devoted to the investigation of their past history and to the observation of their present life, physical and social, mental and moral. And this book contains the results of some of those labours.

By the term, 'Zulus', we herein mean, not only the small original Zulu 'clan', but rather the much greater Zulu 'nation' built up by the conquests of the Zulu chieftain, Shaka, and comprising the whole body of Nguni Bantu then occupying the country we now call Zululand. The term, therefore, does not include the Lala and Embo Ngunis of Natal (and still less the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape); all of whom had their own language, customs and history, differing considerably from that of Zululand.

Our personal experience has been that many of the Zulu customs and beliefs contain something more than a 'mere local fact', some valuable and instructive lesson, historical or ethnological, which leads a thoughtful reader far beyond the tiny confines of the solely Zulu field and of these present times. By tracing the apparently simple, and otherwise meaningless, Zulu practices back down the ages, and over into the wider world of other peoples, we oftentimes found, not only that we thereby doubly increased our personal interest in and understanding of the general subject, but also that we thereby conferred upon the local facts themselves a meaning and a value which previously they did not possess. Such, then, is our apology for those frequent digressions (which the reader will constantly notice for himself) into the more expansive field of *Comparative ethnology*. Whatever the more rigidly conventional ethnologists may think of this 'unorthodox' procedure, we are content to believe that the vast majority of our readers will appreciate the more extended vision our treatment offers, and feel profited by the consequently widened range of knowledge and understanding.

We conclude with an expression of heartfelt thankfulness to that vast body of humble Natives who so generously supplied us with most of the information herein contained; and, among other helpers, we must make special mention of Mr. Carl Faye, of the Native Affairs Department, who, in a most kindly manner all his own, so considerately and considerably lightened our labours in the preparation of this book. For its publication, both the general public and ourselves are mainly indebted to the self-sacrificing activities and long-sustained efforts of Miss Killie Campbell (of Durban) and Mr. D. McK. Malcolm (of the University of Natal); without whose kindly aid publication would most probably never have been achieved. Other influential helpers were principally, the late Dr. L. Hertslet (of Cape Town), Mr. H. C. Lugg (of Maritzburg), The Hon. D. G. Shepstone (Administrator of Natal) and Members of the Executive Committee of the Natal Provincial Council: finally Mr. C. A. Roy of Messrs. Shuter and Shooter, publishers of this work. To each and all of these kind helpers and friends, these few words will never suffice fully to express our present feeling of deep and lasting gratitude.

THE AUTHOR

CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1 The Zulus set out from Nyanzaland 500 Years ago	1
2 They reach the End of the Trail at the End of the Continent (1600) A.D.	68
3 Enter Jomela's Kraal	72
4 Jomela's Fine Family	92
5 The Jomela Wardrobe	132
6 Daily Life in Arcady	174
7 The Food and Cookery of the Primitives	264
8 The Zulu Corn-mother: Her Fields and Crops	296
9 The Zulu Pastoral Man: His Animals, Domestic and Wild	326
10 The Zulu Industrial Man: His Arts and Crafts	372
11 The Family and the Clan	412
12 The State and the King	457
13 Mazinyana Woos and Weds	533
14 Nomona Gives Birth to a Child	610
15 Pumepi Reaches Puberty	647
16 Mysteries and Myths	662
17 Sports and Pastimes	682
18 Old Jomela 'Goes Home' at Last to the Nether World	698
Bibliography	739
Index	751

The
ZULU PEOPLE
Before the Whiteman Came

Chapter 1

*The Zulus set out from Nyanzaland 500 Years ago**

Following in the footsteps of Junod, we tell the Tale of another South African Tribe, and describe the Life-scheme of THE ZULU PEOPLE, as they were BEFORE THE WHITE-MAN CAME.

The Zulus are a people without a written Past. Only one hundred and fifty years ago, and we find ourselves back in their Prehistoric Age, with their earlier record almost as unknown and undiscoverable as that of man before his birth.

Picture for a moment a European world possessed neither of written record nor archæological remains. Sumer and Egypt, Greece and Rome, might then (to us) have never been; Plato might have taught and Shakespeare dreamed in vain; acquired knowledge had never been preserved, nor been dispersed; all human thought, experience and worthy deed had been completely obliterated in oblivion; Redemption had remained unknown, and Revelation been forgotten or distorted.

In such a benighted state were the Zulu people when, little more than a century back (1824), the first Whiteman came. And that is why, both here and elsewhere, we have striven to save, before too late, such little as is still retrievable of ancient Zulu life and lore.

The African NEGRO race occupies practically the whole of the African continent south of the Sahara—to the north of the latter living various peoples of the Caucasic 'Mediterranean' race.

* By 'Nyanzaland' we mean the Uganda-Kenya region.

Three great divisions of this Negro race are recognizable as mutually distinct, geographically, linguistically and, in a degree, also physically, namely, the SUDANESE (inhabiting the Sudan), the BANTU (inhabiting most of the continent south of the Sudan), and the GUINEA (intermediate between the two, and inhabiting West Africa from the Cameroons to Senegal).

It is the Bantu division alone that interests us here, because to it the Zulu people belong.

The basic unit in the Bantu *social* system (at least among those Bantu with whom we are here concerned) is, not the individual, nor yet, strictly speaking, the Family, but the *Family-head*, the Paterfamilias, he being universally recognized as the lowest self-determining element within the body-politic—wives and offspring being simply his 'property'.

But the basic unit in the Bantu *political* system is, not the Family or Family-head, but the *Clan*. A clan was simply a magnified family, consisting of the progeny of a common ancestor (who had lived, at most, about 400 years ago, and often less than 200), settled together under the chieftainship of that clan-founder's heir. Such a clan was the *Zulu*.

An aggregation of kindred clans, all of the same origin, speaking the same language (or dialects thereof), practising similar customs, and (in former times) settled contiguously together, but with each clan separately governed by its own independent chieftain, formed what may be called a *Clan-Family* (i.e. a Family of Clans) or, if you will, a *Tribe*. Such a Clan-Family or Tribe was that of the *Ngunis* (*Z. abaNgúni*),* of which the Zulu clan was a member.

The whole mass of such Clan-Families or Tribes (each of them originating, may-be, half a millenium ago), all of them speaking some variation of the same ancient mother-tongue, and possessing social and political systems having much in common, constitutes what we have called the *Bantu division of the Negro race*.

* The sign ' over some vowels in Zulu words does *not* indicate a stressing of that syllable (the stress-accent is always on the word's penult), but that the *preceding consonant* is of the *strong* variety, i.e. is forcibly ejected.

Instead of this sign, the insertion of an *h* after the consonant is nowadays substituted; thus, *úThango*, *ngaPhandle*, etc.

The Zulus, whose habits of life we propose to describe in this book, were, until a century or more ago (up to about 1818), a comparatively insignificant clan (within the Nguni clan-family) resident in the central part (about the Mkumbane and Mpembeni streams) of what is now called Zululand.¹ They were known as the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-who-are-of-Zulu, i.e. the offspring or family of Zulu). This latter was a local 'prince' who, after his father's death (somewhen during the 17th century), left the parental kraal (recently arrived, from the Transvaal region, in the country to the south of the middle Mhlatuze) and, with his mother, removed further inland, where, upon a then unoccupied, basin-like plain encircled by hills, he built himself an independent kraal, and there, with the help of his wives, proceeded to give birth to a brand-new and independent clan, of which his heirs have remained chieftains until this day.

At the beginning of the 19th century, however, the clan's chieftain, Shaka by name, chanced to be a sort of genius, gifted at once with insatiable political ambition and extraordinary martial ability. Within a few years he had conquered most of his own corner of South-eastern Africa and united the proceeds into one great 'nation', despite the varied clanship of its constituent members; which also henceforth became known as the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu, though no longer wholly his own offspring or family). Fortunately, however, it happened that all these incorporated oddments chanced to belong to the one same ethnologic 'family' of Ngunis.

When, then, we enquire, what and where these Zulu people may have been prior to these comparatively recent happenings (that is, prior to the birth of the man, Zulu, and prior to the coming of his parents into Zululand), the answer is, that the earlier stages of Zulu history must be sought in the earlier history of the Nguni group of Bantu clans; for the story of Zulu origins and that of Nguni origins is one. That is why we shall devote this first chapter of our book to a consideration of that very fundamental subject, of Nguni origins.

Now, this Nguni family of Bantu Negroes (in their own language they called themselves, as said, *abaNgúni*, E. Ngunis), already in Shaka's time (the beginning of last century), was in occupation of the whole region comprising modern Zululand,

Natal and Kaffraria (eastern portion of the Cape). But they were comparatively recent arrivals there. A couple of centuries earlier, they had lived further inland, in some part of the country now known as the Transvaal. We will therefore betake ourselves to that country, and see whether local tradition may tell us anything of the Ngunis' past.

Nowadays, the whole of the Transvaal territory is inhabited by a type of Bantu quite different from the Ngunis down along the South-east African coast. They call themselves not *abaNguni*, but *baSutu* (E. Sutus). This name, Sutu, properly covers, not only (as some Europeans suppose) the Natives of Basutoland, but also those resident in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland (this latter section, in more recent times, having become distinguished by a second name, of *beChwana* or Chwanas). Though the language spoken throughout the Sutu field is fundamentally one, it is nowadays spoken in two slightly differing dialects, of which the southern (in use in Basutoland) is (by Europeans) commonly referred to simply as 'Sutu', while the northern (in use in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland) is called 'Chwana'. These two linguistically divided groups, of Northern and Southern Sutus, constitute together one same Bantu 'family', entirely distinct from the Ngunis in origin, customs and speech, to wit, the *Sutu* family.

But, curious to relate, within the very body of this Sutu family, we meet with *certain* clans (mostly located in the north-western Transvaal and Bechuanaland) who call themselves, not only *baSutu* (Sutus), but also *baKoni* (Konis)—an appellation which the remaining Sutu clans repudiate, declaring that they are not, and never have been, Konis. Further, besides the dialectical differences in their speech, there are also some notable differences between the customs of the two groups; that is, certain important national customs exist among the Northern (or Chwana) clans, where the Konis are numerous, of which the Southern (or non-Chwana) clans seem to know nothing. And yet nowadays both groups, Northern and Southern, equally claim to be Sutus. How did this division in the family come about? Whence came this intruding name of 'Konis'? And what does that name imply? The answer is supplied to us by the tradition of the coastal Nguni folk; which informs us that the present-day Chwanaland is, in reality, none other than the original Nguniland. Wherefore it now becomes clear that the

Konis up there and the *Ngunis* on the coast possess but two variations of the one same tribal-name, and the two peoples are of identical origin; despite the fact that, since their separation, the Konis, by prolonged association and intermarriage with the later intruding 'foreign' tribe, have already become almost completely 'Sutuized'.

And yet the inland Konis themselves know nothing of all this—the story of their origins has become submerged beneath their Sutuization, and become long lost in oblivion. "No living Mochuana," writes the Rev. J. T. Brown,² "seems able to give account either of the time when, or the circumstances under which, the Bechuana of long ago branched off from the parent trunk, or separated from some already branched-off stem of the great Bantu race. The most learned of them do not seem able to trace back their history beyond a few centuries."

So wrote the Rev. Brown in the year 1920; and for the guidance of the younger generations of Bantu students, we would here draw attention to a fact to be remembered. So long as the Bantu clans, Sutu as well as Nguni, remained independent and intact, and the ancient scheme of Native life survived, the Bantu people cherished a keen interest in their tribal affairs and preserved a considerable knowledge of past tribal history. But this peaceful era came to an abrupt conclusion with the wide-spread activities of the Zulu conquerors, Shaka, Mzilikazi and Dingane. The horde of Nguni fugitives led by Mzilikazi,³ so early as the year 1820, over-ran the Chwana-Koni domain of the northern Transvaal, destroying or dispersing every clan there dwelling. Then, a few years later (1831), the emigrant Boers trekked up from the Cape, drove Mzilikazi northwards and annexed the unoccupied Transvaal country, and so prevented all further clan reunion, and ensured the final disappearance into oblivion of all old clan traditions. On the other hand, among the Nguni clans of Zululand conditions continued more stable. The collapse of *their* independence did not eventuate until 50 years later; when, after the Zulu War (1879), the British seized their country, but allowed their old Native life and customs to continue (in the main) unaltered until the beginning of this present century, when Zululand was taken over by Natal and opened for the first time to colonization by Europeans. Consequently a great deal of ancient Native lore was there still recoverable from the older Natives (survivors

of the actual Shakan period) by such earlier European pioneers as (like this present writer, from 1883 onwards) cared to seek for it.

Fortunately, however, the Transvaal Sutus (or Chwanas) had earlier investigators than Brown, in the persons of Moffat and Stow. Stow was not only a distinguished geologist, but also one of the foremost of South African ethnologists. As an exploring scientist of the highest rank, he was a person trained to careful observation and accurate recording, and this characteristic accompanied him also in his ethnological researches. Further, he embarked upon these latter so early as the year 1843, and so had the advantage of conversing with a large body of Natives of the older regime, whom his successors were not lucky enough to meet. In the preface to Stow's great work,⁴ Theal writes: "The accuracy of his accounts of the Barolong and Bakwena tribes I can myself confirm, as, independent of researches in books and records, I was on several occasions directed by the High Commissioner, Lord Loch, to investigate territorial claims between rival chiefs of those branches of the Bantu family, and have been for weeks together engaged in taking evidence from the disputants, their counsellors and antiquaries, upon their history as far back as tradition reached, which I find correctly given in these pages."

In the body of the work itself, Stow writes:⁵ "The term, Bakone or Bakoni, which has been applied to them [the Bakwena], has been considered by some as a term of reproach, and of Kaffir [i.e. Nguni] origin, being an appellation bestowed upon them by the latter people, who looked with contempt upon the less warlike character of the interior tribes than that of themselves. Mr. Arbousset states that he has heard that the denomination of Bakoni was applied without distinction by the Kaffirs [i.e. Ngunis] to all the coloured people they had known; that of Basutu, to the Bachoana in general; and the name Baroa, to the Bushman race. Moffat appears more correctly to confine the title [Bakoni] to the group of the Bakuena; while we shall find as we proceed that the term, Basutu, was applied exclusively to those clans which represent the Southern Bakuena [i.e. the pure and original Sutus, or non-Konis, inhabiting the southern Transvaal, Orange Free State and Basutoland]. The Bushmen on the other hand called the Bachoana and Basutu collectively by the name 'Ku, while they

designated the Coast Kaffirs [i.e. Ngunis] 'Tolo, and themselves 'Khuai and 'Khuai-'khuai."

"Fortunately," continues Stow, "the connection between the various branches of this [Bakoni] group has been preserved," [—here in a footnote he adds: "The merit of this is largely due to the energy of the Rev. Roger Price, who upon being written to by the author for information, at once applied himself to the collection of this valuable addition to the tribal history of South Africa."—], "which enables us to follow out our enquiry with considerable precision. We will therefore do so under the following heads, viz.:—

1. The Bahurutsi.
2. The Batlaru.
3. The Bamangwato.
4. The Batauana.
5. The Bangwaketse.
6. The Bakuena."

Continuing, Stow says:⁶ "The old Bakuena nation [whether Sutus, or Ngunis, is not clear] came down from the north, and passed through the country in a south-easterly direction until they came to a river which they called the Likwa or Lekwa (the upper Vaal); that near this some of their clans separated from the main body, which again turned their faces towards the north [perhaps the Koni-Ngunis], until they reached the central and western portions of the present Transvaal, where all the great branches of their nation settled."

In another place, Stow says:⁷ "It is evident that the siboko [i.e. clan-name] of the ancient stem was the Kuena or Crocodile, even before the lifetime of the chief, Kuena, the special founder of the Bakuena proper." And again:⁸ "Although the national symbol [Kwena, crocodile] ceased to be the special emblem of their tribe, it is quite certain that the Bahurutsi rulers were still acknowledged as the paramount chiefs of all the others, with the exception of the representative Bakuena."

Some further pertinent remarks, corroborating much of what has been said by Stow above, were penned by J. B. Hicks, a much more recent researcher on the same field. He says:⁹ "The Bahurutsi tribe is an offshoot of the Bakwena, which in the 18th century was the name given to all the people whose chiefs traced their descent from Mogale, though each tribe was

politically independent of the other. The 'siboko' of the Bakwena was the crocodile, and each offshoot of the main tribe adopted an additional totem. In course of time the original crocodile 'siboko', in some instances, was forgotten. Offshoots of the original Bakwena tribe are the Bamangwato, whose 'siboko' was the small duiker antelope, and whose later ruler was the celebrated Khama (the Sechuana name for 'hartebeest'); the Batawana; the Bakatla (whose totem was the monkey); the Bangwaketse; the present Bakwena tribe; and the Bahurutsi. In the old days the Bahurutsi was the highest in rank of all the Bakwena tribes, since its chief, Mohurutsi, was the direct descendant, in the main line, from Mogale. On page 45 of Dr. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, he mentions that the other tribes would not begin to eat the early pumpkins of a new crop until they heard that the Bahurutsi had 'bitten it' . . . The Bakwena tribes used to occupy not only the eastern border of the Kalahari desert, where their descendants are today, but the entire territory between the Vaal River and the Zoutpansberg eastward to the range of mountains that bounds the interior plain." To this we might add, that Livingstone (in Chap. X of the same work) explicitly distinguishes the *Konis* from the *Sutus*, and further cites a number of the Koni tribes, of which the *baKwena* are one.

Sifting out this evidence, the following points stand out conspicuous as Native traditions and beliefs in earlier times, and are to be particularly noted:—

1. That the 'Kaffirs' [i.e. the Zulu-Xosa Ngunis], in the first half of last century, applied the appellation, *abaNgúni*, also to certain 'interior tribes' (Stow).
2. That the missionary, Moffat, who laboured in those 'interior parts' during the same period, 'more correctly confined the title, *baKoni*, [in Zulu-Xosa speech, *abaNgúni*] to the group of the *baKwena*' (Stow).
3. That the name, *baKwena*, 'was in the 18th century given to all people whose chiefs traced their descent from Mogale' (Hicks).
4. That the 'old *baKwena* nation came from the north; passed through the country in a south-easterly direction; reached and tarried by a river called the *liKwa* (Vaal); that there some of their clans separated from the remainder, and

again retraced their steps back northwards; and reached the central and western portions of the present Transvaal, where all the great branches of the *baKwena* nation settled' (Stow).

5. That there, in the central and western Transvaal, that *baKwena* nation itself, in course of time, broke up into divers independent clans.

6. That these clans were, according to Price and Stow, the *baHurutsi*, the *baTlaru*, the *baMangwato*, the *baTawana*, the *baNgweketse*, and the present *baKwena*.

7. That, therefore, the 'old *baKwena* nation' had been so called 'even before the lifetime of the chief, Kwena, the special founder of the [present day] *baKwena* proper' (Stow).

8. That, according to Livingstone, of all the branches of the *baKwena* nation the *baHurutsi* branch was the chief; and, according to Stow, 'the *baHurutsi* rulers were still acknowledged as the paramount chiefs of all others, with the exception of the representative *baKwena*'.

When, therefore, some present-day authorities on Native history would tell us that any so-called 'baKoni', nowadays found resident in the Transvaal and thereabouts, are merely the descendants of 'Zulus' fleeing from Shaka (only 20 years before Moffat and Stow's time!), we dare to dissent, and prefer to rely upon the information supplied, 100 years ago, by the competent investigators just mentioned. These had the unique advantage of personal intercourse with the older 'pre-European' members of the tribes; with the result that *they* heard nothing from them of this quite modern and quite gratuitous assumption of a 'Zulu' origin of the *baKoni*. For instance, according to Stow, Moffat 'explicitly confined' the term, 'baKoni' to the 'baKwena'; and everybody acquainted with Sutu history knows that, among the local Natives, the *baKwena* are universally recognized as one of the oldest of 'Sutu' tribes.

If the 'Kaffirs', as Stow asserts, called certain 'interior tribes' anything at all, it must have been '*abaNgúni*'; for 'baKoni' (Stow's word) is plainly a 'Sutu' expression, and 'Kaffirs' [Zulu-Xosa Ngunis] could speak only in terms of their own language, wherein a Sutu *K* always becomes transformed into a Zulu *Ng* (witness Sutu *Ke*, I; Zulu *Ngi*, I).

And if the 'Kaffirs' called certain 'interior tribes' *abaNgúni*, we may rest assured that they *were* *abaNgúni*; for everyone

familiar with the 'Kaffir' mentality and prejudices will know how extremely jealous those people are of their own tribal-names, and how utterly impossible it were for any Zulu-Xosa man to apply his own tribal-name to any mere 'umSutu' or other 'foreigner', whom he always regards as inferior to himself.

And if those 'interior tribes', which the Kaffirs called 'abaNgúni' were (as Moffat and Stow, our earliest authorities, distinctly declare) the baKwena, baHurutsi, baMangwato and the rest, who, knowing anything of Zulu history, could ever assert that such tribal-names were ever existent among the people of Zululand; whence, some tell us, they were derived?

Turn now to paragraph marked 4 above. There you will note how Stow (who was probably quite unaware that the Zulu-Xosa 'Kaffirs' also called themselves 'Konis'—or, in their particular language, 'Ngunis') distinctly states that the migrating Bantu horde 'came down from the north' and moved in a 'south-easterly direction'; and that when they had reached 'a river called the liKwa (Vaal)', 'some of the clans separated from the remainder', and went back northwards. But what became of that abandoned 'remainder'? Certainly they did not remain permanently on the Vaal. No; they continued on their course, 'in a south-easterly direction'.

Passing away from the upper Vaal (where the Koni-Nguni ancestors are said first to have settled on their migration from the north) and travelling onwards in a south-easterly direction, we shall soon find ourselves in a broad strip of lowland country, of mixed grassland and woodland, stretching along the coastal area by the Indian Ocean from St. Lucia Bay in the north to the Kei River in the south, inhabited by Bantu people, all of whom call themselves *abaNgúni*.

Furthermore, we shall find that these Ngunis distinguish within themselves several minor sub-divisions, of which the principal were (and still are), 1. a *Ntungwa* clan-group (whose home was in modern Zululand); 2. a *Xosa* group (wholly in the Cape); 3. a *Lala* group (mainly in Natal); and 4. an *Embo* group (mainly in upper Natal and Swaziland).

Before proceeding to tell you our own opinion about these several sorts of Ngunis, let us hear, first of all, what they have to say about themselves, and, secondly, what the oldest written

records (namely, those of the early Portuguese) report about them.

Taking the first group first, the *abaNtungwa* clans are those which, within the historic period, have dwelt mostly in the upper or more inland parts of Zululand, and therefore nearest to the old Transvaal home (and present-day Sutu domain). They assert that they entered their present country 'from the west', from a land (now quite unknown to them) which they call '*ebuNgúni*' (Nguniland); secondly, that they came down from there 'on account of the *isiLulu* (i.e. their large grain-storing basket)' and that they 'followed after the grasshoppers' (i.e. locusts—their actual words being *s-Ehla ngesiLulu*; *sa-Landela iziNtete*). In proof of this rather cryptic statement (considered further on), they point to the actual *isiLulu* baskets still a regular piece of their kraal furniture.

The second or *amaXhosa* group, now located in the Cape, tells us (like the preceding *Ntungwas* of Zululand) that they too 'came from the west', from a place which they also call '*ebuNgúni*' (Nguniland); and secondly that, when coming southwards, they passed through East Griqualand, and so forward towards the coast and lower Kei River.

The third (*amaLala*) and fourth (*abaMbo*) groups, both now mainly in Natal, likewise agree together in the account of their migration, namely, that they came down to their present settlements, not 'from the west' (as the two preceding groups had stated), but 'from the north-east (*eNyakató*)' that is, from the direction of Portuguese East Africa; secondly, that, in doing so, they passed along the Lubombo range of hills (marking the eastern frontier of modern Swaziland); and, lastly, that they (at any rate, the *abaMbo* half of them) had once sojourned a while on a certain *iNkomati* river (no longer known to them, but said to be somewhere to the north of the Lubombo hills). And these two groups too brought with them the proof of their wanderings, in the fact that their present speech was no longer pure Nguni, but contained quite an appreciable quantum of 'Tonga' sounds and words—these Tongas (*amaTónge*) being that East African Bantu family resident in Portuguese East Africa, and next adjoining the *Lalas* and *Embos* to their north.

With that, the reader has about the sum-total of the major facts or traditions still extractable from the oldest of recently

living Ngunis. Now let us see in how far written history can enlighten us.

The earliest record of any use to us, as bearing on these Nguni people, is that found in an account by the Portuguese Manuel de Faria a Sousa, contained in a book entitled *Portuguese Asia*.¹⁰ Alas! it is hardly more illuminating than are the Native traditions themselves.

The date is about the year 1589 A.D. And this is the layout of the land and its people at that time from Delagoa Bay to the south. Northwards of the 'kingdom of Virangune', we are told, 'is that of Inhaca'. Here, then, in Inhaca we start with the first firm foot-hold on solid ground. This 'Inhaca', we believe, is the Portuguese rendering of the Native name, *iNyaka* (or something similar), of the island that guards the entrance to the bay of Delagoa. The name, as it stands (and undoubtedly stood, when the early Portuguese historian recorded it) looks to us more like a Nguni than a Tonga (i.e. Tembe or Ronga) word, which latter, we think, would have taken the form rather of *Mwaka*; and consequently it makes us surmise that the migrating Ngunis (probably Lalas) may have been in possession of that island and the neighbouring coast at the date above cited.

Southwards of Inhaca, we are next informed, lay 'the country of the Fumos', which means, we take it, country in which the Chiefs were called by the Tonga term, *muFumo* (as distinct from the Nguni term, further to the south, of *iNkosi*). We know from the history of the Tembe Tongas that it was they who, at the time (1589) stated, were in possession of the country (or some of it) around and immediately south of Delagoa Bay. And the Tembes belonged, not to the Nguni, but to the Tonga family of Bantu, the *Fumo*-using people (see Author's *O.T.*, 288).

But this country of the *Fumos*, it is said, rather strangely, belonged to 'the king of the Virangune'. We can find nothing in Tonga history that might help us to 'place' this tribal-name (as it obviously is) of 'Virangune'. What we do know is that, immediately adjoining the Tembe Tongas on their south, all the country (viz. that lying between the Lubombo hills and the sea) was at that period in the occupation of certain 'Nguni' clans. Whence we conclude that by 'king of the Virangune' was meant 'king of the abaNguni'; for, you must know, in Tonga

speech a Nguni *b* often becomes changed into a *v*; whence 'abaNguni' would there become 'vaNguni'. Careless rendering by ignorant Portuguese scribes or printers might easily account for 'vaNguni' becoming changed to 'viraNguni'.

The Portuguese narrative tells us, again, that the Natives who dwelt southwards of the *Fumo*-using Tongas (who themselves, as just said, were settled in the country that belonged to the 'king of the Virangune') were called 'Macomatos'. The latitude given for this Macomato domain is 27° 20' S., which is precisely the region we have just cited, namely, that situated between the Lubombo hills and the sea. The Nguni clans who, we know, resided in that neighbourhood about that period belonged, not to the Ntungwa or the Xosa, but to the Embo group of the family; and this particular group is it which tells us that, prior to coming down to the Lubombo region, they had sojourned by a certain river much further north, which they called the *iNkomati*—a river still retaining that name, and being a tributary of the Crocodile river. Hence we think it probable that the Portuguese expression, 'Macomatos', was simply the Portuguese, or the Tonga, way of saying '*iNkomati* people', subjects of the local Embo-Nguni chief, the so-called 'king of the Virangune'.

Southwards again of the Macomatos lay the 'country of the Mocalapata'. This is more puzzling. There is no tribe or king known to early local Nguni history possessing a name like that. But some slight distance southwards of the Lubombo '*iNkomati* Ngunis', there lived a large and powerful Ntungwa-Nguni clan at about that time (1589) on the Mfolozi-Tukela coast, and ruled by a chief named *Lufutá* (viz. the *aba-kwa-Qwabe* clan). A subject of this chief (i.e. a member of the *Qwabe* clan) would, in Nguni parlance, have commonly described himself as '*o-ka-Lufutá*' (which means 'one-of-Lufuta's' people). Now, a Nguni *f* often becomes changed, in Tonga speech, into a *pf* (comp. Ronga, *maLepfu*, beard; Zulu, *isiLevu*); and such a *pf*, we think, might possibly, by a Portuguese, have been mistaken for a *p*, and have been so written by a Portuguese scribe—thus, '*o-ka-Luputa*', instead of the more accurate '*o-ka-Lufutá*'; and then, by careless transcribing or printing, have become still further transformed into '*o-ka-Lapata*'. The *m* at the beginning of the word,

Mocalapata, would simply be the normal *m*-prefix attached, in Bantu speech, to 'personal' nouns.

Continuing with the Portuguese narrative, we are told that still further to the south, beyond the 'Mocalapata' country, were settled a people called the 'Vambes', who 'covered a great part of the *Terra de Natal*'. Here, then, at last are we back again in the light; for these *vaMbes* were most assuredly those *abaMbo* (i.e. Embo Ngunis—note our remark above on the changing of a Nguni *b* into a Tonga *v*) who have continued to occupy a part of Natal from that day to this.

Then, finally, we are told that, from Vambeland (which is Natal) as far as the Cape of Good Hope, 'there are no kings [i.e. *Fumos*], but *Ancozes* or lords of villages'. This appearance of the term, *Ancoze*, informs us at once that we are now in the land of the Ngunis; for *iNkosi* is the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) term for 'chief' or 'king'.

With this we have completed all the oldest traditionary and historical evidence we can discover; and upon these scant and vague and flimsy data we have to build up our reconstruction of the final chapter in the story of the Nguni migrations; to bring the Ntungwa Ngunis down 'from the west' with their *isiLulu* grain-baskets, and the Lala and Embo Ngunis down 'from the north-east' with their Tongai-zed forms of speech. And our reconstruction of the whole story is as follows.

The *baKoni* Sutus (now populating the north-western Transvaal and Bechuanaland) and the *abaNguni* Zulu-Xosas (now populating Zululand and the Cape) are but two divisions of what was originally one single Bantu family or tribe. The first or *baKoni* section of that tribe we might distinguish as the *Western* (or Sutu) Ngunis, and the latter or *abaNguni* section as the *Eastern* Ngunis (in Zululand) and the *Southern* Ngunis (in the Cape).

We have already mentioned how, somewhere between the years 1500 and 1550, the whole family of Nguni Bantu was settled about the upper Vaal river (in the modern Transvaal); how the family there broke up into two parts, of which one (the ancestors of the *baKoni* or Sutu Ngunis) moved away in a north-westerly direction, where, in course of time, it became badly swamped by the Sutu migrants swarming in from the north; while the remaining body (the purer Ngunis) similarly

moved away, in several separate parties (of Ntungwas, Xosas, Embos and Lalas) and by divers routes, towards the coast, ultimately scattering themselves about the low-lying country along the shore of the Indian Ocean.

We shall now endeavour to follow these four fragments of the old Nguni family on this the last lap of their great march, half a millennium in duration and down half the length of the African continent, from the Nyanza-Kenya region up north to their final, permanent home in Southern Africa.

The four different parties probably corresponded with four closely related clan-groups already existent within the all-containing Nguni family. But apart from the larger mass movements, there is evidence that, in a few cases, single individual clans (especially among the Eastern Ngunis) separated from the larger bodies and launched out on their own, wandering alone about the vast wilderness to the south-east, until they finally came to anchor hundreds of miles away from their nearest relatives. Such, for instance, were the *abaTēmbu* Ntungwas and the *amaMpondo* Embos, both of whom (at the end of their clan-group's wanderings) continued their march still further onwards into the Cape, far away from their kith and kin left behind in and about Zululand. Othersome of this ilk wearied after a spell of this solitary roaming, and returned to their family and permanently settled with them—as did the *Zungus*, the *Cúnus*, and indeed the parent-clan of the Zulus themselves. It cannot be stated with absolute certainty that these last-mentioned independently roaming clans (or even the previously mentioned *Tēmbus*) really were members of the Ntungwa clan-group (though they appear to be so). They *may* have broken away from some other group or groups, and only later on associated themselves with the Ntungwas. Anyhow, in speech and customs they seem to have been identical with the latter group; and, when at length their several wanderings were over, they, all of them (save a moiety of the *Tēmbu* clan, which proceeded on to the coast of southern Natal), finally gravitated back to them and settled permanently with them in Zululand.

The first of the Ngunis to move away from the Transvaal were, we think, the Lala and Embo clan-groups (collectively known as the *Tekela Ngunis*, from their particular dialect of

Nguni speech). For the first part of their journey (perhaps somewhere about the year 1525), the two parties may have marched together; but later on they parted company, only, at long last, to come together again and settle alongside each other in Natal.

The route they chose was, first of all, from the Vaal region in a north-easterly direction; thereafter due east, towards the northern parts of modern Swaziland and Delagoa Bay. This, the first half of their journey, took them through country that was perhaps already sparsely populated by Sutu Bantu. And about here, it would seem, the separation between the two groups took place—the Lalas proceeding forward towards the Delagoa Bay coastlands; the Embos continuing to tarry still a while amidst the Sutu people, and so, in course of time (perhaps through intermarriage) to become, in some slight degree, 'Sutu-ized'.

Accompanying now the *Lala* party (*amaLala*), these soon found themselves outside the range of Sutu influence and inside that of the Tonga Bantu. The precise locality of their settlement in Tongaland is unknown—though we have heard a tradition that some of them reached as far north as Inhambane (in Portuguese East Africa). Perhaps their settlements were many. Wherever they may have got to, there the Lalas settled down on perfectly friendly, even intimate, terms with their new neighbours. That the two peoples indulged pretty freely in the giving and taking in marriage, seems obvious; so much so that when (perhaps 50 years later, c. 1600—1650), the old migratory habit urged the Lalas to move on once more, down the coast into Zululand and Natal, their Ntungwa cousins down there refused (and still do so) to recognize them any more as 'Ngunis', regarding them, with contempt, as mere 'Tongas'. Tonga blood was apparent in their faces, and Tonga customs in their daily life, while, as to their speech, its vocabulary and pronunciation, and its grammatical structure (see the Author's *O.T.*, 234), had become so strongly Tonga-ized, that it was hardly longer intelligible to their relatives. These Tongas (Rongas, Chopis, etc.) had a penchant for the weak (or closed) *t* and *ts* sounds (as examples, one may cite the words, Chopi *tiMbwa*, dogs, Ntungwa Nguni *iziNja*, but Lala Nguni *itiMbwa*; again, Ch. *maTi*, water, Ntu. Nguni *amaNdzi*, but Lala Nguni *amaDi*:

or the sentence, Ch. *tsiMvuta*, *tsiNguva tsa-tso tsa-kuGya*, Ntungwa (Zulu) *iziMvu*, *iziKati za-zo zo-kuDla*, Eng. the-sheep, the-times of-them for-to-eat). The purer Nguni, it will be thus seen, had its own penchant for *z* sounds; but by the time the Lala Ngunis had finished their migration and reached Natal, all these original Nguni *z*'s had vanished and been replaced by weak (or closed) Tonga *t*'s (e.g. Ntungwa Nguni *iziNkomo*, cattle, Lala Nguni *itiYomo*); while the old Nguni strong (or open) *th* had become changed into Tonga *ts* (e.g. Ntungwa Nguni *ukuTi*, to-say, Lala Nguni *ukuTsi*). All which sounded so strange to the more orthodox Ntungwa Ngunis, that they dubbed this new dialect of the Lalas *ukuTekela* (to speak with a superabundance of dentalization).

But, as we said, sated at last with Tonga words and Tonga wives, the age-long habit re-asserted itself, and the Lalas moved on once more. They turned about and marched away down the coast to the south. They passed along the Zululand littoral (then entirely uninhabited country), dropping parties as they went (later to develop into brand-new clans, like the *Nibeles*, the *Mietwas* and the *Ngcobos*), and finally came to a stand-still in Natal (already so named, half a century earlier, by the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama), the lower (or sea-ward) half of which they gradually covered with their many clans (the *Celes*, the *Tulinis*, the *Nyavus* and others). A certain section of them, owing to their distinguishing custom of facial incisions (probably learned from the Tongas, where the custom was prevalent), became later dubbed *Debes* (*amaDebe*, face-slitters).

The *Embo* party (*abaMbo* or *aba-s-eMbo*) of the Tekela Ngunis, on their way from the Transvaal to the coast, after sojourning a while in the Sutu neighbourhood (about the north of Swaziland), and becoming slightly 'Sutu-ized' in the process, also moved away further seawards, and there (like their relatives, the Lalas) came into close association with the East Coast Tongas, somewhere apparently about the Nkomati river. They must have remained in that locality quite a considerable time, sufficiently long to get their speech 'Tekela-ized' (probably by intermarriage) with Tonga dentalization, though hardly to the same extent as the Lalas. But once more, like the latter, the Embos too at last hungered for change. So, leaving the

Lalas behind in Tongaland, they (probably somewhere about 1525) wheeled sharply round to the south, proceeded along the outskirts of modern Swaziland, and occupied for a period the flat country between the southern Lubombo hill-range and the sea. There the *abaMbo* remained (their country being spoken of as *eMbo*, and they, as 'the people of *eMbo*' or *aba-s-eMbo*). There they still were when, in 1589, the Portuguese traversed their land and wrote of them (following their Tonga interpreters) as *vaMbe*.¹¹ After having found those low, malarious swamplands not to their taste (as a high-land people), the Embos, leaving some of their smaller clans behind, wended their way further inland in search of more salubrious climes. Some, namely, the Ngwanes (*aba-kwa-Ngwáne*), entered the territory to the north of the Pongolo river, and later established there the *Swazi* kingdom. Others of the Embos, namely, the Ndwandwes (or *aba-kwa-Ndwandwe*), occupied the country opposite them, on the southern side of the Pongolo river. Others, again, proceeded still further inland, into the Vryheid and Utrecht districts, where they became the Hlubi (or *aba-s-emaHlutshini*) clan; some, indeed, continuing still further ahead, ultimately crossing the Mzinyati (or Buffalo) river into Natal, the upper half of which they peopled, as the *emaBéleni* and *Dlamini* clans. At the end of it all, only one comparatively insignificant clan (dwelling near the middle Tsekela river) still retained (and does so even today) the ancient tribal-name of *aba-s-eMbo* (or *abaMbo*).

Only half a century after Vasco da Gama had first discovered the Cape, the Portuguese ship *Santo Joao*, became, in the year 1552, wrecked on the South African coast about where Pondoland now joins Natal. Looking round for signs of human life, the wretched survivors were cheered by the sight of nine black men; who, alas! when they beheld, slunk immediately away, scared by so strange an apparition. Who may these Blacks have been? Certainly they were Bantu, because no other Blacks existed thereabouts. Forty years more passed away; when, in 1593, another Portuguese ship, the *Santo Alberto*, met a similar fate only a few miles further to the south, near the mouth of the Mzimvubu (or St. John's River). Describing the sorrowful experiences of the survivors, the narrator has left us one single word of the local Native speech—their cry to them of *Nanhata*. To the Portuguese the word was

meaningless; was may-be fearsome. To us, it seems to be nothing else than a *tekela* (i.e. Tonga or dentalized) rendering of the pure Nguni (i.e. Ntungwa-Zulu) word, *Nanaza* (to-barter, or exchange-in-trade). But, if that be so, then, being a *tekela* word, it is clear that the Mzimvubu Bantu were members of the Tekela-speaking section of the Nguni tribe (i.e. either Embos or Lalas). Indeed, we think they could have been none other than the ancestors of those very Mpondos (*amaMpondo*) who still dwell in those parts—perhaps the first of the Ngunis to enter the Cape. But these *modern* Mpondos, we know, are related, not to the Lala *tekela*-speakers of Natal, but to the Embo *tekela*-speakers of Swaziland and northern Zululand. From this fact, then, we draw the conclusion that the Embo Ngunis (and the Lala Ngunis with them)—inasmuch as some of the former were as far south as the St. John's River in Pondoland already in 1552—could hardly have started on their migration from the Transvaal at any date *later* than 1550; in all probability, the date was nearer 1500.

Retracing our steps back once more to the starting point in *ebuNguni* on the Vaal River, we find ourselves again amongst those of the old Nguni tribe (fully half the total number) who had refrained from accompanying the Embo-Lala section in its migration away to the north-east. It may have been a full century after the latter event that the remaining half of the Nguni tribe—excepting that portion of them which preferred to stay in the Transvaal, and later to become the *baKoni*—decided to follow the Embo-Lala example and to quit the Transvaal for the coast; say, perhaps, about 1625. But these moved off, not in a north-easterly, but in a south-easterly direction; and in that direction neither Sutus nor Tongas, nor any other kind of man (save a few groups of wandering Bushmen hunters), were found to exist. The consequence was that this branch of the Nguni family was able to preserve itself free from that corruption of speech and blood by Sutu-Tonga intermixture, to which their Embo-Lala cousins had been subjected. We have accordingly distinguished these as the *Pure Ngunis* (despite the Bushman linguistic taint, common, more or less, to the whole Nguni family; and, in a lesser degree, also to the Sutu).

But, in moving away (as with the Embos and Lalas) this half of the tribe also became cloven in twain, namely, into *Ntungwas* and *Xosas*, each party proceeding forward by a different route, though both paths were in a south-easterly direction. Here we have the explanation why the oldest tradition of these two Nguni sections is the same, namely, that they came into their present settlements 'from the west' (not, as with the Embos and Lalas, 'from the north').

Of the two parties, the *Xosas* (*amaXósa*) took the more southern course. These never entered Zululand, but headed for Natal, the northern or upper parts of which they traversed, and so passed on into Griqualand East. Thence they proceeded (not necessarily, of course, in a single journey or single season) over the Ingeli hills into Kaffraria, reaching their furthest point south (the Kei River) somewhere about the year 1670.

It has often puzzled many, why these *Xosas* of the Cape have always given Natal the name of 'Embo' and called the Natives dwelling there 'abaMbo'; whereas that portion of Natal immediately adjoining the Cape has always been inhabited by 'Lalas', and never by 'Embos'. The explanation, we think, must lie in the fact just mentioned, namely, that, on their way to the Cape, the *Xosas* had passed through the upper half of Natal and therefore knew that part only, which, even at the time of the *Xosa* passage, was already occupied by the Dlamini and emaBheleni, both belonging to the Embo group; so that that country was quite correctly described as 'Embo' and its inhabitants as 'abaMbo'.

But, in this book, we are solely concerned with that other party of Nguni migrants, namely, that of the *Ntungwas*, because among these *Ntungwa* clans was the parent from which the *Zulus* themselves (i.e. the *Zulu* clan proper) were subsequently descended. This party, when leaving the Transvaal, set its course straight into what is nowadays Zululand, and spread its constituent clans abroad throughout the upper (i.e. more inland) parts of that country.

These *Ntungwas* (*abaNtungwa*) are they who (as already noted on a previous page), when questioned as to their origin, give us the answer that 'they came down on account of the grain-basket, following behind the grasshoppers' (*s-Ehla ngesiLulu*; *sa-Landela iziNteté*). This *isiLulu* or big-grain-basket (a huge contraption shaped like a great gourd some three

feet in diameter, and constructed of coarse plaited grass) is the *Ntungwas*' own hall-mark, none other of the Nguni folk using it. Yet it is not solely confined to them; for the *Sutus* (who call it *liSivvu*) have it too. The exact meaning of this phrase, *s-Ehla ngesiLulu*, is not immediately clear. The modern *Ntungwas* are unable to explain it. Grammatically, it might signify either 'we-came-down *by-means-of-the-grain-basket*' (which were nonsensical), or '*on-account-of-the-grain-basket*'; and it is the latter interpretation which we prefer here—the term, 'grain-basket' being used (according to the common habit of these Bantu people) metaphorically, as having been at the bottom of the Nguni trouble away inland, and so the cause of their present migration. The term symbolized, not the basket itself, but the grain it should have held (and didn't). Why? We think, for one of two possible reasons. The immediately following reference to locusts suggests one such, namely, that the grain-baskets were empty and their owners starving, owing to the continuous destruction of their crops away inland by that field-pest. True, in such case, we should have expected the statement, 'we-ran-away-from' the locusts, rather than 'we-went-after' them. A possible alternative explanation of the Nguni migration may have been an unwelcome, even forceful, influx of *Sutus* into their neighbourhood. The Bantu tribes are always very jealous of their 'boundaries'; and there is a universal weakness among them to quarrel and to fight against any encroachment by 'foreigners' on their arable and pasture lands. Nothing is so productive of strife between families, and infinitely more so between tribes. Even where land is really plentiful, any infringement of what is regarded as prior rights is fiercely resented; and some contention of this kind between *Ntungwas* and *Sutus* may have happened. Of course, it might have been the other way round, and the *Ntungwas* have been the encroachers on *Sutu* preserves. Anyhow, the *Ntungwas* found continuance in that neighbourhood no longer tolerable, owing to some 'grain growing' (rather than any 'grain basket') difficulty. So they packed up once more and sought pastures new—as they say, 'they went off down-country on account of the grain-basket' (*b-Ehla ngesiLulu-ke*).

Another point which may be touched upon here is the presence at all of this unusual type of grain-store among the *Ntungwas*; for as such is the basket employed. No other

Nguni group having this article, whence did this solitary section of the tribe derive the custom and its basket? To us, its possession denotes some earlier close and prolonged association between these Ntungwas and the Sutus (among whom the big-grain-basket was an old institution). As a matter of fact, we have heard these Ntungwa people actually declaring, not only that they 'came down from the Sutus', but that 'they *are* Sutus'. Of course, it cannot be definitely stated that the *isiLulu* basket was not from the beginning also a general Nguni piece of kraal furniture, having simply later fallen out of use among the other tribal groups; for the *ovaMbo* (of South-west Africa), who, so far as we know, never came into contact with the Sutus, also have such baskets. The *Kamba* Bantu too in Kenya Colony, the *Kavirondo* Nilotics about Uganda, and the Sudanese Negroes of the Shari region, all have similar large baskets, or wicker-work receptacles, or huge clay pots, of exactly the same size and shape, wherein they store their grain.

In the historical sense, these Ntungwas have been somewhat less favoured than the Embo and Lala Nguni groups, of whose early movements some dim traces may be discovered in earlier records or traditions. Of the Ntungwas, nothing whatever. We find them already there in upper Zululand, and are informed that they 'came down from the Sutus'. The only method we can conceive for arriving at any reasonable guess as to the date of their coming into Zululand, is a rough calculation based on the genealogies of their several royal houses. A study of these shows us that, as a rule, after eight or ten reigns backwards, the tribal lists of kings come, almost universally, to an abrupt conclusion. Has that fact no meaning? It may, of course, be simply attributable to a natural limitation of the power of human 'traditionary' memory; but we prefer to think that the earliest king remembered in local tribal lore, is really the earliest local head of that particular clan, the clan's 'Moses', who brought the people out of the land of Egypt (which was the Transvaal) into the land of Canaan (which was Zululand), and who consequently sat himself on the throne as the clan's first chief in the new country. Way back home, such a one may not have been a royalty at all; but as far as the present settlement was concerned, he was the party's leader and ruler, its first chief or king; and, as the party gradually grew to the dimensions of a 'clan', that clan named itself after

him, or after the name of his kraal. In such a way was it that the *aba-kwa-Zulu* clan itself (they-of-the-family-of-Zulu), and the *aba-s-emGazini* (they-of-the-emGazini-kraal) and others, came later on into existence. Now, if we assume 18 to 20 years to cover a fair average reign of an African despot, it follows that these Ntungwa chieftainships (reckoning back for ten generations from Mpande's time, 1840—1872) must have started and the clans been founded (in other words, that the parties first entered Zululand) somewhere about 200 years earlier, say about 1625. Such a date would suit well enough the case of the Pure Ngunis (Zulu-Xosas); but it is patent from the reports of the ancient ship-wrecked mariners noted above that representatives of the other Nguni groups (the Embos and probably also the Lalas, as well as the Pure Nguni Tembus) had already reached the south-eastern coast as far as Pondoland from 50 to 75 years earlier. Where, then, were these Zulu-Xosas meanwhile? Plainly still somewhere within the eastern Transvaal—with the Ntungwa (Zulu) section, we think, in much closer association with the local Sutus than were the Xosas.

Closely related to this Ntungwa group, may-be even a member of it, was the *Tembu* (*abaTembu*) clan already mentioned—probably the largest, and perhaps the oldest, of all the Nguni clans. Only a portion of this clan accompanied the Ntungwas into Zululand. The other portion, it would seem, had left the Transvaal earlier than the Ntungwas, and, migrating alone, had marched continuously on seawards, until it finally arrived on the Indian Ocean, which it must have reached (somewhere about the Mzimkulu district) at a date not later than the year 1589. The Portuguese narrative (already referred to) distinctly states that in that year, from south of the 'vaMbe' (i.e. the *abaMbo*) to the Cape of Good Hope, dwelt, no longer *Fumos* (Tonga for 'chief'), but '*Ancozes*' (i.e. *iNkosi*, Ntungwa for 'chief'). Since the Portuguese got that term, Ancoze, from the particular Natives themselves who used it, it is clear that these latter must have spoken the Ntungwa (or Pure Nguni) dialect—in the language of the *Tekela*-speaking Ngunis (the Embos and Lalas) the word for 'chief' was *iYosi*. And the Tembus were the only Pure Ngunis at that period in that vicinity. The first actual mention of the Tembus by name occurs in the narrative left by the survivors of the Dutch ship, *Stavenisse*, wrecked on the coast of Alexandra County in Natal

in 1689, one hundred years later than the Portuguese record just mentioned. The *Stavenisse* account says that the Natives about the site of the wreck "have tobacco and smoke it", and it calls those Natives (Bird, *A.N.*, 41, 47), sometimes "Temboes" (which is obviously our 'Tembus'), at others 'Emboes' (which is equally obviously our 'Embos'). That both Tembus and Embos (probably the Mpondos) were already settled thereabouts is thus definitely confirmed. But, as for the tobacco-smoking, we should like to believe that, not the Tembus, but the Mpondo Embos, first brought down with them the smoking habit from the Tongas of the Delagoa country, and that it was from them that the Tembus learned the practice (coming, as these latter did, from a remoter interior part of the continent).

In the preceding pages we have several times referred to the *baSutú* (i.e. Sutu Bantu), and shown how profoundly they affected early Nguni history and the early Nguni people, especially that portion of them since known as *baKoni* (the Sutu-ized form of *abaNguni*), which had stayed behind in the Transvaal when the others moved away, and whom the Sutus later incorporated within themselves so completely, that even the Konis themselves no longer know that they are not pure aboriginal Sutus. Perhaps, therefore, at this point a few paragraphs telling more about these Sutu Bantu may be profitably interposed prior to our proceeding with our story of the Ngunis themselves.

Probably before the arrival of the Ngunis (from the west or north-west) in the central Transvaal region, an entirely different 'family' of Bantu had already occupied the country to the north and north-east of the Transvaal, but not yet to the south of it. In origin, speech and customs they were quite unlike the Ngunis. They wore as dress a breech-cloth (passed between the legs); were acquainted with the art of building in stone; and spoke a clickless tongue of the 'monosyllabic-prefix' Bantu type. Their name, *baSutú*, may be of the same derivation as the Nguni word, *Sundu* or *Ntsundu*, signifying 'darkish' or 'dark-brown'. It may also be connected with the large *ūSutú* river (so called from its colour) running through modern Swaziland, and perhaps their first settlement. The

probable accuracy of this last supposition is confirmed by the fact that the name of the 'river' and the Nguni name for the 'country' of the Sutus (wherever it may be) are both identical, namely, *ūSutú* (loc. *ōSutú*); which is a form, in Nguni speech, not normally applied to 'countries'.

As just said, we think that the Sutu people had already occupied the north-eastern portion of the modern Transvaal before the Ngunis came down to settle in its more central parts. The fact that the Ngunis chose to pitch their tents in such a locality, would tend to prove that the Sutus had not yet reached so far south. But sooner or later, they did get there. Indeed, it may very well have been the pressure of this Sutu expansion that finally drove the Ngunis from the field and down to the coastlands. Up to this stage in their migratory progress, the Sutus had never yet come into close contact with the Bushmen; so that their language was so far entirely free from 'click' sounds—indeed, the speech of the northern half of the tribe (viz. the so-called *beChwana*) still remains so. But when at length they got so far south as the Orange Free State and Basutoland, they found themselves well within range of the Bushman hunting-parties; and before long (probably owing to the capture of Bushman women) the speech of these southern Sutus became tainted with some Bushman words and a single Bushman 'click' (the dental).

But not all the tribe thus moved away from the northern Transvaal to the south. Probably the majority of the Sutu Bantu stayed still behind about the upper Limpopo region; and it was there that the Nguni fragment (which had also remained behind in the Transvaal when the main body left for the coast) found them, when later it too shifted its camp northwards into those regions. Precisely how it all came about cannot now be guessed—most probably it was due to overwhelming numbers and intermarriage; but certain it is that the last-mentioned fragment of the Ngunis became so swamped by the Sutus, that their distinctive Nguni character became (racially, culturally and linguistically) virtually obliterated, only their old family-name of *abaNguni* (though now in its 'Sutu' dress of *baKoni*) still remaining among them. This tribal metamorphosis was akin to that which later occurred to the Lala Nguni fugitives into Xosaland (at the time of Shaka's invasion of Natal), where, in course of time, they too became

so assimilated by the local population as to be regarded as pure Xosas. Of course, this complete disappearance among the Konis of Nguni speech and culture may have been due, not to any peaceful amalgamation, but to conquest. Yet, even then, who may have been the victors and who the vanquished, we can no longer decide. For when, in after years, the great Zulu nation-builders embarked upon their 'conquest of Africa', while Soshangane's horde established an empire over the whole of Portuguese East Africa and lost their Zulu language and culture in the process, Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi, on the contrary, with similar Zulu followings and at the same period, conquered, respectively, Nyasaland and Rhodesia, and yet preserved their Zulu tongue and habits more or less unaffected.

The result of this commingling of Nguni (i.e. Koni) and Sutu elements explains some of the present sociological and linguistic differences between the northern Sutus (or Chwanas) and the southern Sutus (of Basutoland). We can now understand how the word, *Kosi* or *Kgosi* (from the Nguni *iNkosi*) came to supplant, among the northern Sutus, the *Morena* of the south, as the term for 'chief' or 'king'; how the annual Feast of the First Fruits (with the 'biting' of the pumpkin or gourd) came to be celebrated alike by the Hurutsi (Chwana) and the Zulu chiefs, but not by those of the southern Sutus; and how Sir Harry Johnston could come to write that the Zulu language "in its word-roots is nearest allied to the Sechuana".¹² Moreover, the young (of both sexes) among the Koni Sutus wear, not the typical Sutu breech-cloth, but so-called 'aprons' of dark-brown hanging strings of vegetable fibre—which, of course, is nothing but the old tribal *ubEndle* fringe-girdles of Nguni boys and girls. The Koni boys, at their circumcision ceremony, are severely flogged on the back, just as the Zulu boys used to be beaten upon reaching puberty. And it is whispered that, at these initiation ceremonies, a Koni boy or girl used to be quietly 'removed' to provide the human fat needed as a field-charm for securing good crops; just as this same belief is still held (and acted upon, when possible!) also among the Zulus (vide *umSukulo* in Dictionary).

A Zulu myth tells us how the wife of Nkulunkulu (the First Man, and procreator of the rest of mankind), after

bearing him a child, found it such a nuisance, that she determined to rid herself of it by feeding it on a certain poisonous-looking plant, but that, the more she fed it, the fatter it grew: which was how the nutritive value of the millet plant was discovered, and henceforth became the Zulus' staple food. Now says Casalis of the Sutus:¹³ "Corn was discovered by the jealousy of a woman; she gathered the grains of this plant, thinking them venomous, and for some time gave them to a rival to eat. To the great astonishment of all, this food produced marvellous effects, and was, from that time forward, in great request." Another interesting statement by the same author¹⁴ may be noted. He writes: "A legend says that both men and animals came out of the bowels of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern" [presumably the same as the cave of Lowe¹⁵], and that the animals appeared first. Another tradition, continues Casalis, more generally received among the Sutus, is that "man sprang up in a marshy place, where reeds were growing." In these two versions among the Sutus of the same event (viz. the origin of man) we have another confirmation of the composite character of the present Sutu people; for the first account is that common among the South-central Bantu (including the original pure Sutus), but unknown to the Ngunis; while the second represents the essentially Nguni (Zulu) account, which is unknown to the South-central tribes.

Despite the fact that Konis and Ngunis were brothers within the same family, the total absence from the present Koni dialect of Chwana-Sutu of all click-sounds (so prominent a feature in the original Nguni speech) need not surprise. At the period of their amalgamation with the Sutus, they were probably an insignificant community of less than a couple of hundred souls; so that they and their language became easily submerged beneath the Sutu mass, losing their older forms of speech, clicks and all, as absolutely as did the Natal Lulas also lose their language upon becoming incorporated with the Xosas of the Cape.

The preceding paragraph has reminded us of the necessity of finding some method of estimating tribal numbers at the various periods of its history. Now, the only point regarding population about which one can be at all certain, would seem

to be the fact that, under normal conditions, it grows, as time progresses. But what may be the average rate of such growth? Prof. Gregory has endeavoured to supply us with an answer, in his address before the Geographical section of the British Association at its meeting in the year 1924. There he stated that, from world statistics obtained in the opening years of this twentieth century, mankind was now doubling its number every 60 years. Whether, or not, he thereby meant that such had been the case also in past ages, we cannot say.

Now, we know that the present Native inhabitants of the Transkei, Natal, Zululand, Bechuanaland and part of Swaziland, are all, in the main, of Nguni extraction. The written history of these Ngunis we may consider to have commenced about the year 1589 A.D., with the first Portuguese reference to the 'Vambes' (i.e. Embo Ngunis) as then settled southward of Delagoa Bay (as already mentioned above). But the more modern history of the Ngunis, as they are at present located, hardly takes us further back than the year 1800 A.D. It is those two dates that we must especially keep in mind in our considerations here of Nguni population increase.

In the *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, 1910—1924 (the latest we have before us), the Bantu population in the year 1921 is given as:—Cape, 1,643,466; Natal (including Zululand), 1,123,124; Swaziland, 106,961; Bechuanaland, 152,983; and the Transvaal, 1,470,438. The total for the whole of south-eastern Nguniland (Cape, Natal and Zululand) thus becomes 2,766,590. From this number we deduct, at a guess, 266,000 as intruding Sutus, Tongas and other aliens, leaving about 2,500,000 as of Nguni descent. Bechuanaland, with its total of 152,983, has 115,728 attributed to the Koni (reputedly Nguni) tribes of Ngwatos, Ngwaketses, Kgatlas and Tawanas. As regards the Transvaal, the Union Government, by figures supplied to us, reckons that the Konis (i.e. Kwenas and Hurutsis) now resident there amount to 42,760 souls—the number being given as avowedly 'unreliable'. Nevertheless we adopt it for working purposes as a super-maximum. As for Swaziland, we can only make a guess at the present number of Ngunis (members of the Ngwane and other such clans) residing in that country; let us hazard 20,000. This should give us a recent (1921) Nguni-Koni grand-total of, roughly, 2,600,000 souls. Following now Gregory's rule, this present Nguni

population of 2,600,000 should (reckoning backwards) have dwindled by 1861 A.D. to 1,300,000; by 1741 to 325,000; by 1561 to 40,625; by 1441 to 10,156; by 1381 to 5,078; by 1321 to 2,539; by 1261 to 1,269; by 1141 to 317; by 1021 to 79; by 841 to 9; and by 661 to 1!

But how does this 'Gregory's rule' of national increase compare with the actual historical facts of population increase in England? There the *Doomsday Book* is said to show the number of inhabitants in that country (some 900 years ago) as 1,375,000. The census of 1934 showed the population then to be 37,354,917; that is to say, it had multiplied itself some 28 times during the period, or once every 32 years. Had, however, the increase followed Gregory's rule (viz. of doubling the number every 60, instead of every 32, years), then, in 1921, the population of England should have been only 20,625,000 (instead of the actual 37,354,917).

For curiosity sake, let us now apply this actual rate of England's increase to the Nguni people, that is, suppose that they too doubled their number every 32 (instead of the previous 60) years. On that basis, we should find that the present (1921) Nguni figure of 2,600,000 would, by 1825 A.D. (say the middle of Shaka's reign), have decreased to 325,000 (all told—say, Natal, 140,000; Cape, 90,000; Zululand, 75,000; Konis of North-western Transvaal, 19,000; and Swaziland, 1,000); by 1633 A.D. have become 5,078; by 1537 A.D. (the period of the first break-up of the Nguni tribe in the Central Transvaal) to 634; by 1441 A.D. to 79; by 1345 A.D. to 9 (the first Nguni family); and by 1249 A.D. to 1 only soul—the *uNkulunkulu* or creator of the whole Nguni tribe!

So far as our personal acquaintance with Nguni history will permit of any judgment, this last series of figures (especially that of 325,000 in 1825 A.D. and of 5,073 in 1635 A.D.) seems, roughly, to fit the historical demands; and so we accept them at least as fair approximations. In general, however, we think it extremely unlikely (considering the fact that peoples and conditions throughout the world are so universally different and circumstances so continuously changing) that any single method for calculating population increase could be devised, which could be applicable at once to all peoples, in all countries, and through all ages.

With this, we have completed our account of this *last lap* in the great migration, from north to south throughout the length of the African continent, of the Nguni Bantu people. We have traced them back, through 300 years of time, from their present settlements in the Cape, in Zululand and in Natal, into the Central Transvaal. But there the light goes out, and the spoor disappears in almost impenetrable darkness. Yet not absolutely so; for we think it may be possible to grope a precarious way still further backwards, guided solely by linguistic and sociological clues.

The first and nearest clue of this nature we strike away on the opposite side of the southern continent, in South-West Africa. There dwell certain Bantu tribes, named *ovaHerero* and *ovaMbo*, which, it used to be thought, must originally have formed one family with the Ngunis in the east. A study of the Herero language, and of their customs and beliefs, makes that view improbable, and forces the relationship much further back.

First of all, it is surprising to find that the most northern Bantu tribes (to wit, those northward of the Victoria Nyanza, e.g. the Ganda and Masaba) and the most southern (namely, our Ngunis to the south-east and the Hereros to the south-west) unite together in exhibiting, in the construction of their nouns, an identical exception to the otherwise universal Bantu rule. Both sections place before their noun-roots a *dissyllabic* prefix (thus, Zulu *u-mu-Ntu*, a person, *a-ba-Ntu*, persons, and Herero *o-mu-Ndu*, pl. *o-va-Ndu*; against the Ganda, *o-mu-Ntu*, pl. *a-ba-Ntu*, and Masaba, *u-mu-Ndu*, pl. *ba-ba-Ndu*); whereas practically the whole of intervening Bantu tribes employs a *monosyllabic* prefix (e.g. *mu-Ntu*, pl. *ba-Ntu*). It seems impossible to suppose that the Ganda-Masabas at the extreme north of Bantuland, and the Zulu-Hereros thousands of miles away in the extreme south, could each have diverged independently from the common Bantu rule and then, by mere coincidence, each have hit upon precisely the same form of divergence. Consequently it were reasonable to believe that these two Bantu sections are more closely related the one to the other, than is either of them to the intervening tribes. There are even some who, like Sir Harry Johnston, believe that the double prefix (e.g. *u-mu-Ntu*) of the Zulu-Ganda tribes is the older and original Bantu form, and that the single prefix,

(e.g. *mu-Ntu*) of the intervening peoples is a more recent change. But others believe the reverse.

Continuing our Nguni-Herero linguistic comparisons, we not only note the prefixal similarity just mentioned, but find also a large number of Herero and Ndonga (the language of the *ovaMbo*) words remarkably like others (with the same meaning) in the Nguni. Yet, when we turn to Sir Harry Johnston's list¹⁶ of 240 common Bantu words, we discover that, whereas the Herero-Nguni resemblances number 119 out of the total 240, several tribes much further away to the north show a much larger proportion, e.g. the Bisa (east of Lake Bangweulu in Central Africa) with 135 Nguni resemblances, the Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Col.) with 145, the Ruanda (Belgian Tanganyika) with 143, and the Ganda (Victoria Nyanza) with 145.

Again, assuming that Ngunis and Hereros were originally (say, 400-500 years ago) one people with the one same tongue, could they, in that space of time, have become so changed in speech the one from the other, as they now actually are? Four hundred years ago, the Nguni family split up within itself, and the several fragments (Xosas, Ntungwas and Tekelas) separated, thereafter becoming completely isolated the one from the other. And yet today the languages spoken by the several groups are so nearly alike as to be little more than dialects of the same tongue. The difference between the Zulu (Ntungwa) and the Herero language, on the other hand, is many times as great as is that between the Zulu and the Xosa (separated groups of Ngunis); indeed, it looks more like the difference between the Zulu and the Ganda (far away on the Victoria Nyanza).

Passing from language to sociology, many similarities are noticeable between Zulu and Herero customs; but once again by no means a higher proportion than could be found by comparing the Zulus with almost any other southern or eastern Bantu tribe.

One instance, however, of Zulu-Herero resemblances is worthy of mention *in extenso*; for it is a real trump card. Hereros and Zulus alike unite in 'worshipping the one same god' (the great tribal ancestor); but, what is more, they both call him by the same name (in which, we think, they stand alone). The 'Great-great-One' of the Zulus, who 'brought into being'

mankind and everything else, is by them named *uNkulunkulu* (which is simply a reduplication of the root, *Kulu*, great). The Rev. G. Viehe¹⁷ informs us that, the Hereros being ancestor-worshippers, all the great folk among them become, after death, *ovaKuru* (i.e. Great-Ones); and when a child is born in the tribe, as soon as the navel-cord has fallen away, the infant is taken by its mother to the 'holy fire' (*okuRuo*) and there presented to the family *omuKuru* (whom Viehe calls the 'forefather or deity'). Such a Herero family-*omuKuru* (or Great-One) is termed among the Zulus an *uKulukulwana*, which word is simply a diminutive form of *uNkulunkulu*, and signifies a 'Lesser-Great-great-One' (or minor family-ancestor), as distinct from the *uNkulunkulu* himself (the tribal-Great-ancestor).

The letters or sounds *r* and *l*, being interchangeable in Bantu speech, it is plain that the Herero *Kuru* and the Zulu *Kulu* are one; and the fact that these two tribes alone (amongst the Bantu total of perhaps a couple of hundred) possess identically the same term for their ancestral 'gods', certainly does seem to support the case of those who believe in the original unity of the two peoples. The common choice of such a peculiar appellation for the same object could hardly have been mere coincidence; for the Hereros, it must be remembered, besides the more common 'family' *omuKurus* (Zulu *uKulukulwana*), have also a grand 'tribal' *omuKuru* (comparable with the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*).

This Herero tribal *omuKuru* and Zulu *uNkulunkulu*, we are furthermore convinced, are the one same name and the one same person as the *muLungu* of Nyasaland and the *muUngu* of the Swahili (although the last two names have now lost their original meaning). We think to see here but another example of those 'inversions' so frequent in Bantu speech, *Nkulu* having become turned about into *Lungu*, or vice versa. Indeed, such an inversion is already discernible within the Herero family itself; for, whereas the Hereros themselves call their 'god' or great-ancestor *omuKuru*, their cousins and next-door neighbours, the *vaMbos*, have already changed his title to *kaRunga* (or *kaLunga*), who, we are told by Viehe, is 'the father of the *ovaKuru*' (i.e. is identical with the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*).

Viehe¹⁸ also cites a rather significant Herero legend, which relates that "beside the country of the *ovaTyaona*

(? *beChwana*) is a very high mountain, on one side of which is a hole in the ground [probably the cave of Lowe, see p. 27]. Through this hole all good people who have died, rise again and ascend up the mountain into heaven." Could this legend have reached the Hereros solely by report? Or does it denote a former sojourn of the Hereros in the vicinity of the Chwanas—the route of their descent, or maybe the site of their separation from the Ngunis?

It were further interesting to note that, if the Herero prefix, *ova-*, be changed into the more normal Bantu 'personal' prefix, *ba-* or *aba-*, we get at once *baTyaona*; which, in turn, suggests a possible origin at once of the names, *maShona* and *beChwana*, both which names have always puzzled the ethnologists, seeing that neither of those peoples seems to have called itself, until more recent times, by such a name.

Brauer¹⁹ mentions the following Herero folk-story. 'Some young girls being pursued at night, at the magic word of the youngest of them, a rock opened before them and they entered a cave. The pursuers heard the voices from within the rock, which had now closed itself up behind the girls. The girls were thus saved, and, by the magic word of the youngest again, they were enabled to open the rock and walk out. Only the eldest, who had done something wrong, remained behind, because the rock closed together before she got out'. Precisely the same idea is met with again in the Nguni (Lala) nursery-tale about the girls and the magic *kwaNtunjambili* rock (south of the lower Tukela river in Natal). Does this again point to some close association between the two peoples in former times, either in the south or in the north? Or is it, once more, mere coincidence?

But while there are certainly some striking resemblances between Hereros and Ngunis, there are also some equally striking differences. We may mention, for instance, the Herero fire-cult (=their 'sacred fire'; reminiscent of a similar 'fire' among the Gandas); and their matrilineal system of descent²⁰ (by which a child belongs to its mother's, not to its father's clan)—both characteristics utterly absent with the Ngunis. Then, again, so altogether different from the Nguni is the Herero style of dress; which Stow²¹ describes as consisting "of 50 to 80 fathoms of thin leather thongs coiled round the hips, and a

small piece of skin between the legs, with the ends brought up and tucked under the cord."

Have the Hereros any tradition as to the date of their arrival in South-west Africa? Haddon²² writes: "The ova-Herero reached their present home in German South-west Africa from the east about a century ago [was it from the Chwana neighbourhood—see above?], and drove the Berg-Damara south." But this must refer to a South African 'last lap' migration (like that of the Ngunis from the Transvaal), and not to the original coming down from the north.

In conclusion, then, we are of opinion that the evidence available proves no closer relationship between Hereros and Ngunis than that which exists between both and the Ganda-Kenya Bantu up north. Further, we think the descent of the Hereros was at a time different from that of the Ngunis. We know, however, that a brother tribe of the Hereros call themselves *ovaMbo*; and secondly, that early Portuguese records report that a large tribe called '*Mumbos*' crossed the Zambezi and entered Portuguese East Africa about 1592. Were these the *ovaMbo*? Or is the reference rather to the passage of the *abaMbo* Ngunis (i.e. the Embos) from the Transvaal, past Delagoa Bay, into Natal about the same period?

We shall consider now the second stage of the great Nguni migration from north to south, viz. that between the Upper Zambezi and the Central Transvaal. Whether the linguistic taint of click-using was contracted by the Ngunis from the Bushmen or from the Hottentots, is uncertain; mainly, we think, from the latter, but in some degree also from the former. Two facts, however, seem clear—first, that the taint must have been acquired prior to the departure from the Transvaal to the coast of the Lala-Embo section of the tribe, since they went off (c. 1525 A.D.) already click-infested; and secondly, that it must have been acquired so long before that event as to allow sufficient time for the leaven to permeate throughout the whole Nguni mass (of Ntungwas, Xosas, Embos and Lalas). This makes us believe that it must have been a slow and lengthy process.

Having crossed the Upper Zambezi on their southward march, the Ngunis, it seems to us, wheeled sharply round through north-western Rhodesia, and headed for, and for a time

settled in, northern Bechuanaland, a land which the Konis retain as their own even now. Roving about those vast interior plains were immense herds of game of almost every South African species. And precisely there too was the Bushman's (and perhaps too the Hottentot's) paradise. From the lower Okavango river southwards to the Kalahari Desert, Bushman (or Hottentot) place-names even still everywhere prevail; but eastward of that line, and as far away as the Indian Ocean, Bantu place-names monopolize the field.

From the moment of their entry into the Okavango region, and throughout their forward passage, past Lake Ngami, into Bechuanaland, the Ngunis were continuously up against either Bushmen or Hottentots, or both. The two races contended uninterruptedly for the field, until the Hottentots and Bushmen were driven off to the south, and the Ngunis were left in sole possession of the land, and themselves little the worse, physically, for the experience; though, linguistically, they were somewhat damaged.

That the Ngunis were the first of the Bantu peoples to come into any considerable contact with the greater Bushman and Hottentot masses seems conclusive from the fact of click-sounds appearing in their speech in greatest abundance. The solitary click in the Sutu speech, and among the Ngami tribes, witnesses to a much feebler degree of Bushman association, and probably also a much later. That Bushmen were once settled in Rhodesia is certain, because many of their paintings are there still extant. But these paintings show everywhere a much cruder, and therefore (perhaps) earlier, technique than do those in the Cape and Natal. Further, no Bantu or Arabs are there depicted; from which one may conclude that the pictures were drawn and the Bushmen departed prior to the latest of the Zimbabwe periods, during which both Bantu and Arabs were plentiful and far-scattered. And this latest period of the Zimbabwe industry may have ended at about 1300 A.D. The Bushmen therefore were probably already established on the South African Central Plateau (the great game country towards which they, as hunters, would naturally gravitate) at that period, and nobody can say for how many ages before.

The Bushman-Hottentot meeting, then, may have occurred at any time after 1300 A.D., let us surmise, between 1400 and 1500 A.D.; at which period (according to Gregory's rule,

mentioned above) the Ngunis should have numbered, roughly, 10,000 souls, but (according to the known rate of England's increase) about 300. We should like to believe that they were considerably below the first figure and somewhat higher than the last.

The last stage in the Great Nguni trek from north to south, was that between the Transvaal and the coast; the second, that between the Upper Zambezi and the Transvaal; and the first, that between Nyanzaland and the Upper Zambezi, which we are now left to consider. Can we make any guess as to the route they followed on that first trip down the continent after leaving their motherland?

Both the Ngunis and the Hereros were strongly pastoral people, and in a lesser degree agricultural also. With this pastoral instinct so highly developed within them, we may reasonably suppose that, when, six centuries ago, they first set out from their original home, they did precisely as they have done on similar occasions ever since, namely, they took their cattle with them. Indeed, the search for more spacious and luxuriant grazing-grounds *may* have been one of the most urgent incentives to migrate at all. For, as the Zulu legend has it, did not Nkulunkulu, after making man, next make his bovine helpmates—him to protect the cattle; the cattle to preserve him? They were his food, his clothing, his currency. He thrived on the curds of their milk; he slept in cloaks, and dressed in mutshas and kilts, made of their hides; and they were deemed the only fitting exchange for a daughter sold or a purchased wife. He could hardly have had the heart to leave them behind (if he had them at all; and it seems probable he had) now that he was setting forth to establish a new home, to colonize a new land.

But who knows? Maybe the migration of the Ngunis from the north was not one of choice. They may just as likely have been driven from their homes by some stronger tribe and have fled away precipitately, leaving their herds to the invader; just as so many of their compatriots were forced to do in the modern times of Shaka. Even so, with their strong innate passion for cattle, we may be sure that, sooner or later, they would take steps to retrieve their loss and, if cattle anywhere existed on their route, make it their business to acquire some.

That they did acquire some seems certain; and that, we think, not on the southern side of the Zambezi, where the only herds in existence were those of the long-horned breed of the Hottentots—a breed occasionally met with right through Africa, and perhaps existent among the ancient Egyptians. The cattle of the Nguni-Hereros, on the other hand, were always of the short-horned type, smaller in size and infinitely more graceful—the breed found by Livingstone²³ among the Kololos south of the Zambezi about the Victoria Falls; by Schulz²⁴ among the Hereros beyond the upper Okavango; the breed which exists among the Shukulumbwes on the Kafue, and even among the Yanzis on the Congo;²⁵ in a word, right along what we imagine must have been the ancient Nguni line of march.

For, while man may find a way of thriving almost anywhere on earth, it is not so with domestic cattle. On their account the migrating Ngunis had to select always and only such districts as their cattle could thrive in; and such districts are far from being universal in Africa. If we search these districts out, as they exist between Tanganyika Lake and the Cape, we shall find that they mark out exactly the same line as that just indicated as the probable Nguni route. For, once out of the cattle districts along the eastern side of Tanganyika, one may travel right across the continent to Mbunduland (at the sources of the Kwanza river in south Angola),²⁶ and from south Angola due north as far as the northern Cameroons and the Cross River in Nigeria,²⁷ without ever encountering a sign of bovine life,²⁸ save a few stray herds more recently introduced, about Lake Mweru and along the basin of the Kwango river as far as Yanziland, right on the banks of the Congo.²⁹ Similarly on the eastern side of the continent, no cattle are ever known to have been reared by the Natives throughout the whole length and breadth of Portuguese East Africa, from the Rufiji river on its northern boundary to Delagoa Bay in the south.³⁰ Within those boundaries and right up the Zambezi as far as the Kafue, the Bantu tribesman deems himself wealthy (or did, at least up to 50-60 years ago), if he possess a few goats or fat-tailed sheep. In such poverty-stricken areas a man is content to celebrate his wedding-feast with the slaughter of a scraggy fowl, or with even less, a pot of beer;³¹ while the local ancestral gods have to be thankful if they be offered a 'sacrifice' of maize or millet meal.³²

Passing along this selfsame conjectured Nguni route, but now examining it rather from the linguistic angle, we shall find, if we compare the Nguni word-forms with those of the several tribes along the way, that, according to Johnston's³³ list of 240 common Bantu words, the mutual similarities are fairly evenly distributed throughout the whole eastern Bantu field, but diminish as one enters the Congo area and proceeds westwards.

Starting, then, from the Transvaal and working backwards, we find—employing here, for shortness, Johnston's own terms, of 'preprefix' for the dissyllabic nounal particle, and simply 'prefix' for the monosyllabic type—that the Chwana (Transvaal) shows 132 resemblances to the Nguni, but with much altered prefixes; Ronga (Delagoa Bay), 140 resemblances to Lala (Natal) Nguni, with closely related prefixes; Sengwe (Inhambane), 133 resemblances to Lala, with prefixes; Ndawu (Sofala), 125 resemblances, mainly to Lala, with prefixes after the Yawo type beyond; Karanga (Mashonaland), 147 resemblances, mainly to Lala, with prefixes like those of Ndawu; Rue (south of lower Zambezi) and Shangane (mid-Sabi river, Portuguese East), showing a large percentage of obviously imported Zulu words; Yawo (East Nyasaland), 119 resemblances, with prefixes; Nyanja (Nyasaland), 121 weak resemblances, with prefixes. Unfortunately many of these south-eastern Bantu tongues have lost much of their comparative value, owing to their several countries having been overrun and largely settled by hordes of Zulu fugitives from Shaka a century ago.

Taking now a more inland course towards the north, we gradually get beyond the range of Zulu infiltration, and, with the Luyi or Rotse (upper Zambezi), find 117 resemblances to the Nguni, but with closely related preprefixes; the Bisa (east of Lake Bangweulu), with 135 strong resemblances to Zulu roots, and likewise similar preprefixes; Mambwe (between Nyasa and Tanganyika lakes), 124 resemblances almost as close as those of the Nyanza group, and with strongly resembling preprefixes; Nkonde (also north of Nyasa Lake), the same as Bisa; Dzalamo (Tanganyika Colony), 116 resemblances less close than those of Mambwe, but with equally as close preprefixes; Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Colony), 145 resemblances, but less strong than the Nyanza group, and with

prefixes only; Kikuyu (Kenya Colony), 112 resemblances (remote), and with prefixes only. Coming to the Nyanza group—Ruanda (south of Victoria Nyanza), with 143 strongly resembling word-roots, and almost identical preprefixes. The same remarks apply to Nyoro (west Uganda), with 127; Hima (Uganda), with 119; Ganda, with 145; and Masaba (Mount Elgon, Uganda), with 114.

We thus find a virtually continuous trail of preprefixal (i.e. using the Nguni *dissyllabic* nounal prefix) speakers, from the Hereros (in South-West Africa), back through Rotseland (on the upper Zambezi), to the Bisas (by Lake Bangweulu), Nkondes (north of Nyasa Lake), Mambwes (south of Tanganyika Lake), Dzalamos (in Tanganyika Colony), Ruandas (south of Victoria Nyanza), Himas and Gandas (in Uganda), and Masabas (near Mount Elgon, north Uganda).

These linguistic considerations may also in some measure favour our conjecture that the Nguni trek from the north followed the path of the cattle, namely, down along the eastern side of Tanganyika Lake, thence by northern Nyasaland and northern Rhodesia, towards the head-waters of the Zambezi. We say the 'upper Zambezi' advisedly; because, on their way down, they must have found their path constantly barred by the formidable obstacle (both to themselves and their cattle) of great impassable rivers. There was, for instance, the mighty Luwalaba (which is the upper part of the Congo), still fully a mile in width and rushing at a speed of 3 to 4 miles an hour even at Nyangwe town, there right athwart their path beyond Lake Tanganyika.³⁴ Further ahead, there suddenly stretched before them the still more alarming Zambezi, another vast expanse a mile broad and flowing with a strong current even at Nyakatoro, in Lovaleland, less than 200 miles from the river's source.³⁵ What was to be done? Even in these present days, the Ngunis have no knowledge whatever of the canoe. The only water-conveyance of which they knew was their *isiHlenga*, a bundle, a foot thick, of long dry reeds (and still used in similar emergencies), straddling or stretched upon which a brave man or woman manages to paddle him or her-self, or be towed by swimmers, across the hazardous, swirling, and generally crocodile-infested, rivers. It is hardly likely they were acquainted with any better contrivance in those more ancient days of their first great trans-continental journey.

Plainly, to such primitive folk, a straight course was an impossibility, and obstacles impassable to man and beast had to be dealt with exactly in the way they are in these present times, namely, by the simple process of always and everywhere circumventing them. Indeed, why worry about getting across at all? To them, and for their purpose, up stream was as promising as over, and infinitely easier. So, like the flowing rivers themselves, the stream of wandering Ngunis ever sought the line of least resistance and followed the open road, leisurely moving along the rivers, up their course to narrower, shallower waters. And so, we imagine, it came about that the route of the canoeless Ngunis followed the same old trail blazed long ago by their Bushman and Hottentot predecessors, namely, along the watersheds of the Congo and Zambezi, the headwaters of each of which they successively doubled.

Inasmuch as the Ngunis reached South Africa with the *Nyanza* models of speech and custom, in the main, so well preserved, we think we may fairly draw the following conclusions:—first, that their route to the South had *not* been along the East African coast (through the wholly monosyllabic-prefix using tribes); and secondly, that they did not make any very prolonged sojourns among the Bantu peoples through whom they passed. Further, judging by the more recent Nguni migrations (e.g. those of the fugitive masses led out of Zululand by Zwangendaba, by Nxaba, by Soshangane and by Mzilikazi only one hundred years ago, when some parties of them penetrated almost as far north as the Victoria Nyanza), we feel that the first and original Nguni migration from that Victoria Nyanza region to the Zambezi *need* not have required for its accomplishment more than half a century in time—though it *may* have taken longer. Such a supposition, then, would make the possible departure from the north somewhere about 1450 A.D., and the arrival on the upper Zambezi about 1500 A.D. And at that period, we surmise that the total membership of the Nguni family may have been, at the start, round about 100 souls, and at the finish, not more than 300.

Having traced our Ngunis back to what was probably, at any rate the region of, their mother-country in the north, it may be interesting now to search that region for any of their

possibly surviving relatives. A marked likeness in custom and tongue may serve as reliable a guide as any other available.

Taking the Masaba and Ganda peoples (both of Uganda) first, we will compare a few of their noun-forms and their phrases with corresponding ones in the Zulu Nguni. In the Table, *M* stands for Masaba, *G* for Ganda, and *Z* for Zulu, *E* giving the English.

E.	s.	<i>the-Native</i>	<i>of-me (=my)</i>	<i>they-him-brought-</i> <i>have</i>
M.		umuNdu	wa-Se	ba-mu-Rer-ere
E.	p.	<i>the-Natives</i>	<i>of-me</i>	<i>they-them-brought-</i> <i>have</i>
M.		babaNdu	ba-Se	ba-ba-Rer-ere
G.	s.	omuNtu	wa-Nge	ba-mu-Les-e
	p.	abaNtu	ba-Nge	ba-ba-Les-e
Z.	s.	umuNtu	wa-Mi	ba-m-Let-ile
	p.	abaNtu	ba-Mi	ba-ba-Let-ile
M.	s.	kumuBano (<i>knife</i>)	kwa-Se	ba-ku-Rer-ere
	p.	kimiBano	kya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
G.	s.	omuTi (<i>tree</i>)	gwa-Nge	ba-gu-Les-e
	p.	emiTi	gya-Nge	ba-gi-Les-e
Z.	s.	umuTi (<i>tree</i>)	wa-Mi	ba-wu-Let-ile
	p.	imiTi	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
M.	s.	liBali (<i>stone</i>)	lya-Se	ba-li-Rer-ere
	p.	kamaBali	ka-Se	ba-ka-Rer-ere
G.	s.	ejInja (<i>stone</i>)	lya-Nge	ba-li-Les-e
	p.	amaInja	ga-Nge	ba-ga-Les-e
Z.	s.	iliTshe (<i>stone</i>)	la-Mi	ba-li-Let-ile
	p.	amaTshe	a-Mi	ba-wa-Let-ile
M.	s.	iNgafu (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
	p.	tsiNgafu	tse-Se	ba-tsi-Rer-ere
G.	s.	eNte (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Nge	ba-gi-Les-e
	p.	eNte	za-Nge	ba-zi-Les-e
Z.	s.	iNkomo (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
	p.	iziNkomo	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile
M.	s.	luGoye (<i>piece-of-bark</i>)	lwa-Se	ba-lu-Rer-ere
	p.	tsinGoye	tse-Se	ba-tsi-Rer-ere

G.	s.	oluGoye (<i>cloth</i>)	lwa-Nge	ba-lu-Les-e
	p.	ēnGoye	za-Nge	ba-zi-Les-e
Z.	s.	uluTi (<i>stick</i>)	lwa-Mi	ba-lu-Let-ile
	p.	izinTi	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile
M.	s.	kikiNdu (<i>thing</i>)	kya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
	p.	bibiNdu	bya-Se	ba-bi-Rer-ere
G.	s.	ekiNtu (<i>thing</i>)	kya-Nge	ba-ki-Les-e
	p.	ebiNtu	bya-Nge	ba-bi-Les-e
Z.	s.	iNto (<i>thing</i>)	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
	p.	iziNto	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile

It will be noticed that the Ganda possessive has everywhere *-Nge* as its pronoun (e.g. 'of-me'), against the corresponding Zulu *-Mi*. The Zulu, however, also has a particle, *Ngi* (meaning 'I' or 'me'), but used there, not in possessive, but solely in verbal formations, as a personal pronominal prefix (thus, *ngi-m-Let-ile*, I-him-brought-have; *u-ngi-Let-ile*, he-me-brought-has). Contrariwise, the Zulu personal pronoun (absolute), *Mina* ('I' or 'me')—no longer *Ngi*, as in the verbal forms—reappears in the corresponding *Mimi* ('I') of the Giriyama and *Mino* ('I') of the Pokomo (both on the coast of Kenya Colony—see also the interesting mythological affinities with these Giriyama and their Kamba neighbours on pp. 57-59), and also of the Swahili (on the coast of Tanganyika Colony).

Again, in the examples with 'stone' (above), the Ganda shows an apparently more recently evolved singular prefix, *ej-*, of which Pilkington³⁶ remarks: "The singular prefix seems to have been 'li'; but this does not occur in many words of this class". This older and original form, *li-*, would bring the Ganda at once into line with the Zulu prefix, *ili-*, for the same class. Also it would bring both into line with the neighbouring Nyoro, where the singular prefix is given by Maddox³⁷ as *eri-*. Strange to say, in Nyoro this prefix *eri-*, has become more recently abbreviated into a long *ī-*, exactly as the corresponding Zulu prefix, *ili-*, for the same class, has, during the last century, become abbreviated likewise into a long *ī-* (thus, original *iliTshe*, stone, is nowadays pronounced *īTshe*).

We notice also that the locative nounal prefix, *e-*, supposedly peculiar to Zulu, turns up again in the Nyanza speech (e.g. Ganda, *eMengo*, at-Mengo).

Similarly in Ganda the curious Zulu 'dummy' verb, *ukuTi*, reappears with exactly the same form and the like meaning. It occurs also in Nyanja; but there it may, or may not, be a Ngoni-Zulu importation. We think, however, that this verb may be a grammatical phenomenon originally common to all Bantu speech. Something similar appears even in certain Negro languages of Guinea.

Numerous other linguistic resemblances between the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) speech and that of the Gandas, Masabas and other Nyanza and Kenya Bantu, will be easily noticed upon perusal of their several grammars and dictionaries.

Turning now from linguistic to sociological, cultural and physical comparisons, we have, alas! no such comprehensive comparative survey before us as that supplied by Johnston's Bantu vocabularies; but from what we have been able to discover, it seems to us that not only the nearest linguistic relatives of the Ngunis are to be found among the Nyanza tribes, but also their sociological and cultural.

Sir Harry Johnston³⁸ has stated that "in culture, customs, warfare weapons, the Zulu recalls by many traits the Nilotic Negroes of Eastern Africa (Masai) and the Gala aristocracy (Bahima) of the Victoria Nyanza". We have come to the conclusion that (considering the time at which it was made) this was a very shrewd remark. It agrees entirely with our own independent observations, wherein, both by reading about and by personal investigation among the Kavirondo and other peoples of the Nyanza region, we have always been struck by the many characteristics noticeable there which are strongly reminiscent of the Zulus.

In the north-western corner of Uganda stands Mount Elgon. On the western side of the mountain are settled the *Masaba* (or *Gesu*) tribe. Though they speak a Bantu language, which Johnston³⁹ thought might "perhaps claim to be the nearest living approach to the original Bantu mother-tongue", they themselves do not appear to be pure Bantu, but an ancient cross between the earliest Bantu arrivals in those parts and certain aboriginal dwarfish Negroes then there resident. They are a degraded, simian-like type, with prognathous jaws, strongly projecting superciliary arches, low brows, flat noses, long upper lips, receding chins and stumpy stature; in a word,

as Johnston observes, they give considerable justification for the term, 'ape-like men'. Johnston⁴⁰ regarded them as "the most primitive and fundamental Negro race of the continent (of which the Congo Pygmies are a branch)".

Though the speech of the Masabas is so nearly akin to that of the Gandas and the Zulus, their customs diverge considerably, perhaps because more primitive and hybrid. Even so, we note many practices which remind us of the Zulus. Their huts, though low-walled and conically thatched (therefore more like those of the Xosa Ngunis than those of the Zulus), have their floors regularly smeared with the dung of their cows (Zulu fashion), of which they possess a few. Goats are their staple stock, and from their skins (as did the Zulus) they manufacture cloaks (*Z. isiPuku*). The girls wear in front a small apron (6 inches by 3) of fibre (and so resembling the original frontal *isiGégé* of the Zulu girls), or of string-fringe (again resembling the Zulu girl's *isiHeshe*). When a child is born, the navel-cord and placenta are buried near the hut (those of the Zulu being buried within it). Twins, after the manner of those parts (but contrary to Zulu practice) are welcomed. Boys, with faces and bodies smeared with red clay (in place of the white clay of the Ngunis), are circumcised in normal Nguni fashion (having the foreskin simply pulled taut and then snipped off). The girls are also 'initiated'—but with the gift only of a number of 'keloids' (hard lumps of flesh, which form after the healing of lacerations). Their food consists mainly of millet, beans, a kind of 'pea' (perhaps the voandzeia earth-pea, the *iNdlubu* of the Zulus), bananas, and, in more recent times, maize and sweet-potatoes. We hear nothing of the Zulu *amaSi* (sour milk curds). Their fields are cultivated with a digging-stick, beer being first poured on the ground to secure the favour of the 'earth-spirit' (comp. Zulu *Nomkubulwana* rites, chap. 16) and offerings made to that spirit when the crop is ripe. After marriage the women wear a girdle (comp. the *isiFóciya* or waist-band of the Zulu women), to which is attached behind a length of fibre cords which, passed between the legs, are tied to the girdle in front; but when the lady becomes a widow (and is presumably on sale again), she burns her girdle, and appears in public in complete birth-day attire. Polygyny is practised, and marriage is within the tribe (endogamous), but outside the clan (exogamous), all 'gentiles' being strictly tabu: all which (except the clan

exogamy) is contrary to Nguni custom. Both men and women relieve the body of all its hair by shaving; which (except for the retention of the face hair) the Ngunis also like to do. Their religion is, fundamentally, on the Nguni system, with variations. Their dead live still as family-spirits, and a large stone is placed near the hut-door of the deceased, providing him with a new and 'eternal' residence. This 'temple' (unknown to the Ngunis) is termed an *Mboge*, and is regularly provisioned with beer and foodstuffs—which last the Zulus also do, but place the beer in the back part of the deceased man's hut. Certain of these ancestral spirits become apotheosized into minor special 'gods' (unknown to the Ngunis), controlling small-pox and other such plagues. The greatest of all of them has been raised to the supreme dignity of 'creator', and so is comparable with the *uNkulunkulu* of the Zulus, and probably was, like him, the tribe's great-great-ancestor. He is by them, quite appropriately, named *Kubumba* (the signification of which in their language, we do not know; but in Zulu, the verb, *ukuBumba*, means 'to-mould or form-out-of-clay'). Like the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*, this *Kubumba* also is rarely worshipped, mainly (among the Masabas) at the initiation of the boys and in times of sickness.⁴¹

But the Masaba next-door neighbours are infinitely more interesting as a study. For near by dwell the Kavirondos;⁴² and these Kavirondos are an intriguing puzzle. They are divided, geographically and linguistically, into two distinct tribes—one beside the Victoria Nyanza, about Kisumu (hence called the Southern Kavirondo); the other further north, near Mt. Elgon (hence called the Northern Kavirondo). All alike subscribe to the same tradition that they originally descended from some north-westerly locality (Nile region). European authorities agree with this, some relating them to the Nile Baris and Shilluks, others to the Dinkas of the Sudan, others, again, deriving them from the region of Lake Rudolf. Themselves they claim relationship with the Masai.

But while both Kavirondo divisions have similar traditions as to origin and similar, though not identical, customs, each speaks a language entirely foreign to the other. The southern or Nyanza section speaks an obviously Nilotic tongue, which Stigand likens to the Bari; hence these are usually termed *Nilotic* Kavirondos. The northern or Elgon section, on the

contrary, speaks a Bantu tongue of the purest mould and of the Masaba pattern; hence these are usually termed *Bantu Kavirondos*. Speaking of these latter, Hobley asserts that, physically, they are typical Bantu, and Shruballs says that, anatomically, they are indistinguishable from the latter. And yet their supposedly Nilotic relatives on the Victoria Nyanza regard a 'Bantu' damsel as beneath their notice and would never dream of marrying her. Ourselves we sometimes wonder whether the northern or Elgon fraternity are really 'Nilotic' and really 'Kavirondo' at all; whether they are not and always have been, as speech and face and bones attest, purely Bantu, possibly in earlier times subjected by or intimately associated with the more genuinely Nilotic Kavirondos on the Nyanza. They could certainly never have been subjected by the Masaba, whose language they speak; nor, we think, by any other Bantu tribe at present in their vicinity. Yet there *may* have been such a Bantu conquest (of the Nilotic intruders), and large-scale physical intermingling with them, in the distant past, followed by a later migration away of the whole conquering Bantu tribe. Had our migrating Ngunis any finger in this pie? Or have the following observations by Purvis⁴³ any bearing on the problem?

"There is undoubtedly something more than legend," he writes, "in the story that long ago a vast body of people, probably Gallas [why Galas? We notice nothing 'Gala' here in speech, customs or physique], led by two brothers, came from the east and settled for a time at Masaba. Here they discussed the direction of their further wanderings, and it was finally decided to go off north-east.

"At Bugondo, a large hill in the Teso country, overlooking Lake Kyoga, and from which can be seen the countries of Usoga, Unyoro and Uganda, there are pits pointed out from which the Natives declare these early wanderers quarried the ore with which to provide iron for their weapons.

"After a stay at Bugondo, it was agreed to separate. The elder brother, Lukudi, crossed Lake Kyoga and took possession of Unyoro; while Kintu crossed to Usoga, where he settled his nephew, and then went on to Uganda, where his name is still well known in connection with legends dealing with the beginning of things in that country.

"Probably large numbers of the Negroid Natives of Masaba joined the Hamitic invaders and went off with them westward, whilst *other Bantu Negroids are said to have gone off independently towards the south, settling throughout Kavirondo and still further south* [our italics]; and some few more daring spirits . . . crossed Lake Victoria to Uganda.

"Certain it is, there seems a wonderful relationship, which can scarcely be wholly due to the similarity of construction that exists in all Bantu tongues, between Lumasaba and Lukavirondo and Lusukuma [i.e. their languages] towards the south, and between Lumasaba and Lugwere (old Usoga), Lunyoro and Luganda."

We know that this story is usually presented by Ganda historians as an explanation of *Ganda* origins. But there may be something more in it than that—something that *might* have a bearing also on Kavirondo and (dare we say it?) even on *Nguni* origins. Anyway, there must be some explanation as to why these northern (reputedly 'Nilotic') Kavirondos possess a 'Bantu' physique and a 'Bantu' tongue; and, further, why they should show, sociologically, so many likenesses to our Ngunis. What was it that moved Sir Harry Johnston (in his statement mentioned a few paragraphs back), from among all the hundreds of other Bantu tribes, to select the 'Zulus' (i.e. Ngunis) for his assertion that "in culture, customs, warfare weapons, the Zulu recalls by many traits the Nilotic Negroes of Eastern Africa and the Gala aristocracy of the Victoria Nyanza"? Perhaps the reader will be better able to find the answer after considering the sociological comparisons we shall offer between the (supposedly) Nilotic Kavirondo and the Bantu Ngunis. Unfortunately, only those familiar with the life habits of these Ngunis will be able to detect the similarity continuously occurring in the customs of the Kavirondo, and therefore to appreciate the value and significance of that fact to the full. However, for the benefit of the uninformed we may say that every Kavirondo custom instanced below is equally a custom of the Zulus—save only *those enclosed within brackets* [].

The Kavirondo tribe is, like that of the Ngunis, made up of several clans, each clan having its own special clan-name (Zulu, *isiBongo*). Hobley, we are glad to note, sees in these clan-names *no* imaginary totemism (as so many others, less well

informed, are wont to do), but simply (and quite rightly, we feel sure) the names of founder chiefs.

The clan divides itself into families, each family residing in its own separate kraal, as with the Ngunis. Such is the Kavirondo practice still in vogue; but nowadays it marks mainly the higher grades of society—[among commoners, several separate families may reside together in a single large kraal or 'village']. Each such separate kraal (also village) is independent of the rest, all inmates therein being subject to the kraal-head, who, in association with the other older men in the establishment, administers justice, inflicts penalties, and generally controls the affairs of the whole. From his judgment lies an appeal to the clan-chief. [Trial by magic-water ordeal is practised]. Punishments, even for homicide, are almost always stock-fines.

A Kavirondo kraal of the really national type (as evidenced in the homes of the aristocracy) consists of a number of huts each the dwelling of a separate wife and her children) arranged in a circle and surrounded externally by a high circular hedge, generally of euphorbia, aloes or thorn-bush. The principal hut is at the top of the kraal or circle, immediately opposite the kraal-entrance (away at the lower end of the kraal). [The outer hedge in some kraals is replaced by a wall of mudwork, with an entrance-way consisting of an arch of mud. This method, we think, though itself ancient enough, may be of more recent foreign importation among the Kavirondo]. [In the villages of the inferior classes, where several families reside together, the huts are arranged in irregular bunches, each bunch representing a separate family and being surrounded by its own private hedge. A great external hedge then encloses the whole cluster]. In all cases, unmarried men and adult girls have special separate huts of their own.—We may here remark that, among the Ngunis proper, 'kraals' *only* are known (i.e. separate single-family settlements); but among the Konis (i.e. Sutoid Ngunis) 'villages', even large 'towns', exist.

In the centre of the circle of huts (that is, in the centre of the kraal) stands the cattle-fold, itself again surrounded by a hedge. [In many of the inferior villages, however, the cattle-fold, though still in the centre of the whole, remains itself unhedged]. The cattle-fold is the favourite sitting and assembly place of the men.

The huts themselves are not of the Zulu type; but they are, strangely, of identically the same style of architecture as the huts of some of the South African Chwana (Koni) tribes. They are circular, with wattle-and-daub walls four feet high, surmounted by a thatched conical roof resting upon a central pillar, the roof extending beyond the wall beneath so as to form a poled veranda all round the hut. The hut inside is not one single room, as with the Ngunis. Entering the doorway, one finds oneself in a narrow passage with a mud wall (or one of wicker-work) on either side, partitioning off two compartments, one for the storage of pots and the grinding of grain, the other a pen for small stock (goats, sheep and calves), like the *iTómbe* of the Zulus. Proceeding along the passage (four or five feet long), one emerges into the larger rear portion of the hut, where are the cooking and living quarters of the family. [Some huts have the small stock-pen partitioned off at the back of this living compartment.] Hides are strewn about the floor for sitting and sleeping on.

To all appearances, the Kavirondo are Bantu, much more like the Zulus than are most of the east, central and western Bantu peoples, and are of about the same average height (5ft. 6ins. to 5ft. 8ins.), though, we think, hardly so robust. Johnston⁴⁴ says they are "as a rule, a handsome race of negroes, exhibiting sometimes, especially among the men, really beautiful physical proportions and statuesque forms."

[At an early age (some say, at 8 or 9 years; others, at puberty), boys and girls have the two middle lower incisors (in the Nilotic section, four or six lower teeth) knocked or pulled out. Their own explanation of this is that, if it were not done, they would stand the risk of dying 'in warfare'. Ourselves we suspect that 'dying of tetanus' were nearer the original truth, that disease being particularly prevalent among the Masai, their reputed relatives; and was so among the Kavirondo in former times].

The ear-lobe is pierced, and a large ear-ring of some kind worn.

In some parts (? clans) the hair is worn in long dangling strings, like a mop and smeared with red clay. In others, it is kept normally cut and left uncoloured.

The females (as they say, 'for luck') affect lines of 'dots' cut in the skin across the abdomen, and sometimes also the

chest. The flesh, in this operation, is slightly lacerated, then irritated by some medicament, till it finally heals into a small hard lump. Slits across the forehead are also worn, as charms against death in warfare.

[The afterbirth is buried, not (as with the Zulus) inside the hut, but just outside the doorway. Further, twins are welcomed as lucky; whereas with the Zulus, they are so unlucky that one of them was invariably 'removed'].

Some clans circumcise (at 15-16 years of age); others do not.

All sexes and all ages have small reluctance to exposing the *pudenda* unabashed to public gaze. Utilitarian and decorative 'frills' are often however appended. Thus, the men affect cloaks, made of civet-cat, sheep or goat skin. This garment is worn by the married hung over the shoulder and left dangling down the side; by the unmarried, hanging from the neck down the back, with the front exposed. All which is very reminiscent of the practice among the Xosa Ngunis.

The men are partial too to coils of iron wire and bracelets on their limbs, and on their heads above the forehead circlets of hippo-ivory, as well as large bunches of feathers. One is tempted to wonder whether there may be any relationship between these ivory 'head-rings' and the black polished 'vegetable-ivory' head-ring worn by the Zulus. Furthermore, they like to whiten their legs with white clay; [and on festal occasions they manufacture hats three feet high].

Beads having cheapened in these latter times by importation, a waist-belt of such appeals strongly to both sexes. The Kavirondos themselves do not make beads; but the Bantu Kavirondos (i.e. the Elgon group) do what is easier and better—they just pick them up out of mother-earth, pretty blue beads of crystalline material. Who was the generous sower? Says Johnston:⁴⁵ "These beads, and the custom of building clay walls with arched doorways round their villages" [and, he might have added, those little clay oil-lamps too] "may possibly indicate that in ancient times representatives of a superior, not wholly negro, race may have come down from the north, and have dwelt as traders, miners or settlers in these countries to the south of Mount Elgon. We know by the Egyptian paintings and bas-reliefs that they had sufficient trading intercourse with the countries of the Upper Nile and the Western Sudan

to have derived thence specimens of the Congo [or may it have been of Johnston's 'Masaba'] Pygmies (who, according to the traditions of the negroes of the Congo watershed, formerly dwelt in large numbers in the Bahr-al-Ghazal forests), chimpanzees and perhaps monkeys. It would indeed be surprising if the powerful dynasties which arose in Egypt and Nubia from time to time during something like 4,000 years had made no attempt to increase the commerce of their country in the direction of the Black Man's Country."

[As for the females, the Nilotic Kavirondo ladies are more in accord with the modern 'advanced' views of their European sisters than are the Bantu Kavirondo—they wear less clothing. With them, the married lady wears a gown consisting of a rolled-up fringe of papyrus fibres (6-7 inches long), gathered tightly together at one end and so suspended behind, where it falls like a thick compact tassel between the buttocks, the pubes being left exposed. The Bantu Kavirondo lady, on the other hand, while wearing the tail-tassel, conceals the *pudenda* behind a small apron of leather embroidered with beads or made as a fibre-string fringe (resembling that of the girls). It is said to be a serious misdemeanour for any man, even the husband, to handle this sacred veil profanely—penalty, one goat]. The unmarried girls, everywhere alike (but only when in 'full-dress'), don a tiny apron, 6 inches by 3, consisting of a fringe of papyrus or banana fibres, suspended in front; with the rear unburdened with a tail. MacQueen,⁴⁶ however, says that some Kavirondo men have actually advanced to a real Zulu *ĩBéshu*—"on behind, an apron of deer-skin as large as a handkerchief". The Zulu sporran does not seem to have reached them yet. Johnston's⁴⁷ illustration depicts such a young Kavirondo man attired in this *ĩBéshu*, and a Kavirondo maid wearing a Zulu *isiGégé* or *isiHeshe* (pudendal apron).

The Kavirondos, like the Ngunis, are a people at once pastoral and agricultural, and labour is generally divided similarly with both. Boys and youths attend to the cattle; girls, to the fields and homes (fetching firewood and water). Females are strictly prohibited from herding and milking; though they may clean the milk-vessels. Men and women work together in the fields; as, indeed, they do also with *some* of the Ngunis, though among the Zulus the men regard all field-work as beneath their dignity, a male habitually engaging in such

labour being regarded as effeminate, which with them is no compliment. Kavirondo and Zulu alike dearly love felling a tree, and are consequently equally expert at forest and bush destruction, [the Kavirondo making a bonfire of the wood].

Cattle, sheep, goats, fowls and dogs are their domesticated animals; and of these, especially of the cattle, they are inordinately proud. The Kavirondo cattle are of a short-horned, but humped variety. [A cow is slaughtered by a deft blow with a club on the back of the skull]; goats, by suffocation, the snout being seized and firmly held till the beast expires. Women do not eat fowls, nor goats and sheep.

The staple food-plants of the Kavirondo are sorghum (Kafir-corn), ground into meal for food; spiked millet (*Z. uNyawoti*) and eleusine coracana grain (*Z. uPoko*), used for brewing beer; nowadays maize; and in smaller quantities beans, peas (? *voandzeia*, *Z. iNdlubu*), sweet-potatoes and sesamum (*Z. uDonqa*). [from which latter oil is extracted and burned in little clay lamps almost identical with those of Ancient Egypt and Rome, undoubtedly an importation from the north]. Although the Kavirondos call their sorghum *muTama*, and the Zulus call it *amaBele*, yet, among the Kavirondos, a man with a rich crop or harvest of the grain is called an *oBele* (a word obviously of the same origin as the Zulu term).

When the corn is in ear, the contents of a goat's stomach is scattered about the field to ward off blight and hail—reminding us of the Zulu practice of 'crying for the corn' (*ukuKálela amaBele*). The grain is gathered in baskets (like the Zulu *iQoma*) and stored unthreshed in huge gourd-shaped baskets like the Zulu *isiLulu*, raised from the ground upon a platform [and covered with a pointed roof of grass, which is bodily removed when grain is required].

Hemp (*Z. iNtsangu*) is grown, and smoked in gourd-like hubble-bubbles of the East African model (and therefore unlike the Zulu cow or antelope horn, which follows the Bushman usage). Tobacco too is now cultivated, snuffed by the men, and smoked by the women in orthodox Xosa long-stemmed pipes.

Males eat alone; women after the men—all religiously washing their hands before the meal and rinsing the mouth after. Food is served in small baskets (*Z. iMbenge*). Sorghum

millet and milk-curd (*Z. amaSi*) provide their main foodstuffs. Meat is indulged in only on ceremonial and festive occasions.

[Whether the canoes account for their fish-eating, or the fish-eating for the canoes, we cannot say; but the Kavirondos both possess canoes and eat fish (the first unknown, and the second anathema, to the Zulus). But they do not shine as oarsmen. To make amends, they do shine as bridge builders, being, as Johnston affirms, the "best suspension-bridge builders in the (Uganda) protectorate." They catch their fish in the same long conical wicker-traps as are used by the Zulus for trapping small game.

Pottery-making, in red and black clay, is the women's job. Many of their pots are identical in shape with the Zulu *amaKamba* pots; but the larger pot (resembling the Zulu *uPiso*) has its long-necked mouth, not straight up as with the Zulus, but slightly curved outwards. They use the ordinary Zulu grass-ring as pad for carrying the pots upon their heads.

The familiar Zulu grass-plaited baskets are common in Kavirondoland. And the Zulu basketry and mat-work are, we know, largely duplications (we do not say copies) of the same things as found in Ancient Egypt.

We believe the Nilotic Kavirondo smiths are nowadays (as are the Zulus) merely forgers, probably lacking the iron-ore; but their Bantu brothers at Mount Elgon are well acquainted with the smelting art (as were the Zulus), getting their ore from the local hills. Their bellows, moreover, unlike those used by the Hereros, are exact replicas of those of the Zulus.

When the Kavirondo youth has nothing better to do, it organizes a regular old-fashioned Zulu *iJadu* dance, which brings together the boys and girls of the different clans for courting purposes, with a view to intermarriage.

Wine, women, war: that is the eternal triangle of these primitive folk. So it comes about that the Bantu Kavirondo have the reputation of being, like the Zulus, sturdy warriors. Their assegais or spears, as with the Zulus, are, some, long-bladed (without blood-channels); others, short. They also carry wooden clubs, [and use bows and arrows (which the Zulus do not)]. Their shields are of the Zulu pattern, made of thick leather, and long ovals in shape with a boss for the handle, but

none of the horizontal Zulu slits. After killing an enemy, a man must go through a process of purification and fortification, an important element in which is, that he must reside in an old woman's hut and wear strips of skin round head and wrists (*Z. amaMbatá*); all in complete accord with Zulu custom.

The Kavirondos, judged by Negro standards, have the reputation of being sexually more moral than most other tribes. Yet the usual Zulu intercourse (*Z. ukuHlobonga*) is permitted between youths and their sweethearts, the latter betaking themselves to the former at night-time. [Girls are said to be betrothed so early as 6 or 7 years of age, and to go to their husbands at 10 or 11—which, we think, must mean at puberty]. Bride-price, 10 to 15 head of cattle, is paid for a wife. The love-sick swain employs a male friend to do the bargaining with the father-in-law. With the latter's consent, the prospective bride is escorted by her girl-friends to the young-man's home, where she remains 10 days, singing and dancing being the order of the day. Thereafter the bride's-maids escort her back home, and there she remains until the bride-price is complete. This done, the bridegroom builds a hut in or about his father's kraal, and the bride is brought over and enters in without further ceremony; all which is somewhat similar to the Zulu course, though not nearly so elaborate as is the Zulu wedding. [As a mark of her higher status, the young wife now assumes a 'tail'. The penalty of adultery (on the part of the wife) is death; and, says Johnston,⁴⁸ "it was thought a shameful thing if a girl was not found a virgin on her wedding day"; which reminds of the customary examination by her mother of a Zulu bride.

All sickness is attributed either to some evil man or to some irate ancestor. But, like the Zulu, the Kavirondo is well armed with effective means for confounding all their knavish tricks—not by medicine alone, but also by magic. The Zulu practice of *ukuBetélela* (fixing up charmed sticks about the kraal) is one of his favourite weapons against thieves; equally so the Zulu practice of *ukuTéleza* (the sprinkling or placing of magical medicaments about the kraal), which will deprive the evil-one of his power or his poisons of their strength, and so render his efforts futile or his capture easy.

When a family-head is about to die, he names one of his sons as his heir. Should he fail to do this, the elders of the clan

will do it for him. Property in the lower-class families is simply divided equally amongst all surviving sons. A mere female can inherit nothing; not even herself.

After death, the corpse is contracted into a sitting posture and wrapped up in the hide of a sacrificial ox, [portions of whose flesh are placed at the four corners of the grave]. [The body is laid in the grave on its right side]. Elders are buried inside their huts (as is *sometimes* done also among the Ngunis); younger people, outside, beneath the veranda of the hut. A kraal-head, however, is buried, not lying on his side, but in a squatting posture (as with all Zulus). [But more than that, his head is left projecting above the ground, and so remains, covered by a cooking-pot, until the ants have cleaned it of flesh, or it has otherwise dried up. Then it is removed and buried outside close to the hut. Later his bones are dug up] and buried (as with certain Nguni clans) in some sacred burial-grove.⁴⁹ In connection with this gruesome head-exposure burial, read the account (on p. 716 of this book) of an exactly similar burial occurring in modern Zululand, the only instance we have ever heard of there.

A general wailing proclaims the demise to the neighbourhood. Then, after the burial, the relatives of the deceased shave their heads, and the females bind a band of banana fibre round head and waist, retaining it there for a year, then burning it and replacing it with a new band of papyrus fibre, the same to be worn for another year: all which is practically identical with the Zulu custom.

The family relies for its well-being on the old man none the less now that he has gone over to the *amaFwa* or ancestral spirits (*Z. amaDlozi*—but note *en passant* the similarity of this Kavirondo root, *Fwa*, to the Nguni root, *Fá*, die; which *Fa*, among the Lala Ngunis, actually did become changed to *Fw* (e.g. *umFwana*, boy, instead of Ntungwa Nguni *umFana*). The family keeps in constant touch with him in spiritland by sacrifice and prayer. Cattle and goats are the ambrosia in his Hades, and with these he is piously provided. Naturally they cannot be forwarded direct; [so they erect an altar, in the shape of a heap of stones (comp. *Z. isiVivane*, see Index, under V) placed near the hut, and the blood of the sacrificial beast is poured thereon as a libation]. This presumably he 'licks', as the Zulu ancestral spirit does its 'meat' offering.

But there was no Olympus without its Zeus. So, just as the Zulus have their *uNkulunkulu* (or Great-great-One, the creator of mankind), the Kavirondos likewise have their *Nyasi* (or Supreme One). [And since their great men are all deposited in sacred woods, so Nyasi has his abode, not like Zeus on a mountain-top, but up a large tree. Northcote,⁵⁰ however, tells us that the Kavirondos also 'worship the sun, apathetically'; which again (see oil-lamps, above) suggests contacts with Ancient Egypt].

And here, in conclusion, we come to our major point, namely, the *practical identity throughout of Kavirondo and Zulu life customs and beliefs*. So much so that, personally, we feel convinced that we are right here, among these Kavirondos, in touch with our Zulus' ancient relatives up north prior to their migration to the south.

And it may be noted too that, wherever the Kavirondo custom diverges from the Zulu, it inclines towards, or identifies itself with, that of the Masabas. Which, in turn, provokes the thought as to whether these Kavirondos, despite their 'Nilotic' name, may not have supplied the missing 'Bantu' element in the mixed Masaba-Pygmy make-up.

Turning now to some other of the Nyanza tribes, every traveller among the Tuis (Himas of Ruanda) will have been struck by their kraal-system as almost more 'Zulu-like' than that of the Kavirondos. Had we been able to find a complete account of these people, we believe an equally impressive budget of Zulu resemblances could have been presented, as has been the case with the Kavirondos. The Ganda and Nyoro ethnographies, again, are loaded with many customs very close to those of the Zulus.⁵¹ As an eloquent instance, turn to the account (p. 561) of the Ganda wedding ceremonies and compare them with those of the Zulus described in the immediately preceding pages, noting the large number of striking similarities, many of them positive identities. Numerous other examples will be encountered throughout the book. Take, again, the Nyoro term, *Ise-nkuru*, signifying 'ancestor'. This is simply the Zulu *uYise-mkulu*, 'great-father' i.e. grandfather. Furthermore, it is obviously none other than the *omuKuru*, ancestral-spirit, of the Hereros, and the *uNkulunkulu* (= *uNkurunkuru*), great-great-ancestor, of the Zulus. And just as the 'Supreme

One' among the Herero *ovaKuru* (ancestral spirits) becomes specifically known as *kaLunga* (= *Z. uNkulunkulu*), so among the baIla (on the Kafue, north of the middle Zambezi) "there is [apart from and above all the private family ancestral-spirits] one divinity, named *buLongo*, who is revered by all the Ba-Ila;"⁵² and who reappears (mostly as *muLungu*) almost everywhere among the Eastern Bantu tribes, right away to the Nikas and Kambas in Kenya Colony.

For not alone in the Nyanza tribes is it that we meet with these likenesses to the Zulu and his ways. Among the Nikas, on the Kenya coast we meet with a fair imitation of the Zulu annual Royal Festival (*umKósi*) unmet with, so far as we know, anywhere else between there and South Africa. Among the Pokomos, their neighbours, we find a word, *Ngojama*—we think the *j* here is that of German missionaries, and equivalent to English *y*—signifying some 'dreaded but mysterious forest beast'; and nowhere else such a word again, until we reach the Zulus in the south, where *iNgónyama* reappears as a 'lion'. Among the Kambas in the same Kenya Colony we find in the kraals "gigantic wicker bottles [?] baskets] which are constructed for storing grain".⁵³ They are called *Keingu*, and resemble a calabash in shape—plainly the local counterpart of the Zulu *isiLulu* (already mentioned). The Kamba girls, we notice, wear diminutive aprons fashioned like a fringe of leathern strips or tassels, and termed a *muChi*; just as the Zulu girl calls her own similar contrivance an *umuTsha* (= *umuCha*). The same people, when hunting, attach to their arrows detachable iron points which remain fixed in the wound, while the shaft falls away. In older days the Zulus too used such detachable javelin-points, called *umPingo*, when elephant-hunting.

Fables too, as well as facts, are sometimes related to each other in Kenya and Zululand. Later on we shall tell of the Zulu 'sky-princess', *Nomkubulwana*, who, when the world was young, taught mankind to plant the millet grain and to brew therefrom good beer, and who now and then still reappears to bring some message to mankind. Herself, say the Zulus, she is 'partly a human-being, partly a wood, partly a river, and partly overgrown with grass'. And the Kenya Kambas seemingly knew her once, even if she may have now deserted their too sophisticated land. "In another place [in Kambaland]", says Hobley,⁵⁴ "there is a legend of an unnatural being which was formerly

seen; one side of this creature was a beautiful woman and the other side was the body of a handsome man."

UNkulunkulu you already know as the great-great-ancestor, the first man, known to the Zulus; who created both them and all the world around. His wife it was who, distraught with the worries of her first-born, sought release by feeding it on a poisonous-looking grain. But the more she fed it thereon, the lustier it throve; and thus was the nutritive value of the millet-grain discovered. Such a 'first-man' or 'creator' the Kambas also have; though nowadays he would seem to have got badly mixed up with the aforesaid 'unnatural being'. Says Hopley,⁵⁵ "the first human being on earth [as far as the Kambas know] was half-man and half-woman; he was called *muKuu* [comp. Herero *omuKuru*], and lived in the *Kibumbulu* district [note the Masaba name, *Kubumba* (already mentioned), for the 'great-ancestral-spirit'], near a hill called *iKuuu*; he brought fire with him to this earth, and was the father and mother of mankind; his progeny found the various foodplants growing wild in the valleys, and they did not know at first how to cultivate the soil." You will observe how this creator of mankind is called *muKuu* (= *muKulu*) by the Kambas and *uNkulunkulu* by the Zulus; likewise, any 'old man or woman' among the Kambas is called *muKuu*, just as the Zulus call their 'grandparent' *uKulu*.

The Zulus, taught by sad experience, had learned that the Bushman was a wily and dangerous little dwarf, surviving largely by his wits. It therefore behoved them to keep always on good terms with him. Whenever a Bushman encountered a Zulu, he was said always to put to him the same question, "Where did you first see me?" Should the Zulu unwisely reply, "Why, I saw you first right here", he had to beware; for by such an insinuation on the Bushman's tiny size, he had given him mortal offence. But had he replied, "Oh, I saw you ever so far away over yonder", then had the Bushman felt pleased and proud, and at once regarded the other as a good friend. Now listen to what the Giriyamas (a little northwards of Mombasa) have to say. "A jinn or demon (*pepo*) called *Katsumbakazi*", says Fitzgerald,⁵⁶ "is said to be occasionally seen. It is malignant, and, being of no great stature, when it meets anyone, is jealous lest it be despised for its insignificant size. It accordingly asks, 'Where did you first catch sight of me?' If the person is

so unlucky as to answer, 'Just here', he is sure to die shortly; if he is aware of the danger, and says, 'Oh! over yonder', he will be left unharmed, and it may be, some good will happen to him." From the presence, even today, of Bushman-like hybrids not far away (just over the Tanganyika Colony border), we may conclude that Bushmen may have once inhabited also the Giriyama country.

The Zulu death-myth, in some form or other, is common enough in those same Kenya regions; but nowhere more closely approaching the Zulu version than among those self-same Giriyamas. The Zulu version is that *uNkulunkulu*, when making men, despatched the chameleon to direct them to live; then later, the gecko lizard to tell them to die. The chameleon, alas! on the way alighted on some *ubuKwébezane* berries, and seeing that they looked good, he wasted his time feasting upon them, instead of obeying his orders. Later reaching his destination, he found that the lizard had already delivered his message, and men had decided to die. Writing of the Giriyamas, "The chameleon," says Fitzgerald,⁵⁷ "was ordered by God [or as they call him, *muLungu*], 'Go, tell the people that they are to multiply, but not die'. But while the chameleon, with his usual slow gait, was departing to go and give (his message), the Mugakha lizard had also heard; but he went off at a run. At last, when he [the chameleon] had arrived where the people were, he said, 'You have been told to multiply, but not to die.' But those people said, 'Well, where were you? We have already been told by the Mugakha lizard [to die], and you too come to tell us falsehoods. Had you been really sent, would you not have come before? Well, we have the word of yonder one, who came and told us first'."

We are fully aware that all these similar legends and similar customs are probably but divers variations of their originals, existent in common among the early Bantu prior to their dispersal. The point we wish to emphasize here is the closeness existing between the versions peculiar to the Uganda-Kenya field and the corresponding versions peculiar to the Zulu Ngunis far away down south. It is this fact that has led us, when seeking Zulu origins, to skip all nearer intervening Bantu peoples (of Portuguese East, Nyasaland, the Congo and Tanganyika Colony) and to fasten on to these Nyanza-Kenya tribes as,

most probably, indicating the region whence, some 500 years ago, the Ngunis set forth on their long migration to the south. It is, of course, possible that the Ngunis picked up a small amount of alien Bantu blood on its way southwards, and given something of its own in return; so that, when at last they got to Bushmanland, they were, in physique, in customs and in speech, as unlike what they had been at the start, as was the (so-called) *waTuta* horde unlike the Zulus whence it sprang, after it had hacked its way back, a hundred years ago, almost to the Victoria Nyanza,⁵⁸ the cradle of its forefathers.

This theory of ours is nothing new; it is almost a century old. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Livingstone⁵⁹ had already written, of the central South-African Bantu, that "the natives universally believe that they travelled hitherward from the north-north-east." Speke⁶⁰ was even nearer to the point when, in 1859, writing of the "Kafirs of the Cape" (i.e. the Ngunis), he definitely stated that they are "supposed to have migrated from the region at present occupied by the Gallas." A magnificent guess insooth, which all subsequent investigation tends to confirm.

Having traced the origin of our Ngunis thus far back to some Nyanza-Kenya region, it may interest our reader if we conclude our quest with a momentary peep into what, we surmise, may have been their still more distant past. After all, Nguni origins are, in the remoter sense, but Bantu origins; and Bantu origins, but Negro. Whence, then, these Negroes?

Let us start right at the bottom of the ladder, say, somewhere between 50,000 and 500,000 years ago, the age, not perhaps of Man's actual birth, but at any rate that of very Early Man; and thence work our way, in imagination, upwards to present things.

Judging by the fossil skeletons dug up by scientists from beneath the present earth-surface, there seem to have been, scattered everywhere about the Eastern Hemisphere during the period just mentioned, several distinct varieties of what were indisputably human beings. These human varieties were of two main types—one, the most primitive, possessing such coarse, ape-like features as to be counted a separate human species, distinguished as that of *Homo primigenius*; the other, more modern, like ourselves, and known as *Homo sapiens*. Of

the first (and presumably the most ancient) type, specimens have been unearthed in Germany (Neanderthal), in England (Piltdown), in China (Peking), in Java (Wadjak), in Australia (Talgai), and even in Southern Africa (Rhodesia). Of the second type, specimens have been unearthed, most largely in France (Aurignacian), and, again, even in Africa (Boskop, Springbok and Oldoway). These several specimens, it must be remembered, do not represent merely single individual human 'freaks', but the existence in those localities of whole 'races' of such mankind. Thus, in Germany not solely a Neanderthal 'man', but a whole Neanderthal 'race'; in Africa, not only a Rhodesian 'man', but a whole 'race' of such; in South Africa, not only a Boskop and Springbok 'man', but a whole Boskop and Springbok 'race'. What became of them all? It were perfectly possible, of course, that some of the types became entirely extinct; but it is obvious that the surviving 'some' must have provided the amalgam out of which was eventually moulded the present species of 'Modern Man', alike in Africa, in Europe and in Asia. Where did they all come from; where was Man's primordial mother-land? We shall confine ourselves here to African Negro man.

The 'man' of Peking (China), the 'man' of Wadjak (Java) and the 'man' of Talgai (Australia) are regarded by Keith and other anthropologists as all closely related human types. Now the fact that this type of Early Man was able to spread itself over from the Asiatic continent on to the island of Java, and from Java on to the other island of Australia, suffices to prove that, in those earlier ages, the configuration of the dry-land surface of the Eastern Hemisphere (and that withal within man's lifetime) was not identical with what it is today: Australia, Java and China *must* at that time have been connected.

But were there perchance, at that period, still other land-connections, since broken up, besides that then joining together China, Java and Australia? Why not? Let us for a moment consider the particular types of people at the present time surrounding the Indian Ocean. We find one same Australoid type of man (distinguished by long wavy hair, black skin, thick lips and broad nose) both on the extreme south of the Indian Ocean (in the aborigines of Australia), and a similar Australoid type opposite it, to the extreme north of that ocean

(in the Dravidian aborigines of Southern India). We find one same Negroid type (distinguished by short woolly coiling hair, black skins, thick lips and broad noses) on the extreme east of the Indian Ocean (in the aborigines of Papua), and a similar Negroid type opposite it, in the extreme west of that ocean (in the aborigines of Africa). What does this immense cleavage in twain of what are indisputably identical races imply? Does it not proclaim that, perhaps at the same period as that in which China, Java and Queensland were joined together, a similar land-causeway *must* have existed also linking up Australia with India, and Papua with Africa? In short, does it not render imperative the existence in earlier times of the supposed continent of *Lemuria*, since become submerged (perhaps due to the same, or even a subsequent, upheaval such as broke up the China-Australia causeway) beneath the waters of the Indian Ocean: an ancient Lemurian continent wherein the mother-race of black-skinned 'Torrid Zone' man was evolved; which in course of time became divided into two (somewhat different) sub-races—an *Australoid* (or proto-Dravido-Australian) and a *Negroid* (or proto-Afro-Papuan)? In due course, these two mother-races spread themselves abroad, the Australoids into India and Australia, the Negroids into Africa and Papua. Then the cataclysm occurred; the central Lemurian motherland became swallowed up by the Indian Ocean, leaving the outposts of the two races stranded where they were, in Australia and India, in Papua and Africa, to provide the *basic* material out of which were evolved our present-day Negro and Dravido-Australian peoples.

Sir Arthur Keith⁶¹ has written: Rhodesian man (of Southern Africa) "nearly answers to the common source from which both Neanderthal and Modern man evolved"; and he describes⁶² the Wadjak man (of Java) as "one which seems to bridge the gap which lies between Rhodesian man and the Australian aborigine", exhibiting "many resemblances to the older and more primitive Rhodesian man on the one hand, and to the Australoid type on the other." Does not all this too presuppose some ancient land-connection between Africa on the one side and Java-Australia on the other?

But when the first batch of those *proto*-Negroid wanderers out from Lemuria arrived in what is now Africa, and there

eventually became isolated from their relatives over the sea (in Papua), there were other diversified types of human beings already inhabiting the African continent. There was the *Rhodesian* race (in Rhodesia); the *Boskop* race (in the Transvaal); the australoid *Cape Flats* race (about Capetown); the *Whitcher's Cave* race (also in the Cape), combining Boskopoid, australoid and mongolian features; the *Springbok* (Transvaal) and *Oldoway* (Tanganyika) race, apparently hamitoid, rather than negroid, in type. What became of them all? What indeed?—unless it was that they provided at least some of, perhaps all of, the basic material out of which were gradually moulded those later African races, of Strandloopers, Bushmen, in part even the Hamites, though in a lesser degree the Negroes (seeing that these last still retain their unaltered likeness to their Papuan cousins). Even before these more recent African palæontological discoveries, Sergi (and later, Elliot Smith) had already suggested that the Hamitic type in Northern Africa may have originated, not (as generally thought) in western Asia, but in eastern Africa. And the since unearthed hamitoid Springbok and Oldoway men would seem to support that view.

The Bantu are, by some, thought to be a race different from that of the Sudanese; indeed, doubtfully 'Negroes' at all. Sir Arthur Keith emphatically denies all that, having stated to this writer that "he does not think one could find physical marks which would separate Bantu-speakers from other African Negroes"; that "he is sure that any differences, if such there be, between Bantu-speaking and non-Bantu-speaking Negroes, will lie upon the surface (face, head, stature, colour, etc.), and not be deep in the anatomy of the body or brain": in a word, that, in his opinion, the Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea peoples form together one physically indivisible 'race'. Nevertheless, there are some who, like Prof. C. G. Seligman, think to discern in the Bantu certain distinguishing traits absent from their relatives in the Sudan and Guinea; and these, they think, are 'hamitoid' in character. Ourselves, we believe that any blood-intermixture (within historic times) between the Bantu and their Hamitic and Semitic neighbours never affected the Bantu *as a race*, but only a few sporadic individuals, families, or ultimately clans; that any hamitoid features (if existent throughout

the Bantu race, *as a whole*) must have been due to an infinitely remoter blood-intermingling between the earliest Bantu ancestors and the aforesaid Springbok and Oldoway men; or, finally (and *most* probably), that any 'finer' (supposedly Hamitoid) features, occasionally noticed even among the Sudanese Negroes, more still among the Guinea, and most of all among the Bantu, have been simply spontaneously developed, and due to the differing effects of different natural conditions—being comparable with similar differences of physical features apparent equally within our own Caucasian race, as, for instance, between Germans, Italians, Indians, and the rest.

Yet there *is* a great and very remarkable difference between the Bantu and the Sudano-Guinea peoples; but it is a *linguistic*, not a physical, one. *That*, and that alone, is the real 'Bantu problem'. The Bantu and the Sudano-Guinea folk are, roughly, equal in numbers; two equal halves of the one same race. And yet, while all the hundreds of Bantu tribes speak one same language (with local variations), each of the hundreds of Sudano-Guinea tribes speaks a language (apparently) radically different from, and unintelligible to, the others (there being no mutual similarities whatsoever). If, then, as we have said, these two peoples are really brothers in the same family, children of the same mother, how did this linguistic cleavage come about? Some European authorities have wriggled out of the dilemma by assuming that the two peoples are *not* one; that the Bantu have a separate origin, physical and linguistic. Anthropologists, however, have definitely proven that this assumption is utterly erroneous; that the two peoples are, physically, absolutely one. Is, then, this difference in speech perchance also an error—a mere matter of surface appearance, rather than one of fundamental fact?

So long ago as 1904, in the Introduction to our *Zulu-English Dictionary*, we suggested that it is. Since then, our comparative study of Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea word-roots and speech-forms has confirmed us in that opinion. In our book on *Bantu Origins: the People and their Language*, we have shown that the *basic elements* of Bantu speech are all

clearly discernible, scattered everywhere about the Sudano-Guinea language-field. We do not say that, in the course of the ages and under the influence of foreign contacts, newer elements of speech may not have become engrafted on the original Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea language-stem. But that alone, we contend, could not explain the profound dissimilarity, nowadays so striking and strange, between the speech of the northern division of the African Negro race and that of the southern.

What, then, *was* responsible for this present state of affairs; how did it all come about—this linguistic heterogeneity in the Sudan and Guinea, and this homogeneity throughout all Bantuland? We can think only of one answer: the Bushmen provide the clue. The Bushmen, you know, from their start ages ago, right onward to the finish, continued ever in the 'hunting-stage' of human development, retained throughout the one same roving life, in innumerable isolated hunting-groups. With what result? With the result of possessing a multitude of equally isolated, radically different languages. In a similar fashion, we think, did the African Negro race, while still in its infancy (somewhere within the equatorial belt, say, 10,000 years ago), break up into numerous independent hunting-bands, each launching forth on its own in a northerly or north-westerly direction, and finally somewhere settling down in permanent isolation from all others throughout hundreds, even thousands, of years. Human thought, and its expression, were naturally more unstable and fluid in those infant days than they now are, old words becoming, under changed conditions, soon obsolete and new ones constantly coined; so that, in course of time, original identities became lost and a multitude of differing speech-forms invented—despite the common origin of the several tribes. Such, we imagine, may have been the cause of the present remarkable diversity of speech among the Negro peoples of the *Sudan* and *Guinea*.

But not the whole of the original Negro race thus dispersed and isolated itself abroad in hunting-groups. Quite half of its members remained where they were, in close and continuous association one with another, in and around the mother-land. These, as a result, preserved their mother-tongue comparatively

unaltered, save by the influences of natural development and tribal expansion. Their language accordingly remained basically one, unto this day; ever growing, of course, but, owing to their continuous universal unity, always along similar lines. *This* was that half of the African Negro race which we nowadays call the 'Bantu'.

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3. A. T. Bryant, *O.T.*, 422 seq.
4. G. W. Stow, *N.R.*, VI.
5. ib. 519.
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9. J. B. Hicks, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 23, p. 218.
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11. G. M. Theal, *P.E.A.*, 176.
12. A. H. Keane, *L.R.M.*, 383.
13. E. Casalis, *B.*, 241.
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18. ib. ib. p. 67.
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20. D. F. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 245.
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22. A. C. Haddon, *W.P.*, 64.
23. D. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
24. A. Schulz, *N.A.*, 394.
25. H. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 623.
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27. H. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 624 fn.; C. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 113, 122.
28. J. J. Monteiro, *A.*, vol. I, p. 137.
29. ib. ib. vol. II, p. 154; H. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 205, 207, 210, 623, 624.
30. R. C. Maugham, *P.E.A.*, 289.
31. D. MacDonald, *A.*, vol. I, p. 137.
32. ib. ib. 76, 89.
33. H. Johnston, *B.S.L.*, vol. I.
34. V. L. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. I, 374.
35. C. Harding, *R.B.*, 120.
36. — Pilkington, *Handbook of Luganda*, 11.
37. — Maddox, *Elementary Lunyoro Grammar*, 12.
38. H. Johnston, *U.P.*

39. A. H. Keane, *L.R.M.*, 383.
40. H. Johnston, *U.P.*, vol. 2, p. 724.
41. J. Roscoe, *G.*
42. H. Johnston, *U.P.*; J. Roscoe, *N.B.*; C. Hobley, *E.U.*; G. G. Northcote, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 58.
43. J. B. Purvis, *M.E.*
44. H. Johnston, *U.P.*, 726.
45. ib. ib. 210.
46. P. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 257.
47. H. Johnston, *U.P.*, 41.
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49. A. T. Bryant, *O.T.*, 159, 317.
50. G. G. Northcote, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 58.
51. J. Roscoe, *N.B.*; J. Roscoe, *B.*; H. Johnston, *U.P.*
52. Edwin Smith, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 20, p. 93.
53. C. W. Hobley, *K.*, 37.
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58. J. H. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 176.
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60. J. H. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 176.
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Chapter 2

They reach the End of the Trail at the End of the Continent
(1600 A.D.)

Africa's Spell! The Lure of the Wilds! To those who have neither felt its spell nor tasted of its sweets, the *Lure of the Wilds* will be as hard to realize, as it is to us to describe. It is an experience of release from all the boredom, drudgery and restraint inherent in civilized life; of repose in a newer world of unfettered freedom and care-free bliss. Back of it all lie the balm and the calm of undisturbed Nature, soothing in its vast solitudes of park-land and prairie, thrilling with the spectacle of majestic roaming beasts, of gorgeous birds and glorious sunsets; while in the foreground stand the lovely forms and idyllic simplicity of Nature's own children, leading still pure Nature's life.

Once upon a time, and that not so long ago, Zululand too was a land with such a lure, well within the range of *Africa's Spell*—that sweet, mysterious call which few travellers can resist; that inscrutable charm from which none seem able to drag themselves away. Even the rude and unsophisticated Arab has heard her seducing voice and succumbed to her enchantment. "Drink once," says he, "of Africa's waters, and you will return to drink again."

What can it mean? Is it perchance that, after all, Africa is Man's birthplace, and its attraction that of home? Or is it that there, in the sunlit solitudes, far from all man-made artificialities and conventions, one feels instinctively the closer presence of that sweet goddess, Nature, mother of all Beauty,

and Peace, and Love; basking there in all her unspoiled loveliness, smiling, alone, enticing, endearing, till, overwhelmed, one must needs surrender to her warm embrace? Is it that here perchance is the dreamland of the poets rediscovered; in whose sylvan glades the pan-pipes of Arcady still sound, real nymphs still bathe, real fauns still roam?

Happy is that youth who, before too late, can spend his joyful days amidst the delights of these idyllic realities, these wild enchantments, which Poussin could but paint and Ovid only sing. Happy we who, blessed with the call, answered it while yet the lure was strong and the spell unbroken! For now that Golden Age is passing apace away, and ere long shall be no more. On that hapless day—long may it be deferred!—when the beauties of Africa's landscape shall have become finally effaced by human industry, its noble fauna exterminated, and its picturesque peoples deformed into the ugliness of civilization, then shall at last be stilled the *Call of the Wilds*, and *Africa's Spell* be broken for ever.

The aborigines of Zululand—last of the fauns, the fighting heroes and the nymphs of the ancient poets—we herein collectively call 'the Zulus'. As a matter of fact, they were members of a score of different clans, with different names, of which the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu) were but an insignificant one; which, however, after conquering the rest, united them all in a single Zulu 'nation', within the Nguni Bantu family.

After a trek 3000 miles in length and half a millennium in duration they had now, at long last, reached their final destination. Not, by any means, of design premeditated; but because the Whiteman came and barred their way to any further progress. So there they were, brought, for better or for worse, to an eternal standstill. Without any doubt, had the way been clear, and in the lapse of time, they had once more gathered up their goods and chattels, and, driven by the force of age-old habit, headed once more into the unknown; urged ever onward by that insatiable longing for the better; drawn ever forward by that undying hope, never to be fulfilled, of ultimately reaching some Paradise overflowing with milk and honey, lured by the mirage of the Promised Land.

This country, this Zululand, of their final destiny, to which they had so long been marching and the last they should ever

call their own, situated in the south-eastern corner of the African continent and lapped by the Indian Ocean, in part (nearer the coast) was park-land, in part (away more inland) was prairie. It rose gradually from the flat-lands along the coast covered with bush, through a varied mixture of lower and higher hills, up to the grassy, treeless plains and downs one to three thousand feet above sea-level. Every variety of landscape was passed on the way—down on the coast, dense jungles lively with monkeys and festooned with climbing plants and carpeted with ferns; next, sandy, palm-covered lowlands; gradually rising to hilly woodlands and open pastures, and finally, a hundred miles inland, to treeless highlands thousands of feet up; and, cutting across and about it all, innumerable dells and valleys twisting this way and that amongst the hills, each with its little stream rushing along the bottom; and occasionally broader, shallower valleys, with sultry climates and overgrown with stunted thorn-bush, leading the greater rivers to the sea.

Down in the sylvan glades of the coast, and all along the low-lying bushy valleys of the greater rivers, the heat was oftentimes enervating and intense, with soil parched, though, when the rain-god favoured, fairly fertile. Fitting home was all this for the more ponderous, indolent fauna—the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, that roamed leisurely through the woods or basked along the rivers. Fitting was it too for the wild-pigs and wart-hogs grubbing, and the leopards and cheetahs everywhere prowling. Away on the more breezy highlands of open grass-veld up inland, the climate was more genial and bracing, and there vast herds of the more agile types—the elands and gnus, kudus and hartebeests, springboks and waterbuck—swarmed in their thousands over the plains, stalked continuously by lions, followed by their parasites, the hyæna, jackal and wild-dog, in their rear.

Though the Zulu was fully aware of the magnificence of this his national game-park—and often fervently (though we cannot say, devoutly) thanked his tutelary ancestor for the gift, whenever his assegai had been favoured in the chase—yet he was all the while wholly ignorant of the wealth of treasure hidden down beneath. Iron and gold, platinum and tin, mica and asbestos, cinnabar (perhaps) and coal, were all there

trodden underfoot as so much dirt—all save the iron, of which a few still held the secret, while all appreciated the worth.

The rainfall of Zululand seems to have been greater and more regular in former times (even 50 years ago, as we remember) than it is today (1930). At present, the average annual rainfall, different in different localities, is said to be about 39 inches, spread over some 120 days in the year; for in Africa the rain is agreeably accommodating, being massed (in Zululand) into a single half-year (the summer months, say, October to March); and when it comes, falling mainly in stormy deluges, that quickly pass away, leaving the rest of the day sunny and clear. The other half of the year (the winter months, say, April to September) is, in the rule, a long, delightful season of unbroken sunshine. And inasmuch as the climate is consistently warm, the average for the year being about 66 Fahrenheit—sometimes, up-country, as low as 28 in the winter, and, on the coast, as high as 120 (even 150 has been recorded) in the summer—the rainfall never seriously inconveniences the Native, despite his being unclothed. The combination of moisture and heat produces a vegetation as varied and luxuriant as any to be found outside the tropics, clothing the land with good pasturage and watering it with abundant streams; and at the same time it renders the climate fairly mild and quite congenial to both man and beast. Almost all his lifetime, the Native can live practically always (save at nights) out of doors, perfectly comfortable and perfectly healthy in the airiest of attire.

Chapter 3

Enter Jomela's Kraal

When we were young, as Carlyle said, 'the history of mankind was the history of its great men'. Such a history (so far as our Zulus are concerned) we have already attempted in another work.¹ In these present times, however, that definition would cover only half the truth. The bloody strife of kings and the wordy warfare of statesmen no longer suffice us. Today we demand that the history of a country be the history of its People, low men no less than great, and tell us the story of *their* pedigree, their struggles and conquests, their life and thoughts and achievements, up from their origins unto their present state. All *that* we may not be able to accomplish here; but some part of it may well be within the range of our endeavour.

What the Zulus were like one hundred years ago 'before the Whiteman came' (say, in Shaka's lifetime), that they continued to be right up to the time of the Zulu War in 1879 (let us say, right up to the time of our own arrival amongst them in 1883). And what they were a hundred years ago, that they were, in all likelihood, even a thousand, for the obvious reason that their primitiveness allowed no further simplification. Then, and largely still, they were mankind reduced to its simplest terms. "Their dwelling, merely a rough binding together of twigs and grass, marked but one step in advance of the cavern. Their single weapon, an indifferently made stabbing instrument, consisting of a crude iron blade fixed in the end of a stick, indicated only the first emergence from the Stone Age. Their dress,

a strip of hide covering the pudenda, with absolutely no knowledge of any kind of cloth, was the simplest advance on the fig-leaf. Their acquaintance with hardly half-a-dozen foodstuffs, all prepared for eating by the merest process of water-boiling, exhibited a culinary art of the most elementary type. Their pottery was almost identical with that of Northern Africa in the days of prehistoric Egypt. That is how we found them a century back . . . Have we any reason to believe they were more advanced than this 6,000 years ago? They could hardly have been less; . . . for this state of life . . . scarcely permitted any further reduction to a simpler standard, at any rate for anything calling itself a human being."² And precisely on that account is their study so alluring.

Peoples grow up, the individual and the mass, like animals and plants; they adapt themselves to their surroundings, and their surroundings make them. It may, or may not, be that—

Man is master of his fate,
He is captain of his soul;

(after W. E. Henley)

but certain it is, he is largely the servant of his environment. *Nolens volens*, primitive man was compelled, and still is, to eat, to build, to dress, to speak, to live, to grow, as that which is around him determines or allows. Whatever his internal lights may be, his means and opportunities are circumscribed by his surroundings, and to them he must conform—or die. Thus has the Zulu been evolved; even as we.

The external forces of his development were chiefly dependent on climate and land. These was it, more than anything else, that determined his food, his habitation, his attire, his physical and mental characters, and numberless other factors in his daily life and being. True, the land of his evolution was not that in which his modern history found him. Yet it was all in Africa; and Africa, *his* Africa, is alike throughout, unchanged through many long millenniums

Enter Jomela,* one of them. Jomela was not a king; merely a respectable Zulu of the higher class. He was the son

* Zulu vowel-sounds are, *a*, as in 'mar'; *e*, as in 'mare'; *i*, as in 'mere'; *o*, as in 'more'; *u*, as in 'moor'. Stress always on the penult.

of Ndongeni, of the Sibiya clan; a subject of Mandondo, the Sibiya chieftain.

And this is where he lived. Solitary, on a broad and gentle grassy hill-slope, stood his kraal. Round as a plate, it was built, as it were, in three concentric circles. A high solanum hedge served as an outer wall; and, immediately inside this, stood a great ring of separated, dome-shaped, grass-thatched huts, all once more encompassing a central arena (wherein a herd of variegated cattle rested) and separated from it by another circular palisade.

Away at the top of the kraal, bathed in the mellow evening sunshine, stood Jomela gazing, his sleek bronze person clad in a girdle of furry dangling tails and crowned with a headring like lustrous polished ebony. With head erect, dignified and proud, he surveyed the tranquil scene, supremely content with all the world, and life. Of aristocratic pedigree, he was wealthy in wives and kine. Each of the seven huts, that stretched like the two arms of a ring, to his right and left, down to the gateway below, represented to him a separate wife and separate family; and each five cows, or less, within the central cattlefold, another potential bride. There he stood, the embodiment of the average Zulu *paterfamilias*; and this was his *domus*, in which he ruled omnipotent.

He did not call his place a 'kraal'; no such barbarous sounds were known in his euphonious tongue. 'Homestead' and 'household' were to him, as to the Roman, one; and he called all, collectively, the place, the huts, the matrons and their families, his *umuZi* (his *domus*).

Scan now, as you stand at Jomela's side, the encircling landscape. The country before you, unevenly flat, with stunted bush in parts and in the background hills, reveals itself for many miles on every side. Studded everywhere about it, variously from a quarter-mile to a mile apart, you see again many such simple homes as his, each like the other, equally round, equally brown amidst the green veld, each accompanied by its cultivated fields, and further away its grazing herds. Each is the *umuZi* (or *domus*) of a separate family-head (or *paterfamilias*) with his separate polygamous family. Each is in itself a tiny city-state, a private village self-complete, building itself, feeding itself, clothing itself, and, for most part, governing itself.

An Englishman's home is his castle. And precisely this was the Zulu's too to him. His was a detached residence situated within its own grounds, always alone, a dot on the landscape, far away from the nearest neighbour. Thus exposed to attack, the home was specially designed to withstand invasion by prowling beast and besiegement by hostile man. Jomela Castle may not have been impregnable; but its outer wall served the purpose right enough of keeping the lions at bay and of providing a rampart not easily breached by hostile man without some risk.

Each and every such scattered homestead, like the villas in Suburbia, had its own distinguishing name, bestowed upon it, oftentimes quite facetiously, by its owner. Thus the unsociable misanthrope might convey his wish to his neighbours by calling his kraal *kwaDeda* (i.e. Deda Kraal, from *Deda*, get-out-of-my-way); while another, with sad experiences of the past, might name his *enTsa-ngiHambe* (i.e. 'Here-today-and-there-tomorrow', from *Sa*, dawn, and *Hamba*, go-away). A Zulu, when asked where he was going, would, as often as not, simply give in reply the name of the kraal—in fact it was politer to do so, everybody being quite familiar with the names of all the kraals in his own neighbourhood. Jomela called his kraal *kwaBantubahle* ('The-place-of-the-lovely-people', from *abaNtu*, the-people, and *ba-Hle*, they-are-nice—the idea being, not that his own family were exceptionally beautiful, but that his kraal, reposing peacefully on a gentle slope with a western aspect, got the full benefit of the mellow glow of the setting-sun, whose golden sheen was proverbially said to make all people look 'nice').

The outer 'wall' (*uTango*) of a kraal, in places where woods were scarce, was usually built of a compact hedge of the thorny bitter-apple (*umTima*, *Solanum sodomæum*), though the dwarf-euphorbia (*umSululu*, *Eu. tirucalli*), as well as the viciously spiked *uSondela-ng'Ange* ('Come-and-kiss-me') trailing bush and some other plants were used. But in the woodlands, a stout stockade (*umMbelo*) generally replaced the hedge; while, practically everywhere, such a stockade enclosed the central circular cattle-fold. These stockades were built of a double row of long poles (some eight feet in length). The poles, in the parallel rows, were fixed in the ground in a slanting position, so that the tops of the two opposite poles

met and crossed each other at about a foot from their top ends. Stout wattles were then laid horizontally along and within the angular 'trough' thus formed by the crossing pole-tops; and, being tightly bound to the latter, so held the whole circle of fencing firmly together.

An elevated site, a hillside or a hillock-top, was usually favoured, as a point of vantage, safer, strategically considered, and, since open to the breeze, cooler and more salubrious. Anyway, always on a slope, however gentle, to facilitate drainage. For there was no artificial drainage in the Zulu house-system, nor any water-storage. So the slope carried the rain away and the river stored it; whither, shortly after, the busy housewife went to fetch it back again. Much less was there any sewerage, the family members 'going outside' (*ukuYa ngaPandle*), as they said, or 'going out on to the veld' (*ukuYa eNdle*), for physiological needs. A friendly clump of bush in the kraal's vicinity was always an acquisition to any home, providing a comfortable and sheltered 'lavatory', leaves and grass supplying apparently perfectly satisfactory 'toilet-paper'. There was also a special spot near by the kraal, outside the fence, which all the inmates recognized as the family urinal (*isiTondo*).

The outer kraal-wall, then, stood circling round like a pair of embracing arms. But the two 'hands' of it did not meet. Between the approaching fingers, was left an open space or kraal-entrance (*iSango*), three or four feet wide, for entry of man and beast. This gateway was constructed by placing two posts on each side of the opening, with a space of three or four inches between the two posts of each pair. Into this space, the ends of a large number of strong wooden cross-bars (*uGogo*), lying horizontally one upon the other, were slipped at night, effectively closing up the entrance-way. Frequently a lintel-pole was laid from side to side across the top of the posts, holding them together and giving the entrance the appearance, so to say, of a square arch.

Entering through this gateway, one found oneself confronted, ten feet or so away, with the circular palisade enclosing the central arena or cattle-fold (*isiBaya*), into which a second gateway, immediately opposite the kraal-entrance, led the way. This central cattle-fold was a clear, open ring, forty feet or more in diameter, usually carpeted with a covering, a foot deep,

of dry, finely crumbled cow-dung, perfectly inodorous and soft and non-adhesive to the tread. It was used also as the family 'hall' for the dances and assemblies occasionally held in the kraal.

Outside and around this central or cattle-fold palisade, right and left from the kraal-entrance, stretched a broad open way or circular courtyard, fifteen feet wide, leading to the upper part of the kraal and having the several family-huts planted along its outer border, with the great kraal-fence beyond the circle of huts. At the top of the kraal, in the central position, stood the biggest and finest of the family-huts (that of the principal wife), often with a smaller private hut alongside (*iLawu*) wherein the *paterfamilias* himself resided.

Roughly speaking, prince and pauper had the same kind of dwelling in this Arcadian kingdom, though naturally in the case of the wealthy, the huts were more finely constructed and the kraal generally kept in better repair. Its palisades were regularly renewed, its huts re-thatched, and its open spaces daily swept and kept tidy. The dirty kraals and dilapidated huts now so commonly met with since 'civilisation' entered the land and, by its allurements and its taxation, drew or drove all the young men away from their homes to work for the Whiteman and his Government, leaving only the women and aged men behind, were much less frequently met with in those 'savage' times.

Let us now approach and inspect more closely Jomela's hut.

One would hardly expect to meet with anything instructive in so rubbishy a structure as a Zulu grass-hut. But the work of man's hand is every time a reflection of man's mind; and if, through the primitive hut, we can obtain some insight into the inner workings of the primitive mind, our study will not have been in vain. Indeed, the intrinsic worth of a tree can hardly be better measured than by the fruit it bears; and as a mental product, we shall find that the common Zulu beehive hut is, all circumstances considered, a quite neat little achievement.

The facility with which the Bantu man constructs a perfect circle, as evidenced in his kraal, his hut, his pottery, has always been a matter of surprise to those who have seen it done. This disposition and ability is, in a large degree, inherited and inborn, in short, instinctive.

The Zulu hut, when completed, presents outwardly a perfectly hemispherical beehive appearance, a dome of thatch neatly bound over a framework of wattles and resting bodily upon the ground, the whole being worked out with a natural sense of strength, symmetry, comfort and health, not perfect indeed, yet certainly surprising.

The method of construction is not easily explained in words; but we will do our best to disentangle the process. First of all, a narrow, circular trench, six inches deep by the same in width, is dug. The building operations are started at the back (*ũFindo*) by inserting a dozen or so of long supple sticks or wattles (*ũTúngo*), already pointed at their thicker lower ends, into the trench, so as to stand upright. Then to these, on their inner side, other wattles are bound, crosswise to the former, yet not horizontally so, but bent into the form of an arch, and with both ends of each stick firmly fixed in the ground within the trench. The first or lowest arc may be six to eight inches broad and rise to a similar height. The second bent stick will rest immediately above and upon the first, and be curved and embedded in the ground in a similar way. If the wattles are sufficient—as they always are when building a first-class hut—they will now succeed one another, bent as before and in close contact, like the fingers of one's hand, without any intervening spaces.

The next step is to form the door-arch (*ĩKótámo*). Two stout wattles are placed upright in the trench where the sides of the doorway will be (of which they will form the 'side-posts') and always exactly opposite the *ũFindo* (rear point of the hut). A small bundle (*ĩPánde*) of thin wattles is then bound to one of the stout 'side-posts', with the ends of the bundle firmly fixed in the earth within the trench. The top ends of the bundle are next bent sharply over and bound in similar fashion to the side-post on the other side of the doorway, thus forming a low archway, usually about two feet wide by two and a half high. Other curved wattles thereafter follow one another, one above the other and close together, as at the back of the hut.

The third step is to fix the 'uprights' of the right-hand side (*isiNina sa-nga-s-ēKóhlo*—called the 'left-hand side' by the Natives, who look from the back of the hut towards the door). In this case, the semicircular or arched wattles, which will be bound crosswise to the uprights, will be placed, not on

the inside of those uprights (as was the case at the back and front), but on their outside. By this device, it will finally work out that these external, arched sticks of the two sides will come to join up with the bent ends of those other wattles, which formed the original external 'uprights' of the back and front, and so come to form, with them, the perfect dome—a rather complicated procedure, that must be seen to be easily understood.

Finally, the uprights of the opposite side (*isiNina sa-nga-kwesokuDla*—the 'right-hand side' to the Natives; left-hand side with us) are set up, and the process repeated as on the opposite side.

For a certain distance up their length, the 'upright' wattles, all round the circle, are allowed to stand erect, so as to form, as it were, a perpendicular wall (*ũQatáne*) all round the hut; but at a height of three or four feet they begin to be bent inwards, at first gently, but higher up more abruptly, ultimately meeting the wattles coming over from the opposite side and being bound together with them to form the roof or ceiling of the hut.

When all is finished, we have before us a perfectly hemispherical, double-domed framework (*ũPáhla*), in which the one dome of wattles rests immediately upon the other, but with its sticks intersecting (not intertwining with) those of the other at right angles. At every such intersection, the pair of crossing wattles is tightly bound together (*Qáza*) with *umTwázi* cord, the knot being placed outside and so kept invisible. With such a strong ligature at every square inch of the entire surface—and even in a moderately sized hut there must be literally thousands of such intersections and bindings—so great a measure of strength and resilience is secured at every point, that the most furious wind-blasts or other pressure fails to make any impression; while, owing to the universal roundness, the wind, from whichever direction it may come, simply glides harmlessly away.

Inside this apparently fragile framework, and according to the width of the structure, one, two, or even three, rows of stout posts or pillars (*iNtsika*), with usually two pillars to each row, are now set firmly upright in the ground within the hut, each row carrying, horizontally laid along its summit, a single

strong rafter, sometimes running from front to rear (*umJanjató*), at others from side to side (*umShayo*), to support the crown or ceiling of the hut and the weight of thatch resting upon it.

Should the inside wattles of the framework not have been sufficient to allow of their being laid close together, and so have left spaces between them through which the untidy thatch might be visible, this was remedied by covering the outside framework all over with matting (*ĩNxadi*). In all cases the whole structure was finally covered with a layer, six to nine inches thick, of long dry grass, laid in a vertical direction and bound to the framework beneath by stout fibres. This thatch was later bound down externally with grass ropes—a number of such ropes (*umJibe*) being fixed to the crown of the hut and then led vertically down the outside of the thatching to the ground, where they were bound fast to the lowest wattles; other similar ropes were then passed horizontally round the hut, bound to the vertical ropes and so holding them in place.

Another system is to omit the ropes and bind down the grass with numerous rows, running horizontally round the hut outside, of pliant sticks (*ĩKwengco*), about two feet long, each end of which, already pointed, is thrust deeply into the thatch and so holds it firmly down.

The best type of hut, however, has the thatch covered outside with rush-matting (*isiHlandla*), lengths of which, a yard broad, are run horizontally round the hut, overlapping as they ascend and held together in place by a single broad mat passing from front to back over the hut-top and so crossing the others at right angles, the whole being finally roped down as before. The whole structure now, when new, presents the appearance of a smooth-surfaced, straw-yellow dome, quite neat and clean to the eye. Such a completed building the Zulu calls an *iNdlu* (or house).

In this style of architecture, doorway and window are one. This consists of an archway in the front of the building, two feet wide by two and a half high, through which one enters head-first with knees bent low. A square unhinged screen of wicker-work—made by intertwining tough forest climbers of cane-like pliancy in and out of several parallel upright sticks—closes the aperture, as door (*isiValo*), at night, being held in place by two upright posts, one on each side of the doorway on the

inside, through which the screen is slid. The numerous interstices between the intertwining canes allow sufficient light for visibility to enter the hut even when the screen is put up during the daytime on account of wind. When the entire family is away from home, the wicker-door is placed in position and fastened from the outside—not against burglars, who were unknown, but that visitors might know the family was out—by means of a strong wooden bar (*isiQobolo*) thrust crosswise through a string loop attached to the centre of the door, and so held fast against the two sides of the doorway.

The external frame now finished, the earthen 'floor' inside having been first duly levelled and watered, a thick top layer of very finely-grained soil taken from a termite-heap was then laid down in a damp state and beaten with heavy pebbles till it flattened out into one level and compact surface. This process of breaking up and rubbing down is repeated over and over again, until all cracks (which constantly reappear in the drying) are finally removed; whereafter the floor is rubbed all over with smaller pebbles, which not only flattens out all remaining irregularities, but at the same time confers a certain glaze. By constant shuffling of the inmates' feet, this gloss becomes gradually worn away, and the floor has henceforward to be regularly smeared (*Sinda*) with diluted cowdung to keep down the dust. The cowdung dries as a kind of cement covering the whole surface, is lasting and easily swept, and, *mirabile dictu*, gives to the dwelling the fresh and agreeable odour of a dairy!

The best kind of hut, however, (for instance, those of the wealthy, and the private-huts of the young-men, as distinguished from the family-huts, wherein the young fry and their mothers live) is furnished with a much superior type of flooring. In this case, beef-fat is rubbed into the already glazed earth, which is then carefully polished again with small pebbles, until it obtains the gloss and slipperiness of deep-black marble, and looks quite fine.

In the centre of the hut floor is made, and glazed as before, a gentle depression, round or oval in shape, two feet wide perhaps by three feet long, and having a raised border all round. This is the fireplace (*ĩZiko*).

At the rear of the hut a similar semicircular raised border is made, forming with the arc of the hinder hut-wall a kind of

elongated oval space. This is termed the *umSamo*, and in it the pots and calabashes of the establishment are neatly stowed away.

It is an amusing sight sometimes to see one of these beehive huts crawling, apparently of itself, over the veld like a huge snail. As a matter of fact, it is a kraal 'removal'. First of all, the soil is cleared away from the foundations, then a number of men, inside and out, lift up the whole framework bodily, with as much of the thatch still left thereon as they can conveniently carry, and off goes the whole structure, with the legs of the inside men moving below, as though the building were crawling along on its feet, and singing as it goes.

The Zulus knew nothing whatever of building in stone, as did the neighbouring Sutus. On the inland frontier, however, among such Zulu clans as were in immediate contact with the latter people, rude wall-building in rough stones (*umTángala*), mostly round the central *isiBaya* (cattlefold), was occasionally met with, in imitation, no doubt, of the adjacent Sutus (see 'Stone building' in Index, Bryant *Bantu Origins*).

Unthinking Europeans are wont to scoff at the absurd simplicity of these poor and primitive dwellings. But we must give the devil his due; for the fact remains that, as an architectural design (and viewed apart from the necessarily poor material employed), the untutored Zulu has succeeded in evolving one of the cosiest, safest and best ventilated types of habitation ever conceived by primitive man. An even temperature is preserved at all times by the thick layer of thatch covering, not only the roof, but also the walls, which keeps the internal atmosphere cool in the intense heat of noonday and warm in the cold of winter and night. Has any simpler and equally effective scheme of central-heating ever been devised? Through the myriad invisible interstices of this all-enveloping thatch, all day long and all night, a perpetual stream of air, so gentle as to be absolutely imperceptible (and yet so strong as to suffice to carry away the smoke from the fire), is passing inwards and outwards in continuous motion. Has a more perfect system of room-ventilation ever been invented? The dome-like form presents the minimum of resistance to the most violent of gales. Has a more efficient form of hut-shape ever been conceived to withstand the strain of furious African wind-storms? The doorway, always widely open all day long, admits

sufficient cool air, and diffused light to enable an inmate to sew or read with ease. True, only the early morning or late afternoon sun ever find direct entrance through so small and low a doorway; but even that is more than the tropical bungalows of Europeans, with their all-encompassing verandahs, ever obtain; while there, in place of the Zulu system of perfect and continuous ventilation, we find only a very perfect system for the creation of continuous draughts! The grand defect in the Zulu architectural design lies, first, in the poor durability of its building material, necessitating almost annual repairs, and, secondly, in its inability to carry off the smoke through the thatch as rapidly as it is sometimes produced by large fires and certain fuel, thus causing the hut to become disagreeably smoky and smelly. But this occurs only in the 'family' huts, where the wife and children reside, each wife in the polygamous family having, as already said, such a hut to herself. In the private huts (*iLawu*), on the other hand, of the kraal-head and of the young men and maidens—each sex of these young people having its own separate hut—where fires are rarely kindled and a minimum of 'furniture' kept, the air remains always pure and fresh.³

We spoke of the architecture just described as though it were a speciality of the Zulus. To be more accurate, this was, we believe, one of the original types of general Bantu habitation; indeed, we might say, one of the very earliest forms of human dwelling. It is, further, one of the many instances we shall meet with in the course of our story which convinces us that, of all present-day Bantu, our Zulus are among the most primitive, that is to say, that they have preserved more of the ancient mode of life and custom of their race than have most other tribes.

The Congo Pygmies, than whom few humans can be deeper down, build rude beehive bowers of bent sticks, covered with plantain leaves, much after the Zulu model.⁴ The earliest dwellings of Sumer and Akkad were huts made of reeds planted in a circle and bent over; thereafter coated with mud.⁵ The South American Patacho Indians "bend together young growing trees and poles stuck in the ground, so that by binding their tops together they form a framework, which is then thatched over with large [palm] leaves."⁶ Coming back to

Africa in the earliest historical period, we are told by Naville, (*Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 37, p. 204) that, in the most primitive drawings appearing in Ancient Egyptian tombs, the dwellings of those people are shown, and "these dwellings were huts, placed on mounds, and probably of wicker-work. They were surrounded by enclosures made of poles, something like what is called now a 'zeriba', sheltering the inhabitants against wild beasts . . . In these enclosures we see men . . . armed with bows and spears . . . but the inhabitants of these villages do not seem to have practised agriculture; we do not see cattle, neither oxen nor sheep, nor asses, none of the domestic animals. Sometimes men are shown struggling against wild beasts, women holding their hands over their heads, as if they were carrying a jar or a basket." Away at the other end of the continent, we meet the Hottentots, who, rightly or wrongly, are believed by some to have received many of their inspirations, if not indeed some of their blood and their customs, from those same Ancient Egyptians; and their house too was a wicker-work frame, dome-like in form and covered with hides or rush-matting.⁷ Some of the North African Fulas also follow the Zulu model with beehive-shaped, thatched constructions, having a small rounded doorway, and a little tuft of thatch at the crown of the roof, like that of some Zulu huts, where it is called an *isaDla*.⁸ Beehive huts are found again among the Somalis of East Africa—stick frameworks covered with grass matting, and with a small entrance in front.⁹ In Uganda, the earliest form of building was probably the simplest form now in use, namely, in the construction of their 'temporary' abodes, which, "used on journeys, or in time of war, were made of stout green sticks, stuck in the ground in a circle and bent inwards to form a hoop; the upper ends of the sticks were tied together with strips of their own bark; these sticks formed the framework of the hut; grass was laid on it for thatch, as in the case of the regular house."¹⁰ The Chagas of Kenya Colony, make "a loose, round, rather flat-topped framework, thatched with plantain leaves."¹¹ The dwelling of the Taitas near by is somewhat similar, though conical—"a circular upright fencing of two or three feet in height, with a small hole for a door, and covered with a cone-shaped, well-thatched roof of grass, looking like a large beehive."¹² In old Basutoland too "the huts were made of thatching-grass in the

form of a beehive, the thatch laid on poles fixed in the ground in a circle, with the tops bent in and lashed together."¹³ The present-day walled hut, with semicircular grass roof now in vogue among the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape, is evidently quite a modern idea. In former times, they also followed the old Nguni style (viz. that of the Zulus). Writing about the year 1825, Kay¹⁴ says, "the Kaffer *inhlu*, house or hut, is of the most simple description, and far inferior in every respect to that of the Boschuanas . . . A circular frame is first set up, consisting of long, straight branches, the upper extremities of which are bent and bound together with *umxeba* or wooden fibres. The thatch, which is like that on the houses of the South Sea Islanders, extending from the ground to the top, is bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with *intsontelo*, a small rope made of rushes, after which the inside is lined with *utyabeka*, a strong plaster of clay and cowdung. When complete, the form is exactly that of a beehive; and the doorway too is shaped in the same manner as the entrée of those little insect dwellings." The Chwana house, to which Kay refers above, was an entirely different and certainly a much superior type of building. Says Kay,¹⁵ poles, nine feet high, are stuck up forming a circle 40 to 60 feet in diameter. These support the roof. The spaces between the poles are then filled in with a mud wall, two feet thick, and seven feet high. A conical grass roof rests upon the top of the poles, and projects 3 or 4 feet all round so as to form a verandah. The doorway is the height of a man. In the centre of the greater hut, another smaller circular apartment of wattle and daub is built round the centre pole, having its own little doorway, and being used as a sleeping apartment.

This general subject of African architecture furnishes quite an entertaining little study of itself, into which we may perhaps be permitted for a moment to digress. Passing from tribe to tribe through Africa, we shall find ourselves rising gradually, by almost imperceptible steps, from the simplest notion of a mere shelter against the elements to a culmination in those very ideas and fashions upon which the building art of the highest civilisations is based. Pediment and arch, gable, spire and dome, all alike will be met with there in their embryonic stage. In order to follow our argument satisfactorily, the reader should consult, where possible, the several illustrations

displaying the various styles of Negro architecture, to be found in the works hereunder referred to.

From the round, scooped-out earth-hole of the Limpopo Katea or Vaalpens, "the most perfect embodiment of the pure savage still anywhere surviving",¹⁶ we proceed one rung up the ladder into the more sheltered, and still more or less rounded, mountain-cavern of the Bushman, or, when cavern failed him, into his Vaalpens-like earth-hole, now improved by a hemispherical super-structure of sticks overlaid with mats or hides.¹⁷ When, further north in the continent, the sunny treeless veld has given place to dank forest gloom, then, for the earth-hole of the Bushman, his Central African brother, the Negrillo, substitutes a bower, 3 feet high by 4 broad, constructed with rudely bent sticks and thatched with branches and leaves.¹⁸

Taking another bound of a thousand miles across the continent, we alight in the territory of the Nika Bantu of Kenya Colony, to find that the bent-stick, leaf-covered arbour of the Negrillo has already bloomed into a real, if ragged, grass-thatched, dome-like hut.¹⁹ Away in the extreme south of the continent, this same dome-like grass-hut attains its perfect development in Zululand. In the shape of this hut and in its round-topped doorway, we have the 'idea' of our cupola and Roman arch already emerged. Dwellings of this selfsame type are to be met with among African peoples as far apart as the Somalis of East Africa,²⁰ the Himas of Uganda,²¹ the Bantuized Nziri Negroes of the Mubangi river,²² the Kredi Negroes of the Sudan,²³ and the Gabri Negroes of Bagirmi.²⁴ It looks as if here we have the very earliest type of Negro dwelling. Again away at the continent's extremity, but on the other side in South-west Africa, the Dama-ra Bantu affect the same style of dwelling, but now covered with hides or plastered all over outside with clay;²⁵ while in Xosaland in the Cape Province, as well as among some Tongas in Portuguese East Africa, the same clay plastering is confined to the first few feet near the ground;²⁶ in which we see the distinction between 'side-wall' and 'roof' gradually materializing.

An innovation met with in Toroland, near by Uganda, is a squaring of the hitherto round-topped doorway;²⁷ with the lintel of the Greeks and the square arch of Ancient Egypt in the offing.

In the Lomami-Ruwenzori region, the dome-like grass-hut, until now perfectly rounded at the top, is already assuming a slight pointedness at the crown;²⁸ a fashion favoured also by the Kambas of Kenya Colony²⁹ and by the Kanem Negroes of the Sudan,³⁰ the latter, furthermore, laying on their grass 'stepwise', like tiles or slates. With this pointing of the dome's crown we get the notion of the so-called ogee arch.

The Yambos of the Sudan not only raise the crown of the grass-dome into a point, but start an entirely new idea by raising the whole structure bodily from the ground and resting it upon a low wall.³¹ This simple move marks an epoch in the history and art of building; for it signifies the actual birth of the true wall and the true roof, two ideas which have always been principal features in all civilized architecture, but neither of which has yet so impressed the Bantu mind as to impel it to coin distinct indigenous terms for 'wall' and 'roof' in any of its languages.

A further architectural epoch is marked in the device of the Kalosh branch of the large baLuba tribe of the Congo, who, while retaining the dome-like roof, base the structure upon a *square* foundation, thus producing a kind of quadrilateral or four-sided dome,³² to which the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza add a projecting porch.³³ Herein, again, we see the transition at once from the round to the square dwelling, and from the flush doorway to the portico.

The Angola Bantu still retain the dome-like grass-hut resting on the ground, but now raise its crown, not indeed to the sharp point of the Kambas and Kanem-bu, but to a rounded one, giving the whole structure a semi-oval shape, resembling that of the half of an egg.³⁴ Elevate now this semi-oval dome on to a 2 foot wall, and you will have the dwelling of the Magomero region of Nyasaland.³⁵ Raise, further, the crown into a *sharp* point, and you will have the hut of the Sudan Negroes of the Shari.³⁶ Arrange the thatch 'step-wise,' and you will have that of the Negroes of Lake Chad.³⁷ Pass from Lake Chad to the Nile, and among the Nuer and Anuak Nilotics you will encounter the pointed dome of the Shari now raised upon a wall of wooden posts, and gradually passing from the dome to the cone.³⁸ Return to the Musgum Negroes of Bagirmi, and note to what a remarkable development the Nuer and Anuak style has reached. The supporting wall has vanished,

and so has the thatch. The old semi-oval structure has been replaced on the ground ; but it has now become narrowed and elongated into the form of a sugar-loaf ; while, in place of the original sticks and grass, the building is entirely constructed of sun-baked clay and decorated externally with curious ornamental relief-work.³⁹ The which brings us to another epoch-making innovation in the house-building trade—the transition from wood and grass to the more enduring material of sun-baked earth, later to develop into the sun-baked, then fire-baked, brick, and ultimately into concrete and stone.

The Nuer Nilotics have already suggested to us the transition from the dome or beehive to the conical form of structure, and the hint has been duly taken and worked out in multifarious ways by numerous peoples all over Negroland. The Pokomo Bantu beyond the Tana river in Kenya Colony rest their grass-cone right on the ground⁴⁰—the Zulu hut now with a conical shape. Elevate this structure on to a wooden or a plastered wall of various heights, and you will have the dwelling of the ovaMbo⁴¹ of South-west Africa, of the Angola baYaka⁴² on the upper Kwango, of the Natives of the Cameruns,⁴³ of the Sudanese Bongos⁴⁴ and Mangbetu,⁴⁵ of several tribes of Northern Congoland,⁴⁶ of the Kikuyu⁴⁷ of Kenya Colony, and of the Hamitic Somalis and Galas.⁴⁸ The Gandas allow the conical grass roof, while perched in front upon a wall, to descend, at the rear of the hut, right to the ground, thus presenting the appearance of a low dunce's cap when tilted over to the back of the head.⁴⁹ The baNalya of the Aruwimi so narrow and elongate the cone—as the Musgums did with the dome—till it becomes a tall tapering spire.⁵⁰ May, then, the church-steeple of Christendom be more truly traced back to such primitive huts as these of the Aruwimi, than to the comparatively recent Pharos lighthouse of Alexandria (300 B.C.), which is given by Breasted⁵¹ as the original source of our spire ?

How the transition was effected from the circle to the square would have presented us with a tough problem to solve, had not the Kalosh Lubas of Central Congoland and the Karagwes of Victoria Nyanza (see above) provided us with a solution. It does not surprise us, therefore, to find neighbouring tribes, and others in various parts of Africa, who have already fully developed the idea, and advanced to the pure square and oblong

dwelling, with its concomitant, the gable roof. Along the Busira or Jwapa river to the north of the Lubas, in Central Congo ;⁵² among many tribes along the Congo river ;⁵³ among the peoples of Angola ;⁵⁴ in the Cameruns ;⁵⁵ among the Abanga Negroes of the Sudan ;⁵⁶ and elsewhere, we come across habitations of this square or oblong type.

Thus, here in Darkest Africa we may find, if we seek, the germ of almost everything that is characteristic of the architecture of Europe and the Mediterranean. The source of these things has been hitherto traced back no further than to Ancient Egypt and Sumer, to Greece and Rome, as though those highly civilised peoples were the creators of such conceptions. The study of the primitive races, however, not in Africa alone, but in every region of the world, will take us back far earlier than that. We may trace the colonnades of Karnak back to the rows of pillars in a baGenya hut or in the audience-hall of Mteza ; the walled cities of Assyria, to the palisaded kraal of Zululand or the fenced zareba of the Sudan ; the oblong temple and sculptured pediment of the Parthenon of Athens, to the long square dwelling and simple gable of the maNyema and the baPoto of the Congo ; the concrete dome of the Pantheon of Rome, to the mud-covered hut of the Dama-ra of South-west Africa or to the stuccoed baked-clay sugar-loaf of the Musgums of the Chad ; the spires of Cologne, to the tall, tapering cones of the Aruwimi ; the portico, to the porch of Uganda and Zimbaland ; the lintel, to the Zulu kraal-entrance, or the square doorway of Toroland ; the Babylonian and Roman arch, to the doorway of the Zulu hut ; the Gothic arch, to the semi-oval hut of Angola and the Shari ; the ogee, to the curved, pointed cone of the Yambos and Kambas.

We thus find that the fundamental principles of our forms of building had been conceived and become well known to the Negro race probably as early as was the case with the Caucasian ; and no evidence will prove more clearly and conclusively the remarkable difference between the mental equipment of the two races than will their present respective positions architecturally. Whereas the White mind has been able, from these infantile beginnings, to proceed continuously forward to the elaborate and complicated engineering and architectural achievements of the Caucasian world, the Negro mind, after

having risen equally as rapidly in the elementary stage, there-after absolutely failed to progress any further. You will here put to yourselves the question, And why was this? and find yourselves up against the great Negro psychological puzzle; consideration of which is beyond our purpose here.

1. Bryant, *O.T.*
2. *ib.* *Z.M.*, 2.
3. Purvis, *M.E.*, 252; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 231; Lloyd, *U.K.*, 180; Haberlandt, *E.*, 109.
4. Geil, *Y.L.P.*, 203; Harrison, *L.P.*, 9.
5. Delaporte, *M.*, 172.
6. Tylor, *A.*, 230.
7. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. I, 220; Shaw, *M.*, 41.
8. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 255.
9. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. I, 149.
10. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
11. New, *L.E.A.*, 457.
12. *ib.* 336.
13. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 293.
14. Kay, *T.C.*, 117; Shaw, *M.*, 58.
15. *ib.* *ib.* 227.
16. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 121; *B.S.*, 71.
17. Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 36; Stow, *N.R.*, 43.
18. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 203; Harrison, *L.P.*, 9.
19. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 24, 44.
20. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. I, 148.
21. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 82.
22. Dorman, *T.C.*, 107.
23. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 226.
24. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. I, 104.
25. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 74.
26. Kay, *T.C.*, 117.
27. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 162.
28. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 752.
29. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, II.
30. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 222, 282.
31. *ib.* *ib.* vol. 1, 214.
32. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 107, 108.
33. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 245.
34. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 174; vol. 2, 43.
35. Macdonald, *A.*, vol. 2, 10.
36. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 194.
37. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 67, 68.
38. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 234, 244.
39. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 126, 132.

40. New, *L.E.A.*, 207.
41. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 135.
42. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 120, 236, 314.
43. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 148.
44. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 123.
45. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 56.
46. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 132.
47. Dugmore, *C.A.*, 130.
48. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 178; Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 78.
49. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 123.
50. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 513; Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 275.
51. Breasted, *A.T.*, 462.
52. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143, 144.
53. *ib.* *ib.* 132, 736, 741, 742.
54. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, 287.
55. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 148, 287.
56. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 251.

Chapter 4

Jomela's Fine Family

Having inspected Jomela's kraal, make now the acquaintance of his family. They are as typical of their tribe as was their home. They are a variegated crowd, twenty souls all told, and each of them a tribal sample. There are tall men and short women; blackamoors, brownies and a single yellow-skin. There are broad faces, and long ones; flat noses, and straight. Every one of them is sleek and robust in build, and all alike are dressed in the breezy costume of their skin—and smiles. And now to a closer examination of their persons.

The Zulus have a world-wide and merited reputation of being very fine fellows. And such they are. Was there ever one who knew the African Negro better than did Sir Harry Johnston? Hear, then, him. "The Zulu is perhaps the most typical Bantu and the comliest development of the true Negro".¹ Of still earlier travellers, Barrow² may be cited. Speaking, at the beginning of last century, of the Xosas of the Cape (who, you know, are the Zulus' brothers, and members of the same Nguni Bantu family), he gushes rhapsodically as follows: "The men were the finest figures I ever beheld . . . they were tall, robust and muscular; their habits of life had induced a firmness of carriage, and an open, manly demeanour, which, added to the good nature that overspread their features, showed them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion and treachery. A young man about twenty, of six feet ten inches high, was one of the finest figures that perhaps was ever

created. He was a perfect Hercules; and a cast from his body would not have disgraced the pedestal of that deity in the Farnese palace. Many of them had indeed very much the appearance of bronze figures . . . There is not perhaps any nation on the face of the earth, taken collectively, that can produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffers". "These Zulus," says Arbousset,³ "are a fine race of blacks, superior in stature, in elegance of shape and in muscular strength to the Bechuanas." Isaacs⁴ goes further and, like Barrow, demands superlatives—"the Zoola men are, without exception, the finest race of people which Southern or Eastern Africa can furnish, or that I have ever seen. They are tall, athletic, well-proportioned and good-featured . . . capable of enduring great fatigue, both in war and in hunting excursions, and their agility is almost beyond comprehension." Yes, adds Threlfall,⁵ "they have the finest figures of any of the natives."

One can hardly suppose that the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) physique has deteriorated since then; and yet nowadays we notice nothing extraordinarily arresting therein, when compared with Nordic European man; though, within their own Bantu race, we certainly do think that the Zulu-Xosas (or Ngunis) outstand. Still, they are a race neither of Samsons, nor of Goliaths, much less of Apollos. Judged by their appearances, they might well be called a race of athletes. To that distinction their stalwart build, their well-proportioned figures, their unusually fine stature and their erect pose would reasonably entitle them. This attractive form has been acquired, no doubt, by the natural, manly life they have always led, supported by adequate nourishing food, in a comparatively healthy and temperate part of Africa. It has not been acquired by any system of special athletic training, such as we degenerates of Europe must needs resort to. At those exercises, the Zulu, despite our epithet of 'athlete', would prove ridiculously incompetent. Any third-rate European amateur could beat him at the high or long jump; but few could surpass him at long-distance walking over broken country. Any school-boy could kick the football further than he; but none could dare face him with the cudgels. He looks as though, with the requisite training, he might make a good wrestler, even a good boxer; and with similar schooling, he might vie with the Highlander with caber or weight.

Despite the opinion held by some, that the Bantu (and consequently also our Zulus as part of them) are not pure Negroes, the contrary is the actual fact, as authenticated by scientific investigation. None less than Sir Arthur Keith is our authority for the statement; and what he has said, we have already told on a previous page (63).

The Negro race is differentiated from the Caucasic by certain physical characteristics, which characteristics, if the Bantu are Negroes, may be looked for also in the Zulus. They are, principally, the coiled or spiral hair; the comparatively slenderer limb-bones, and the proportionately greater length of the lower limb-bones when compared with the upper, than is the case in Europeans; the fusion together of the two frontal eminences (in the forehead); the presence of a bony elevation in the palate; specialized nasal bones, and so on (see A. Keith, *Nature*, vol. 84, 1910, also *Antiquity of Man*, 1929, vol. I, 66-7, 487; and Elliot Smith, *Human History*, 137 sq.).

The Zulu men fluctuate in stature from medium to tall, with a tendency rather to tallness than to shortness; but the great majority are simply of good medium height. Keane⁶ tells us that the average height of the Bantu race is 5 ft. 9 ins. to 5 ft. 11 ins. Fleming,⁷ writing of the Xosas of the Cape, says their stature varies from 5 ft. 9 ins. to 6 ft. 2 ins., averaging 5 ft. 11 ins. We believe all this to be exaggeration. Maugham⁸ seems to us a more accurate observer, stating that, among Zambezi Bantu, 5 ft. 7 ins. is probably the average for the male, and 5 ft. 1 in. for the female. Seligman,⁹ following measurements given for Johannesburg mine-labourers, gives 5 ft. 6¼ ins. as the average stature of the Cape Xosas, but offers nothing for the Zulus. All this reflects what Keith (*Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 41, p. 42) has already remarked, namely, that Bantu stature differs very considerably from tribe to tribe. Of 15 men of the baSoko tribe (Congo), he gives 1658 m.m. (c.—5 ft. 5¼ ins.) as the mean; and of 20 men of the Bushongo tribe (Congo), 1747 m.m. (c.—5 ft. 9 ins.). He observes, further, that apparently the Nigerian Negroes (of whom 51, resident in the S.E. corner, adjoining Bantuland, were measured) are generally taller than the Congo Bantu, although some specimens of the former possessed the most diminutive of the statures and some of the latter the tallest.

Fortunately, in the year 1927, Prof. Cipriani, of the University of Florence, visited Zululand, and has since kindly provided us with the most recent and most reliable specifically Zulu anthropological measurements available as we write, and from them we have here mainly drawn our figures. The fuller and more detailed Tables will be found published in the *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, LX—LXI, 1930-1931, (Florence University).

Cipriani gives the average stature of the Zulu male as 169.6 (about 5 ft. 6½ ins.); female, 157.8 (nearly 5 ft. 2 ins.). The men, therefore, according to Haddon's scheme, fall just within the 'tall' class; the women, in the 'short'. The 'sitting height' of the men is given as 85.7 (c. 2 ft. 10¼ ins.); women, 81.1 (c. 2 ft. 8½ ins.). It may be added, however, that all these people, dressed as they are in nature's 'tights', give an impression of greater tallness than actually exists.

The Zulu always holds his body perfectly upright in true military fashion, with head well thrown back, looking one straight in the face, a picture of frankness and boldness and pride. His body-form is described by Cipriani as robust in about 59% of the males and in nearly 65% of the females, the remainder being more or less slender, and a few actually graceful. The Zulu form is not sculptured after the Grecian model. Its torso is too long and too square or broad in the waist, and its limbs, especially the legs, too massive. The man with stiff, bulging muscles in body and limb (*isiKónyololo*) is well known among the Zulus, but not particularly loved. They prefer the sleek, even-bodied type. Such a gentleman they call an *umGémbelezane*; and they possess names too for him with exceptionally broad back and loins (*isiXwebedu*); him with very broad shoulders, but a small waist (*isiPika*), or thin nether limbs (*ūTshubungu*); one with bulky upper and lower body, but an unduly slender waist (*ūGámfu*); a person with small, insignificant stomach (*ūKécesi*), and half-a-dozen names for the several varieties of 'corporation', some of which latter are especially admired.

Their facial musculature seems to be more rigid than is that of the European; on which account they are unable to display the emotions in such variety and expressiveness as he. We have not encountered any specimens capable of moving their ears or scalp; but think they may exist.

Substantial buttocks is the Zulu taste, and with him is an essential to female beauty. No maiden there would wish or dare to diminish her good points with one of those 'reducing' contraptions so beloved of the modern Bright Young Things. To her, every inch of reduction would entail so much off her value in the Beauty Show, if not also in the cattle-market. The Zulu male, on the contrary, regards an exaggeration of this feature on himself as 'effeminate'. "In all Negro and Bushman children," says Johnston,¹⁰ "and in the men and women of many Central and East African tribes, the development of the nates is actually less than in Europeans." We will not say quite that of the Zulu man; with him, development of the part seems normal. All the same, he has devoted a good deal of study to this particular feature of his anatomy, and has worked out the evolution of the nates with scientific precision. He distinguishes between the 'massively bulky' variety (*Shikilile*); the 'far-projecting' (*iMpentsula*); the 'turned-up', due to a fine spinal curve (*isiBélu*); the 'insignificant' (*iNtsheshelezi*), and the 'none-at-all' (*isiShwapá*). Another example of his special aptitude for nature studies is his careful classification of penial types—that of a dog he calls an *iKinqi*; that of a sheep or goat, an *umNqambo*; that of a cow, an *umNqundu*; that of a horse, an *umBoko*; that of a man, an *umTóndo*.

Steatopygy is occasionally met with, especially in females; but it is not common. We do not think this is due to any special association with Bushmen or Hottentots (among whom it is notoriously prevalent), but rather that it is a chance characteristic of the whole Negro and Pygmy race.¹¹

This same remark may be made also in regard to the extraordinary elongation (*amaLebe*) of the *labia minora* sometimes occurrent in the Zulu females. The elongation may extend to four or five inches in extreme cases; while in some persons it affects only one of the *labia*. It is not removed; though disliked, as a natural deformity. The neighbouring Sutus, on the other hand, are said to cut away 'some portion' of the overgrowth; and some Nilotic tribes, the whole of it; but the Zambebian Natives, on the contrary, so admire it, that they are said to cultivate it artificially. It is prevalent right through Africa, Hamitic as well as Negro, having been reported among the lower Zambebian Bantu,¹² the Abyssinians and Egyptians,¹³

the Kikuyus, Galas, Somalis and other East African peoples. Indeed, even "European women are sometimes slightly long-nymph".¹⁴ Bush and Hottentot women are, of course, notorious in this connection, and with them, elongation of the clitoris frequently accompanies that of the nymphæ.¹⁵ A strange custom (which we have not heard of among the Zulus) has been reported by H. de Carvalho as practised among the Wanda Bantu of the Congo. There the 'lower abdomen' is said to be pulled downwards till it hangs like a flap over the pudenda.¹⁶ We believe this practice is (or was) in vogue also among the Bush-Hottentot females.

Monorchs (or one-testicled men) are heard of, though very rare, among the Zulus, and are called by them *iTéku* or *iTékwa*. One case of hermaphroditism (*uNcukubili*) has come our way. The party, being supplied with mammæ as well as with male equipment, found it more convenient (owing to the Zulu practice of covering only the pudenda and leaving the chest exposed) to pass through life as a lady! But she never found a beau—or should we say, a belle? We heard rumours, some 40 years ago, of a boy with a 'tail', in the upper Mzimkulu district. This also might seem possible, seeing that the human embryo, in the earlier stages, is said to wear as definite a tail as any tadpole or monkey embryo. A 'horned' Sutu, likewise once reported, would seem less credible. Hybrids too of man and baboon have been mentioned to us as a 'positive fact' by Native doctors, 'who ought to know'. A habit common to Zulu men (and probably to women too) of involuntarily discharging hard, dry lumps of excrement (*Qatáza*) when overcome with fear (as when the approach of an execution-party has been reported)—and as is the wont of felines also, when enraged—is well authenticated. Cases of colostrum in the breasts of unmarried females are not uncommon; while the famous Baca chief, Madikane, is said to have possessed the secret of making an uncovered heifer produce milk, and himself regularly to feed on its *amaSi* (sour curds). The secret unfortunately died with him!

The Zulu body is dressed in a soft, silky, unctuous skin, of every grade of colour from 'Chinese' yellow to Christy Minstrel black. Despite the guide-books, the colour is never 'brown' (chocolate or otherwise), but always a sepia-like 'black' slightly tinted with yellow. Normally, the yellow shows through

only on those parts (e.g. the cheek-bones) where the skin is distended (such individuals being said to *Kányá*, 'be light'). Abnormally, either colour (black or yellow) may get the upper-hand—the pigment becoming so thick as to prevent any of the yellow appearing (this variety being called an *iNkwishela*); or becoming so thin that the whole body is hardly darker than is that of a Chinese or Southern Italian (this is called an *iGáwozi* or *umHanga*).

When born, Zulu babies are normally, not black, but a pinky-yellow or yellowish-pink, the colour gradually and perceptibly darkening within the first few weeks after exposure to sunlight. Rarely, however, they are already darkening at birth, that is, show a larger measure of black mixed with the basic yellow, so as to approach the tint described above as '*ukuKányá*' (to-be-light).

This skin-colour business is a still unsolved physiological puzzle. It is agreed that the human skin-cells can develop pigment; but under what pressure or influence? One line of argument attributes it to climate. "Colour almost certainly developed in strict relation to climate," says Marett.¹⁷ White men and white animals are consistently found inhabiting the colder regions; black men and darker animals, the hot. "The Caucasian is a bleached race—its fairness is the result of long exposure to the intense cold of the glacier period."¹⁸ Negroes passing from Africa to North America and Europe lose their blackness, and become light brown or even yellow, while, contrariwise, Europeans long resident in India acquire, even beneath their clothing, "a skin as brown as that of a Brahman."¹⁹ And yet brown American Indians run from north to south of the continent, from extreme heat to extreme cold, and neither darken nor lose colour in the process. There is no doubt that the yellow Bushman dwelt within the tropics in former times. The Lapps, again, and the Eskimos are both decidedly off-colour. But, then, it is protested, they live in six months of continuous sunshine; hence their tan. Yet the Congo Forest Pygmies live in practically continuous shade, and still remain, many of them, as black as pitch. All which, thought Darwin,²⁰ leads to the conclusion that, "although, with our present knowledge, we cannot account for the differences of colour in races of men through any advantage thus gained, or from the direct action of climate, yet we must not quite ignore the latter agency;

for there is good reason to believe that some inherited effect is thus produced."

The Zulus present a goodly percentage of the medium-coloured (yellowy black) type; and we have observed that, when these have travelled from the drier inland parts down to the lower coastlands, they there develop more pigment and return home much darker. The same colour-change is observable also when this type of Native works in smithies; there too they tend to darken after a time. Livingstone²¹ noticed all this long ago. "The Batoka of the Zambezi," he says, "are generally very dark in colour, while those who live in the highlands are frequently of a lighter hue." "All [the baSongo, of the Congo region] are dark, but the degree of darkness varies from deep black to light yellow. As we go westward, the light colour predominates over the dark, until we approach the coast, where under the influence of damp from the sea air, the shade deepens into the general blackness of the coast population."²² Maugham²³ also noticed that the waterside people "who inhabit the shores of Lake Shirwa and the course of the Lurio River, as well as others from the basin of the Luapula, are amongst the blackest I remember to have seen." Is, then, the deduction to be that heat plus humidity is the factor that makes for darkening of skin? The Whites are confined to the northern or temperate latitudes, the Blacks to the tropical; and we know that, in the northern hemisphere, the amount of water is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of dry land (with a low temperature), whereas in the southern it is 6 to 1 (with a high temperature).²⁴ This heat with humidity theory, however, did not satisfy Darwin. He writes:²⁵ "A very damp or a very dry atmosphere has been supposed to be more influential in modifying the colour of the skin than mere heat; but as D'Orbigny in South America, and Livingstone in Africa, arrived at diametrically opposite conclusions with respect to dampness and dryness, any conclusion on this head must be considered as very doubtful." Yet Prince Kropotkin²⁶ accumulated a mass of evidence proving the change to darker or lighter colour under the influences of heat and cold and humidity, and the subsequent inheritance of such changes. Even moderately warm temperature, together with moisture, produced an increase in the dark pigment in lizards. These climatic influences, moreover, affected the general vigour of the insects concerned, and the

differences of general vigour may weaken or reinforce certain physiological functions, which result, in turn, in important changes in size, reproduction and so on. But to become heritable, these modifying agencies, according to Tower, of Chicago University, must be in action at a certain definite period, namely during the period of growth of the germ-cells. According to Kammerer and others, cannibalism produced an increased size of head and teeth.

Darwin²⁷ thought that the white colour assumed by animals in the polar regions might be merely protective. He did not suspect that black might have similar advantages. Yet since then chemistry has progressed apace and proven that it has. The short infra-red sun-rays are said to heat the body-parts on which they fall, but the dark pigment in the Negro skin acts as an insulator to them, absorbing them as they come and preventing them from passing through to overheat the blood beyond. The pigment itself, however, becomes warmed in the process, and this warmth excites the local nerves, which in turn provoke the sweat-glands to secrete, which, by the evaporation of water, cools the body. Thus the Blackman's body is permanently protected against harmful overheating by his black skin, while the Whiteman's protects itself, when coming to the tropics, by tanning; though it seems incapable of darkening itself sufficiently to ward off sunstroke.

It would seem, then, that Negro man has perfected the pigmentation process through long ages passed in powerful sunlight combined with humidity, and that the European has partially lost the power through long ages passed in less sunny and drier climes, or never had it. Which at once suggests the problem of man's original colour.

"Agassiz has pointed out that, in Asia and Africa, the large apes and the human races have the same colour of skin";²⁸ and it is apparently suggested that this dark colour may have been the original colour of man, and that the European has become 'bleached'. Keith²⁹ propounds the reverse idea. "The negro baby," he says, "has only reached a brown stage at birth; two months earlier, its skin is not darker than that of a Southern European; still earlier, in foetal life its skin is as little pigmented as that of the Northern European. The negro child passes through all the stages which lead from the

lowest to the highest in the scale of pigmentation." "The fairness of Nordic man is an inheritance from the womb; he retains in adult life a stage which is transitory in the development of other races. Many human characters have been acquired by the operation of this [Bolk's] law—the tendency for developmental stages to be delayed until childhood or adult life is reached." Thus, "the negro tends to retain the hairless body and beardless face of youth; on his skull and brain we find many examples of retention of the same kind. On the other hand, we see in the negro's body certain new characters which owe nothing to Bolk's law. Woolly hair is peculiar to the race, whereas other races have retained the older and more primitive hair-forms."

Whatever may have been man's original colour, it looks very much as though the present colour scheme was developed and fixed long æons ago, when terrestrial conditions were very different from what they are now, for instance, during the extremes of heat and cold, of humidity and dryness, such as may have occurred during the glacial and interglacial, and other such abnormal past ages. The causative influences having ceased, the colours attained, and already become an inheritance, remained as they were, fixed as we still find them.

The Zulus liken the naked European body to that of a white pig. And they were not far wrong; for when the European skin (as was that of the murderer, Corder) is turned to the useful purpose of binding books, it much resembles pig-skin!³⁰

The so-called 'Mongolian spot', or at any rate a distinctly darker patch of skin about the end of the spine and upper buttocks, is occasionally met with in Zulu new-born babes. Cipriani noticed it also among the Zambebian Bantu. We have noted too the presence in many adult Natives of a relatively darker stripe passing from the pubes upwards to the navel (*umNyele*); and, in others, of a long swollen stripe (without discolouration) passing from the navel upwards to the breast-bone (*umTála*).³¹

The average cephalic index of the Zulu males is, according to Cipriani, 75.4; for females, 75.6. This places them just above the dolichomesaticephalic border-line (=75). The general Bantu average is given in some anthropological works as about

73.³² This would place them in the dolichocephalic or long-headed class. Such a figure, however, when applied to the whole Bantu race, is at least misleading; for it is well known that quite a large proportion of the Central (or Congo) Bantu are decidedly mesaticephalic (or medium-headed), and many even brachycephalic (or broad-headed)³³—all which is due perhaps to Forest Pygmy or to southern Sudanese (Nyamnyam, etc.)³⁴ intermixture. The crania of the Congo tribes (i.e. of the specimens he examined), says Keith,³⁵ are relatively wide (i.e. are proportionately broad to long) or brachycephalic; while the Gambian Negroes in the extreme north-west and the Dinka in the extreme north-east carry the heads with the greatest length. The Nigerian or Guinea type is flat-sided and narrow, with height prevailing over breadth; that of the Congo is broad and bulging at the sides, breadth prevailing over height. This difference in relative height is due to the fact that in the Nigerian skull the frontal region is thrust more forward (the growth of the brain being more towards the bregma), and in the Bantu (Congo) it is more receding (the growth of brain being more towards the lambda). Yet, according to Seligman,³⁶ this dolichocephaly is by no means universal in Guinea, many of the tribes being distinctly mesaticephalic.

Some Nigerian (e.g. the Korawp), some Bantu (e.g. the Congo baShongo), and some Equatorial (e.g. the Nyamnyam) peoples, says Keith,³⁷ carry 'large' heads; others, like the Bantu baSoko and the Sudanese Bongo, have them 'small'. As samples of cranial capacities, Keith cites the Gambian and Nigerian tribes with 1450 c.c. (presumably male), the Ekoi Negroes (Guinea) with 1430 c.c. (male), but the Congo Bantu baTetela with only *m.* 1342 c.c., *f.* 1206 c.c., and the Niger Delta Negroes with only 1240 c.c. for the males. The average cranial capacity of the 'Bantu race' is given by Quatrefages and Hamy³⁸ as 1424 c.c.; of the Sudanese and Guinea Negroes as 1495 c.c.; and of the European as 1497 c.c., presumably in all cases males. Sir W. Flower, of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, gives the same European average, but places that of the Bantu at 1485 c.c.,³⁹ while the French anthropologist, Topinard,⁴⁰ found the Negro brain, when weighed, to average 1263 grams (perhaps equivalent to about 1329 c.c.), and Keith⁴¹ found the average for Europeans to be, for males, 1480 c.c., and for females, 1350 c.c. All these figures, however, lose much

of their value owing to the paucity of the specimens examined, and to their dearth of precision and discrimination.

When viewed in profile, the Zulu face presents the characteristic Negro flatness; but the head often nicely rounded at the back. Viewed from the front, the Zulu face is mostly broad and round; but there are also some long and narrow faces, and still more with a pleasing intermediate type of oval face. Keith⁴² thinks this difference may be due to the character of the food generally eaten, with resultant differing degrees of mastication. There are, of course, quite a goodly number of long and narrow faces among the Zulus, accompanied by straight, thin noses and other more delicate features—a type much more agreeable to us, and oftentimes really beautiful. This may, or may not, be due to Caucasian (Hamitic, or Semitic) intermixture in centuries past. The Zulu himself, however, regards his own particular type of broad, round face as the more lovely and lovable, and he attributes the narrow, flat-sided variety to the mother, at some time in life, having partaken of guinea-fowl (which also possesses such a head)! This supposed peculiarity in certain animals of passing on their characteristics to those who eat them, is termed an *ũFuza* (or resemblance-transmitting power). Thus, a woman eating a hare would be liable to produce long-eared children, and one eating a swallow, children who could not even make a decent 'nest', i.e. hut, for themselves. An hereditary *family* trait, physical or moral (as of baldness, or stealing), is termed an *ũKóndolo* (or continuous-trail).

The Zulu forehead has the appearance of being quite respectably high, owing to the fact that it is (when measured up to the hair-line) usually 50% (or more) longer than the nose, which is comparatively short. In over 69% of the males the forehead is slightly retiring; in 23%, more or less perpendicular; and in about 8%, prominent, occasionally even impendent. With females it is nearly always prominent. It shows in all cases the typical Negro roundness. This roundness is due, says Keith,⁴³ to the two frontal eminences, which in European and Asiatic races are usually some distance apart, in the Negro tending to approach each other and fuse at the middle line; so that the slight flatness or depression in the European forehead is absent in that of the Negro. Keith regards this again as the persistence of an infantile character.

The supraorbital ridges, so massively developed in the anthropoid apes and Neanderthal and Rhodesian man, are said to be less prominent in the Eastern Bantu (who include our Zulus) than in Europeans, who thus become more 'ape-like' than the Africans! Among the Western Bantu, on the other hand, the brow-ridges become more pronounced, a character they share with the Negroes of the Pacific.⁴⁴ Cipriani places 54% of Zulu men in the category of 'strongly' developed brow-ridges; the remainder, 'slightly' so. Almost all females come within the latter class.

How the different varieties of hair-form and hair-colour arose, is another physiological problem as yet unsolved. The Negro (including our Zulu) has a monopoly of his own particular brand, which, once again, is less 'simian' than is our own. It grows in glossy, black, flat coils or spirals ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter), like tiny wire springs. These, when longer, cling together and form numerous little tufts ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch high) scattered over the head. When fully grown and combed out, these tufts become a dense, frizzly mass or mop, enveloping the round or oval face in a quite becoming fashion (resembling that of the Papuan), a coiffure formerly much favoured by the Zulu youth of both sexes; it was called an *isiHlutú*. The hairs of this mop, when drawn out, may be fully five inches long in the male, and in the female even ten.⁴⁵ The spirality is said by Haddon^{45a} to be due "to two main factors, the great curvature of the hair follicle, and its compressed lumen; so that the emerging hair is started in a spiral, and is a narrow oval in section", as against the straight follicle and rounder lumen of the straight-haired peoples. Such spiral hair is peculiar to the Negro race, whether it be that inhabiting Africa or that in Pacific Oceania. Torday and Joyce, however, say^{45b} that the Bantu hair is also sometimes almost round (like that of the straight-haired folk), sometimes oval and at other times bean-shaped; and yet it appears always to be spiral. Probably the straight hair was the original human type, from which that of the Negroes diverged. Indeed, the transformation may still be seen in actual progress in some Zulu babies. The hair of most Zulu babies when new-born is rather on the curly, than on the spiral side; and in a few exceptions it is positively straight and long, being at the same time either jet-black, or 'bleached' to a dirty yellowish black. In all cases, however, before the first year is completed, the

spiral form and deep black colour have ousted all others and become definitely fixed. The black colour, of course, is due to the pigment contained in the hair. This black substance is said to be insoluble in heated sulphuric acid diluted with twice its volume of water, it floating on the surface clotted together with the oil. The hair colour, however, is liable to change under the influence of a changed environment. Some Sudanese Negroes are said to grow tresses three feet in length, or (as among the Nyamnyam) to display long plaits reaching to the waist.

To the Zulu, the hairy body of some Europeans is not lovely; indeed, is decidedly 'monkey-like'. The human ideal to him is clearness and cleanness of skin—which Keith considers another 'infantile retention'. In 59% of Zulu men hairiness of body and limb is practically absent, and on the face no sign of beard or moustache appears until about the 23rd year of age, or even much later. Notwithstanding which, hairy Zulu males (*īHwanqa*, *īKlalati*) are not unknown, whole 'forests' (as they say) of hair overgrowing the face, throat and chest, and, in a lesser degree, the arms and legs. Most Zulu men have a certain amount of hair about their upper lip and chin, and some grow quite respectable moustachios (*īDevu*) and beards (*isiLevu*). Indeed, the latter take so many different forms, that the Zulu distinguishes them by different names; thus, the short, scrubby variety he calls an *ūQuntu*; the pointed, an *ūTshatshavela*; the long and stiff, an *īNtshebe*; and the long flowing variety, beloved of the Boer Baas, an *uCelemba*. Baldness is not common. It is met with in two types—that in the frontal region (*īMpandla*), and that on the crown (*uKóngolo*). Most Zulus become grey at about fifty years of age, some earlier, some later; while the very aged may, rarely, become quite white. The softer kind of hair (*ūNakazane*) is said to lose its colour much sooner than the thicker, coarser variety (*īNgqangasi*).

Pudendal depilation used to be practised regularly in former times by the youth of both sexes. Nowadays it is more common with the females than with the males, the object being cleanliness and comfort. The pubic hair is usually plucked out (*Hlutú*) or shaven off. It must be owned, however, that in these more sophisticated times, even the females are growing much less fastidious and much more 'untidy' than they used to be in this regard.

The Zulu eye is classed as 'prominent' in 51% of individuals, and in 33% as slightly so. The conjunctiva is usually somewhat bleared and discoloured, rarely perfectly clear, owing probably to continuous living in smoke-filled huts. The iris is always of a soft, deep brown. Elliot Smith says that the iris of the Negro new-born babes is blue. Our personal experience is that it is always nearly black, though in some cases an overlying deep-blue glint is noticeable, disappearing very soon after birth. Schweinfurth⁴⁶ noticed among the Nyamnyam (of Equatorial Africa) that "almond-shaped [eyes] and somewhat sloping . . . are of remarkable size and fullness." Landor⁴⁷ says of the neighbouring Golo Sudanese that "they have a considerable development of the upper portion of the lid and the eyebrow, a development which almost amounts to a swelling." We have noticed in a few Zulu eyes a distinct suggestion of both these peculiarities—the fatty fold hanging over the upper eyelid they distinguish by the name, *iFúku*. Ward,⁴⁸ on the other hand, noted the remarkable smallness of eye among the Congo Bantu. Such small eyes (*ūNungu*) occur here and there among the Zulus. The epicanthic fold (a growing down of the upper eyelid over the fleshy triangular canthus at the inner corner of the eye), said to be peculiar to the Mongolian race, has not been observed among the Zulus. Needless to relate, all sorts of squints and similar distortions are known (though very uncommon) and duly catalogued as *iNgxemu*, *iMpendu*, *isiYalu* and the rest. One may note, too, the agreeable, though rather monotonous, soft, gazelle-like 'look' about the eyes of all Zulus, as against the great variety of 'look' seen among Europeans—except in the case of Zulu medicine-men and, still more so, of the so-called 'witch-doctors' (*izaNgóma*), whose eyes almost always have a peculiar piercing sharpness, which may denote greater mental activity or power. The eye-lashes are never pulled out, as with some other Bantu tribes, e.g. the Kambas of Kenya Colony;⁴⁹ and as for the eyebrows, the Zulus adore a thick, glossy black curve over fine, large dark eyes in their females. Beetled-browed men (*amaNkonkoma*), often over deep-set eyes (*isi-Góbbé*), are occasionally encountered; and such brows may perchance conceal superciliary ridges more pronounced than the normal.

Whether 'savage' peoples have, or have not, better eyesight than we, is still a contested point. Darwin⁵⁰ accepted the inferiority of Europeans, in comparison with savages, in regard to eyesight, as a fact, and attributed it to "no doubt the accumulated and transmitted effect of lessened use during generations; for Rengger states that he has repeatedly observed Europeans who have been brought up and spent their whole lives with the wild Indians, who nevertheless did not equal them in the sharpness of their senses. The same naturalist observes that the cavities in the skull for the reception of the several sense-organs are larger in the American aborigines than in Europeans." And, continues Darwin, "I have had good opportunities for observing the extraordinary power of eyesight in the Fuegians." But if the American Indians beat the Europeans at eyesight, the African Bantu beat the American Indians. Fritsch,⁵¹ who specially studied the races of mankind in regard to sharpness of vision, concluded that the Hottentot-Bushman race excelled all others, while the African peoples (including the Bantu) were superior both to American Indians and to Europeans. The Cambridge Anthropological Expedition (1891) demanded further evidence, and went forth itself to Torres Straits (Papuan islands off north-eastern Australia) to get it. Having duly reported its findings, "the results show," says C. S. Myers,⁵² referring both to these Papuans and to the Todas of India, "a visual acuity . . . perhaps on the whole slightly superior to the acuity of Europeans living a corresponding out-of-door life;" but Loram,⁵³ speaking of these same investigations plus those of Prof. R. S. Woodworth at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, says "the conclusions arrived at by the two studies are in general agreement. The widespread notion that uncivilized peoples are more acute in vision and hearing is not borne out by the results." It seems time, therefore, that we added our own contribution to the general confusion; which is, that personal experience with the Zulus has definitely convinced us that vision with them is considerably stronger than with Europeans, not in any ability to see *further*, but in the clarity of their long-distance seeing; that is, given the same distant object, the details stand out much more clearly to the Bantu eye than to the European. Bergh⁵⁴ noticed something similar among the Bantu Kambas of Kenya Colony—they "can see a long distance and can describe an

animal accurately when we can scarcely see the beast." Woodworth, too, had apparently remarked this in the subjects he examined, and he suggests that even "if small differences do exist, it is fairly certain that the wonderful feats of distant vision ascribed to savages are due to practice in interpreting slight indications of familiar objects."⁵⁵ As regards near-distance vision, we would say that we have been astonished over and over again at the facility with which Zulu boys and girls find (i.e. discern or detect) small objects lost, for instance, in dense, tall grass, they apparently 'seeing' them with ease and almost immediately, when Europeans have been long searching for them without success. Myers also, it seems, had heard of this strange aptitude, and, like Woodworth, offered his own—not quite convincing, we think—explanation thereof, namely, that the reported "marvellous acuity of vision among primitive people" unquestionably depends, "not on a vastly superior visual acuity, but on the power of interpreting signs which are meaningless to the European and hence escape his notice." If this be true, then the Native still gains over the European in powers of observation what he is denied in eyesight. Personally, we fear that most of these European 'authorities' on the eyesight of primitive peoples have themselves had so little actual experience of long living among those peoples, that their opinions are practically of no real worth.

The Zulu nose and lips are made to fit the face—the round or broad face usually having full lips surmounted by a moderately broad nose with a moderately low bridge; the long face having thin lips under a narrow straight nose. These two types are supposed (though we do not think with any certainty) to indicate—the former, the purer Negro breed; the latter, a Negro-Hamitic blend. The Sudanic up-turned lip (*isiPékula*) is occasionally met with amongst the Zulus. The bridgeless nose (*isápúko*) likewise. The sharp-pointed, aggressively projecting 'beak' of the Caucasian brand, which the Zulus sometimes smile at among the Europeans, they term an *uGódlolo*. Keane⁵⁶ has remarked that "the Papuan nose . . . is often so arched as to present the outline known as 'Jewish'." Arched, or rather slightly arched, noses are not entirely unknown among the Zulus, and are still more frequently seen among East African and Rhodesian Natives; but they are not of the heavy, fleshy Papuan or 'Jewish' type. About 51% of

Zulu noses are classed as straight-ridged, 41% as concave, and 8% as slightly convex. The nose-point in 74% is slightly retroussé; in 15% the under-line is horizontal; and in 11% the point is drooping.

What may have caused the flattening of the Negro nose, were not easy to divine. It may have been wrought by the same cause as gave the up-tilt to the Negro lip, to wit, by Mother Nature, for reasons of her own. But it may also be man-made. Darwin⁵⁷ gives several instances of barbarous peoples, Huns, Tahitians and American Indians, who deliberately flatten the nose of their infants by bandages and otherwise; while "Jannequin attributes the flatness [among Guinea Mandingos] to their method of carrying their children" (with their noses constantly banging against the maternal back).⁵⁸ The observations of Dr. Walter Kidd, published in the *Contemporary Review* some years back, relative to the inheritance by draught-horse foals of certain 'patterns' produced by harness-friction on the under-surface of the necks of their parents, would seem to support this view.

The evidence regarding the sense of smell is like that regarding eyesight—conflicting. Sir Harry Johnston⁵⁹ declared the former to be so extraordinarily developed among the Congo Pygmies as to be "nearly as keen as that of a dog". "Blumenbach has also remarked on the large size of the nasal cavities in the skulls of the American aborigines, and connects this fact with their remarkably acute power of smell".⁶⁰ As for our Zulus, their nose is extraordinarily sensitive and extraordinarily insensitive to odours. The effluvia arising from putrid hides rancid milk and odoriferous bodies amidst which they were, born and grew up, are utterly imperceptible to their olfactory nerves. On the other hand, standing one day in the kraal, on a hill-top, of an old woman, at the time the first rail-road was being built in Zululand, some seven miles away from where we were standing, across the distant plain, she suddenly exclaimed, "Oh my! what a stench". Upon being questioned as to where and what, nothing being perceptible to this writer, she pointed to the distant ballast-train belching forth clouds of black smoke—a thing she had never before seen or experienced in her life. She declared the smell, wafted to her over those seven miles of space, to be simply '*bopile*' (suffocating). The mint-like smell of the *umSuzwane* shrub is to us perfectly

agreeable, but to the Zulu positively nauseating. On the contrary, the odour of *umSimbiti* wood, which is refreshing perfume to the Zulu, is found by some Europeans as repulsive as is that of bugs—although personally we agree with the Zulus, finding the smell suggestive of cedar-wood. Evidently the sense and appreciation of fragrance varies among mankind as widely as does that of beauty.

The Zulu's mouth is externally broad and internally cavernous, and the accompanying pair of jaws powerful and massive. Prognathism is described as total in 41% of the men; slight, in 25%; in 24%, subnasal. Among females, the 'total' and 'slight' classes are about equal. The lips are thick in 77% of the males, and medium in 20%, with a small percentage of thin. The female percentage is practically the same. The Sudanese inverted lip occurs, but is not common. In the great majority of individuals the thick lips protrude considerably, causing the chin (which in reality is well developed) to appear at times somewhat weak. The 'aggressive' chin is unknown.

The Zulu is supplied by nature with an exceptionally fine set of teeth; but 'civilization' is rapidly spoiling them. The coarse-ground food of older times is being supplanted by the finely ground meal of the European stores. This, coupled with the growing neglect of what was formerly a universal habit, religiously performed, namely, of rinsing out the mouth (*Xubá*) every time after eating, is having its expected result in the multiplication of decayed teeth. The Zulu molar has sometimes four cusps (like that of the European); sometimes five (like that of the Tasmanian and anthropoid ape). And those molars can be pretty strong at times. We once knew a Native who, taking hold by his teeth of a rope attached to a coil of fencing wire (that must have weighed nearly seventy pounds), could raise the whole from the ground with apparent pleasure. We have noticed a single case, in a small boy, of evenly-meeting front-teeth; which, of course, is simian dentition.

Dental mutilation, so common elsewhere in Bantuland, is entirely absent among the Zulus. Where the Hereros obtained their habit of hammering out their lower incisors and chipping the two upper like an inverted V,⁶¹ we cannot say; but we notice that their particular Δ pattern is that worn also by the Sena tribe on the lower Zambezi.⁶² The Tshopi women, near

Delagoa Bay, have extended this pattern by pointing both the middle upper incisors.⁶³ Johnston⁶⁴ and Livingstone⁶⁵ tell us that front teeth are thus filed to points, into semicircles, or wholly removed, sometimes from the upper jaw, sometimes in both, among many of the tribes of the East Coast, of Zambezia and of the Congo. Stanley,⁶⁶ however, noticed the custom for the first time among the waBwire on the Upper Congo. The Kikuyus in Kenya Colony knock out one or two of their lower incisors; while the Kavirondos knock out the whole half-dozen.⁶⁷ Even among the Pacific Papuans, says Wollaston,⁶⁸ "a good many men file or chip the upper incisors to a point, but this has not, so far as we know, any significance." It certainly has this significance, that, to have spread right round the Old World from Australia (where one or more upper incisors are hammered out⁶⁹) to Papua, and from the Papuans across the Indian Ocean to their brother Negroes in Africa, the custom must plainly have come down to us straight from the cradle-days of mankind, the days when the Australo-Negroid race was one. That is why its underlying meaning has become irretrievably lost. Livingstone⁷⁰ once tried to discover what that meaning may have been; but all the baToka Bantu of the middle Zambezi could tell him "was that they wished to look like oxen, and not like zebras . . . The custom is so universal, that a person who has his teeth is considered ugly . . . 'Look at his great teeth'." Cannibalism has been suggested by some as the original *causa causans*. In our opinion, a more plausible surmise is that of tetanus (lock-jaw), which is even still rather prevalent in the central parts of Africa, and might have been universal in primordial times. Or else it may be a survival, like red-ochre, from Cave Man days, or rather from the days when man was everywhere still in the 'hunting' stage of his development, and when pointed teeth were discovered to be more effective when dealing with tough animal steaks. Oldoway man, you will remember, unearthed some years back in Tanganyika Colony, was reported to have had his teeth filed in quite orthodox Bantu fashion. And Oldoway man is reputedly of the Chellean Age, and therefore something like 50,000 to 100,000 years old.⁷¹

The Kamba Bantu of Kenya Colony have invented something much cuter than pointed teeth; for, while they know how to knock out some of their teeth, they know also how to put

them back again! "It is unbelievable," says Bergh,⁷² "that the Wakamba should be able to insert these artificial teeth so skilfully that they won't come out after they are screwed into place; but it is a fact notwithstanding that the Ukamba youth whose picture I have . . . has no less than six of these artificial teeth screwed into his upper jaw. He took one of them out before the camera, and put it back again." How is it done? Simple enough: a hartebeest tooth is filed to shape, then inserted into the cavity and hammered till it is firmly fixed!⁷³

The orang is said to wear small flat ears, and the chimpanzee large out-standing flaps. The Zulu ear is carved after the model of the orang, even males as a rule having ears of the smaller, flat-lying type.⁷⁴ Those of the females are frequently really dainty little shells. The lobes of both sexes are always pierced (*Cambusa*) with an awl or Native boring-needle (*ũSungulo*), the puncture being then distended by thrusting into it small pieces of reed of gradually increasing size, until it is large enough to receive an ornamental stud of ivory or clay, or a thin, barrel-shaped snuff-box of horn. A person with ears unbored was ridiculed as an *isiCuté* (a deaf person, one with ears 'unopened'), or as an uncouth rustic (*o-Dlela emKómbeni weMpaka*, one-who-eats out-of-the-trough of-the-wild-cat). This ear-piercing business must be another piece of prehistoric survival; for we find it well spread around the earth.^{74a} Out-standing ears (*ĩHwabadiya*) are rare among the Zulus; but nearly lobeless ears are commoner. This latter is a Bushman (or probably an all-Negro) trait, as well as a simian.

Ferguson⁷⁵ says the European has a sense of hearing superior to that of the Negroes. This may fit the Negroes of America; but it does not fit in with the experience of ourselves and other observers in Africa. Says Mohr,⁷⁶ "I cannot imagine how the old Bushman got an inkling of the arrival of the game, for from our position it was impossible to see anything on the other side of the steep bank. He gave me to understand, by pointing to his ear again and again, that he had heard a noise; and if so, all I can say is, that the ears of a Bushman must be differently constructed, or rather, very differently trained, from ours". Speaking of the Bantu in Kenya Colony, Bergh⁷⁷ writes: "What makes the Wakamba such fine trackers and gun-bearers is their abnormal sense of hearing. This sense is so acutely developed that a whiteman in pursuit would have no

chance with them. Their sense of auricular perception is as phenomenal as the sense of odour in an elephant". As with all other senses, no doubt training goes a long way towards reaching these results; but that does not alter the fact of their better hearing. Although we have no actual note on the point, we think it probable that professional Zulu hunters (*ĩPĩsi*) of former days would have displayed the same power as the Kambas. Continuing, Bergh⁷⁸ says of these latter people that "they can speak to one another in ordinary conversational tones at a distance of one hundred yards without difficulty". Feats of this kind are an everyday occurrence also among the Zulus. Though it has ever been a surprise to all foreign observers, none has quite discovered how it comes about. Personally, we think it may be partly due to the Bantu vocal organs (their greater flutiness and sonorousness of tone) and partly to the Bantu language (with its multitude and clarity of vowel sounds).

The primitive peoples are held to be superior to Europeans also in the sense of touch. In some aspects of touch, says Myers,⁷⁹ Papuans are considerably better than English or Scotch; the Todas of India and the Murray Island Natives being more sensitive and discriminating. "The capacity to discriminate between lifted weights" is "greater among the more primitive than among the more civilised".⁸⁰ This also Loram⁸¹ concedes—"Primitive people appear to be superior to Europeans in their sense of touch".

The Zulu's hands and feet are a grade shorter in both sexes than are those of Europeans of a corresponding class (labouring or peasant) and stature. But they are also a grade broader, that is to say, are more naturally developed in the fore-part (owing to the absence of deforming footwear), which is never so pointed as with us, but well spread out, with a 'squarer', clean-cut toe-line. Their big-toe is relatively stumper than ours, the which tends to decrease the slant of the toe-line and so the general 'pointedness' of the foot. All this gives rise to the fact that, stature for stature, the Native usually requires a larger size of boot in order to feel comfortable, the discomfort arising from the boot's narrowness rather than from its shortness. Ward,⁸² himself a professional sculptor, who specially studied the Congo Bantu on the spot, agrees with us that the Native's hands and feet are normally smaller than ours, as

well as being well-proportioned. Hrdlicka,⁸³ on the contrary, states that those of the American Negroes are longer than ours.

The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are always of a light-yellowish tint (as is also the case with the simians in a lesser degree); and about the sides of the foot the colour becomes almost white. The state of these white foot-sides (*iNgqakala*) is, with the Zulus, regarded as a sure criterion of the wearer's general personal cleanliness; wherefore all decent people take special care, by rubbing them in water with a rough stone, to keep them always nice and white.

A Zulu walking on hard moist sand over a straight line of string is found to leave a footprint diverging from that line by anything from the almost parallel to an outward slant of eleven degrees, and with a space of 1 to 2 inches between the heels. A tread-angle of $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees may therefore be taken as the mean, as it probably also is with Europeans. The arch (*amaTé oNyawo*) of the Zulu foot is less high than is that of the European and Indian, though quite definitely showing right across the foot, but more especially on the inner side, and despite the fact that the Indian equally belongs to a race whose feet have never been cramped by boots. The Zulu print is furthermore broader than ours and that of the Indian, for the reason already given. There is nothing among the Zulus corresponding with the curious gait of the Dyaks of Borneo, who "in walking place one foot exactly in front of the other".⁸⁴

"With some savages," says Darwin,⁸⁵ "the foot has not altogether lost its prehensile power, as shown by their manner of climbing trees." He might have added also 'and their manner of riding horses'; for the Cape Natives and Sutus (who possess horses) habitually grip hold of the stirrups with their big-toes; as do the Zulus also ropes and such things, when plaiting them.

Six-fingered and six-toed people occur, though rarely, among the Zulus, the superfluous limb (*umHlaza*) growing outside of the little finger or toe. Further, left-handed folk (*iNxele*) are numerous enough, and even double-handed (*iKábe*), using both hands with equal ease, are sometimes met with.

The people of Zululand never practised what they call the *iNdiki* custom (i.e. amputation of one or more joints of the little finger); but some of their brother Nguni tribes did (e.g.

the Tembus^{85a} and Ncamus). The practice was certainly introduced from the Bushmen, ^{85b} whose blood runs in many of those tribesmen's veins. Strangely, the Hereros, in South West Africa, also have the custom, probably obtained from the Hottentots. This *iNdiki* custom is very ancient indeed; for it was existent even among the prehistoric Magdalenians of Southern France (perhaps 15,000 years ago), and is still today spread throughout the world—among the Australians, the American Indians, the Bush-Hottentots, and the baBong of the Cameroons.^{85c} Sollas believes the original motive was 'the idea of sacrifice'. Ourselves we prefer to think it was never anything more than a tribal or clan-mark.

The Zulu head is longer than is that of the European in proportion to the whole length of the body. Again, given a Zulu and a European of the same stature (minus the head), the Zulu trunk will be found to be longer and the legs shorter than are the corresponding parts of the European; but the Zulu legs are proportionately more massive at the thigh and thicker at the calf than are those of the latter. Thick calves are a beauty point with the Zulu, and are always demanded by him in the perfect female. Strange to say, it was so likewise among the Amazon Indians of South America.⁸⁶ The forearm of the Negro is said by Scott-Elliot⁸⁷ to be 81.9 per cent. of the length of the upper arm, against 73.4 in the European. This Negro figure would probably fit the Zulu also. "Negro soldiers," says Tylor,⁸⁸ "standing at drill bring the middle finger an inch or two nearer the knee than whitemen can do, and some have been known to touch the knee-pan".⁸⁹ Long arms, or course, and short legs are regarded as characteristics of the Negroes. And yet the Nilotic Negroes are among the most long-legged of the human race. Short legs and long arms naturally give a longer arm-span in regard to stature; thus, as Keith observes, the short-legged Korawp Negroes (on the Cameroons border) have a span 7% greater than their height, but other tribes only 2—3%. Topinard gives the span of the American Negroes as 8% above their stature. Cipriani gives the double arm-stretch for the Zulus as about 5 ft. 10½ ins. for men, and a little more than 5 ft. 4½ ins. for women.

The male breasts, in very exceptional cases, may be extraordinarily long, hanging down for a length of four or five

inches.⁹⁰ This abnormality is not unknown also among Europeans; for Walsh⁹¹ tells us that the medieval surgeon, Bruno of Lungoburgo, so long ago as 1252 A.D., had "seen [presumably among northern Italians] overgrowth of the mammae in men, and he declares that it is due to nothing else but fat, as a rule. He suggests that if it should hang down and be in the way on account of its size, it should be extirpated." The Zulus recognize several varieties of female breast, to wit, the *umNqadula* (hardly larger than normal male size); the *iNkomana* (in which it hangs in a round lump from a narrow neck); the *isiPófu* (in which it sits full and evenly rounded on the chest: this is the Zulu ideal of beauty, and is nearly always found in the 'fair' or yellow-skinned girl); the *umVongotó* (in which it is large and reasonably pendulous, as in normal married women); and the *uBelendlovu* (in which it hangs down to an extraordinary length, indeed so long that it can be thrown over the mother's shoulder to the infant carried on her back)! Stanley⁹² remarked on such breasts on the Bantu women of Kerewe on the Victoria Nyanza; and Sparrmann⁹³ speaking of the Hottentots of the Cape, says: "In this [the hood of their kaross] they carry their little children, to which they now and then throw the breast over their shoulders, a practice that likewise prevails with some other nations". The baYaka women of the Congo seem to glory in such magnificent appendages, tying them down in order to stretch and lengthen them.⁹⁴ It is a remarkable fact, well known to the Zulus, that baboons and monkeys clearly distinguish a female from a male in their depredations on cultivated fields. And more than that, they know that from a female there is nothing to fear, and so they proceed with their pillaging without concern. Darwin⁹⁵ knew of this, and thought they recognized the female, first by smell, then by appearance, and he cites the Zoological Gardens authorities as declaring that baboons become furiously amatory at the sight of certain (not all) females. We have ourselves noticed that this occurred also in the case of some European males (even when clothed), who seemed to be preferred to other Native males standing by, unclothed.

Most Zulu females develop (perhaps owing to their habit of carrying heavy weights on their heads) a fine spinal curve—a trait which seems to be distinctly human, seeing that neither the ape nor the human embryo displays it, these resembling

more the modern Bright Young Thing, who, unwittingly, is aping the ape in her fad for simian slimness.

Albinism is not uncommon among the Zulus, or rather is not unknown. Such people (who are much disliked, and accordingly stand no chance with the girls) are scornfully referred to as home or kraal-monkeys (*iNkawu ya-s-ēKáya*). They have the appearance of a coarsely featured, freckled, white person, with dirty lightish woolly hair and sore eyes. These latter organs, with their weakly-bluish irises, possess very poor eyesight in the daytime, though improving after sundown (the sunshine apparently dazzling them). Very rarely, albinism occurs in patches only on the skin.⁹⁶ The Sudanese traveller, Gessi Pasha, was amazed to strike upon a 'white' Nyamnyam. "His whiteness," he writes,⁹⁷ "is something astonishing; his face is rosy, his hair is red, his eyes blue. He is very robust, and about forty years old." Being questioned, he replied, "My parents are black. I had a brother as white as myself, but he is dead. I know no other whites." "At first," continues Gessi, "I thought he was an albino, but as he had neither the hair nor the eyes of such, I could not understand the phenomenon. But I know that Miani also saw white men who were not Albinos among the Niam-Niam of the west."

Every African traveller is familiar with the *bouquet d'Afrique*, "the peculiar rancid scent by which the African negro may be detected even at a distance . . . The odour of the brown American tribes is again different," says Tylor,⁹⁸ "while they have been known to express dislike at the white man's smell. This peculiarity, which not only indicates difference in secretions of the skin, but seems connected with liability to certain fevers, etc., is a race character of some importance." But all this must not mislead us. Among the Zulus (and we believe equally among all other Negro peoples), the body, when cool, and in the rule, gives off a smell no more perceptible than is that given off by European bodies: what is usually disagreeably noticeable to Europeans in Native people is the smell of long-unwashed clothing, or of 'perspiring' bodies; for perspiration naturally accentuates the odour, and under such conditions the presence of some individuals (European no less than African) becomes decidedly unpleasant. Probably not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the Zulus possesses a body-smell beyond the normal. But the occasional exceptions are certainly

impressive, and are as disliked by the Zulus as much as by ourselves. They distinguish at least four varieties of disagreeable body-smell, difficult to explain in words, but termed by them—the *ūHlofū* (the smell of a bitter pumpkin), the *iNgóso* (the shrew-mouse smell), the *īQuqu* (the he-goat smell), and last, but least-loved, the *umSanka* (the nauseating umSankabush smell). This worst type, to us, suggests Irish stew, flavoured strongly with onions and asafœtida. To the Zulus, perspiring Europeans are classed as perfumed à *l'īQuqu*.⁹⁹

Longevity is, without any doubt, less among the Negroes than among Europeans. 'Old Colonists', who ought to know better, are wont to point out to us old Native men and women "over a hundred years of age". As a matter of fact, they are probably hardly ever above their early nineties. Similarly, Native boys, really fifteen or sixteen, are put down as eighteen or nineteen. Puberty once reached, the Native boy quickly becomes a 'man'; and, at the end of his course, as rapidly grows 'old'. There are several times as many old men and women (80 to 100 years) among Europeans as among the same number of Zulus. Natives over 70 years of age are few and far between; though, of course, they are to be met with, even a rare one over 90. And among these latter it has been noticed that most of them retain their sexual instinct still active, though probably without any further power of procreation. Many of the most competent and reliable African travellers have remarked on this comparative shortness of Negro life. "The Mandigoes" [of Guinea], says Park,¹⁰⁰ "seldom attain extreme old age. At forty most of them become grey-haired and covered with wrinkles; and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty." Speaking of elephant-hunting among the Sudanese Bongo, Schweinfurth¹⁰¹ states that "it is only the oldest of the men—and here the number of men that are really old is very small—who appear to have any distinct recollection of it at all." Coming to Southern Africa, Livingstone¹⁰² mentions an 'old man' among the baMangwato, and adds, "he may have been about seventy-five or eighty, which is no great age; but it seemed so to people who are considered superannuated at forty."

The reason for all this can lie only in the unwholesomeness of the home the Negro lives in—his insanitary kraals, his ignorance of diseases and an effective treatment of the affected,

a diet often badly prepared, and a probable deficiency of some necessary vital factors favouring attainment of old age. For even though he die younger, our Zulu seems blessed with a natural constitution quite as strong as our own. He can resist the injurious influences he is up against, as well as persons of our own race were able to do in centuries past; and were it not for that, we might have expected him, with such odds against him, to survive for even a shorter period than he does.

The most critical time of life with the Zulu, as probably with most others, is that of infancy. There are no statistics available as to infant mortality among the Natives of Zululand either in older or in modern times. The African traveller, Declé,¹⁰³ gives it as the result of his general observations throughout Bantuland that "mortality among children is enormous. . . . More than seventy per cent. die before they reach the age of five months." Sollas¹⁰⁴ says of the Australians that "the statement is supported by independent evidence, that from one third to one half of the newly-born were allowed to perish." We surmise that about 35 per cent. of mortalities (i.e. say, one infant death in every 3¼ births) would roughly meet the case of Zulus living their own life in their own territories. These infant deaths are due mainly, we think, to bad feeding, aggravated by harmful medical treatment in the homes, and accompanied all the time by general insanitary surroundings. The infants are left for most of their time in the care of small girls, 8 to 12 years old, who, whenever the babies attempt to exercise their lungs, immediately, and a dozen times in a day, stuff their mouths with bean-mash, boiled maize-grains, foul milk-curd, or anything else handy, to stop the row. Stomach ailments frequently following, the mother then vigorously plies the child with purgatives and enemas, until it eventually succumbs to infantile diarrhœa (perhaps responsible for the majority of deaths) or other consequence of ill treatment. In brief, the infant is killed by its own mother through her ignorance or neglect.

The outcome of all this is that those who survive the ordeal consist wholly of those more strongly constituted, and who have meanwhile become partially immune to their many unhealthy surroundings. Such was the state of affairs under the older purely Native system. But in modern times things have changed, introducing other, but equally harmful, conditions;

so that the general Native physique may be expected to degenerate still further before finding its level in the new environment ; or, aided by the newer advantages, it may at best retain the balance *in statu quo*. In former days, for instance, a girl seldom married before the robust age of 25 to 30, while every man was already in his prime. Healthy delivery and stronger offspring was a natural consequence. Now, on the contrary, quasi-child marriages of boys and girls of 20 years of age are, especially among the Christian communities, common, resulting in puny children and, with the old habit of injurious feeding still retained, an even higher infantile mortality. The habitual wearing of European clothing by a people with no understanding whatsoever of the hygienic use of clothes, has also been detrimental to health and caused a general weakening of the system in various ways. No doubt a paternal Government will some day come to a recognition of its duty to introduce a system of Native *adult* education, teaching the fathers and mothers how to meet and overcome all these ills.

Never was there a greater delusion than that which supposes the African females, more especially in these present days, to be free of all pain in their sexual functions. One has only to compare the position in a European girls' school with that in a Native, where menstrual disorders are much more common. Perhaps 30 per cent. of Native girls seem to be condemned to the monthly misery of a more or less painful menstruation. Menorrhagia, metrorrhagia, suppression, fibroid tumours and other such uterine maladies are apparently commoner among modern Native girls than among European. We are therefore not surprised to note that sterility appears to be definitely on the increase.

Hysteria is also extraordinarily rife among Native girls ; but it usually disappears after marriage. It is regarded by them, not as a natural disposition, but as due to the magic of ill-disposed, if amorous, youths.

It seems rather paradoxical to say that the Zulu is blessed with a general constitution as strong as that of a European, and is at the same time less healthy. Yet all school-managers and employers of Native labour will have remarked how much more frequently young Natives of both sexes are incapacitated by minor stomach, liver and bowel derangements, attributed

by them, with a fair probability of accuracy, to *iNyongo* (or bile). Climatic influences, working through their particular brand of liver, may be responsible for this ; for it seems strange that the same phenomenon should not be noticeable among Whites.

There is no doubt at all that the Zulu people, prior to the Whiteman's coming, had fewer diseases to contend against. Endemic and epidemic outbreaks, of malaria and dysentery, chicken-pox and measles, were periodically prevalent. But malaria was practically unknown among the Natives living eight miles or more from the coast prior to the White colonization of Zululand and the concurrent construction there of the first railroad (running right through the malarious coastal region) during the first years of this century. It was immediately carried about to every part of the country by Native labourers, already badly infected, returning in thousands to their homes ; so that it is now a universal curse. Scrofulous swellings, often suppurative, called *umZimb'omubi* (bad-flesh, or, as we might say, bad-blood), were and still are wide-spread. Consumption, formerly very rare, but now rapidly increasing, was well known even in the earliest times to be infectious ; on which account the corpse, even when that of the kraal-head himself, was always buried far away from home (a course altogether exceptional), lest other members of the family should become infected.^{104a} All the preceding ailments were recognized, even in earlier times, as 'natural' diseases, not caused by human magic or malice ; and most of them were grouped together under a vague generic name of *umKühlane* (roughly, a 'fever'). Whether typhus and typhoid existed is extremely problematical ; probably they did not. Cancer likewise is doubtful, and even today it must be rare in Native territories ; though we have heard of a case in Natal so diagnosed by the European profession. Leprosy and venereal diseases were absolutely unknown among the Zulus ; and so, we believe, were scarlatina, whooping-cough and a host of other maladies common to civilized communities. Mungo Park¹⁰⁵ was struck by a similar paucity of diseases among the Mandingos of Guinea. "It appeared to me," he writes, "that their diseases are but few in number . . . Fevers and fluxes are the most common and the most fatal." Despite the fact that pock-marked faces are, and long have been, quite a

frequent sight among the neighbouring Tonga Bantu along the East African littoral—tribes for centuries in intimate contact with Arabs and Portuguese, the Zulu people made their first acquaintance with small-pox (*ūBici*) during Mpande's reign, about the middle of last century. Constitutional diseases, on the other hand, as well as organic, were many of them well known in the Zulu country long before the advent of the European. Rheumatism, heart and blood diseases, respiratory (pneumonia, asthma and bronchitis), kidney, liver, stomach, uterine, bowel and throat complaints were among the commoner causes of sickness and death. These, then, were the maladies which were held to be quite 'unnatural' to mankind, being attributed solely to malicious or magical origin (*Tákatá*, destroy by poison or magic). Umbilical hernia, represented in children by a protuberance about the navel (often as large as an egg, and said by Natives to be sometimes filled with intestinal worms), was, and still is, frequently met with, due perhaps to faulty obstetrics. It is not regarded as an ailment, but simply as a disfigurement, and usually diminishes or passes away in course of time.

To some of the more prevalent local diseases, like malaria and tuberculosis, the Zulus had already gained some degree of immunity. In the *Report of the South African Institute of Medical Research, April, 1932*, it was stated that of the Natives working on the Johannesburg mines 72 per cent. were found to be afflicted with the virus of tuberculosis; but it must here be remembered that among the Johannesburg mine-workers Zulus are conspicuous by their absence, they preferring domestic, store, office or police work in the open or in the town. The former healthy mode of life of the Zulu people, spent almost wholly out of doors, probably held their tubercular tendencies in check; but these conditions now having largely passed away, the disease may be expected to assert itself more powerfully. On the coast, too, where malaria was always a hardy annual, few Natives who permanently lived or were born there, were ever seriously affected thereby; though to unwise visitors from up-country during the bad-season, it was very frequently fatal. Darwin¹⁰⁶ entertained the idea that the Negro skin and hair might be responsible for something of this immunity; but, of course, in Darwin's time the mosquito origin of malaria had not yet been discovered. "Various facts, which I have

given elsewhere," he says, "prove that the colour of the skin and hair is sometimes correlated in a surprising manner with a complete immunity from the action of certain vegetable poisons, and from the attacks of certain parasites. Hence it occurred to me, that negroes and other dark races might have acquired their dark tints by the darker individuals escaping from the deadly influences of the miasma of their native countries, during a long series of generations . . . This immunity [from yellow fever and other diseases] in the negro seems to be partly inherent . . . and partly due to acclimatisation . . . The negro regiments recruited near the Soudan and borrowed from the Viceroy of Egypt for the Mexican war, escaped yellow fever almost equally with the negroes originally brought from various parts of Africa and accustomed to the climate of the West Indies." Taking this cue from Darwin, Prof. H. Fleure¹⁰⁷ has said that the dark type of man, though usually gifted with less energy and initiative than the fair, is better equipped than the latter to fight many forms of disease. "Tuberculosis seems to be less fatal to him than to the fairer types. Thus the character of the skin and hair, both among ourselves in Europe and among the various races of the world, seems to be in some degree an indicator of the general constitution, and especially of the mechanism of heat regulation. And these differences of constitution seem to connect themselves not only with adaptability to certain climates, but also with resistance to various diseases, of which I have taken tuberculosis as an example." Alas! under the altered conditions of the present day, when the Native is being removed from the open air of the veld into the vitiated atmosphere and congested dwellings of European towns, there may be reason to doubt whether 'skin and hair colour' alone will longer suffice—if indeed it ever did so—to withstand the strain and continue the former immunity.

To new diseases, the Black race seems to be particularly sensitive. At the same time, we think it possesses a larger share than we, under similar circumstances, of that animal vitality and recuperative power so potent in helping one through. Only experience will prove whether these innate powers will be able to stand up against and overcome the onslaughts of these new and unaccustomed enemies. As far as tuberculosis is concerned, a doctor with much Native experience

has stated that the Zulus do not respond so well as Europeans to the orthodox 'open-air cure'; although we ourselves have found such treatment very helpful, at any rate in the earlier stages.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the general death-rate in the Zulu country; but we might venture to surmise that it may be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 30 per 1000 of the population per annum.

Muscular strength, on the whole, we believe to be about equal in both European and Zulu; though Darwin¹⁰⁸ and Quatrefages¹⁰⁹ and Gobineau¹¹⁰ have stated that civilized man has "been found, wherever compared, to be physically stronger than savages." This generalization, however, appears somewhat misleading; for strength of muscle depends so much on practice and training. A European coalman could certainly carry on his back a two-cwt. sack of coals with greater ease than could any Zulu man of like age taken at random from the kraals. But we have known Zulu men who, long accustomed to wagon-transport or to cargo-clearance at the Durban docks, could lift and carry extremely heavy cases equally as well as any Whiteman. The Zulu male wrist, owing to their habit from childhood of carrying and constantly using heavy sticks, is said to be stronger than that of the average European. Similarly, the neck muscles of the Zulu female have such power, that no German *Hausfrau* could compete with her at carrying heavy weights upon the head; nor, for a matter of that, on the back, whereon Zulu women habitually carry about their babes. Hrdlicka¹¹¹ was therefore probably right when he wrote that Negroes, at all ages and of both sexes, are three or four pounds stronger with each hand than corresponding Whites.

Regarding endurance, Darwin¹¹² says that civilized man appears to possess powers quite equal to those of the savage, as has been proved in many adventurous expeditions, a view which Gobineau¹¹³ repeats. It may be so. Yet the generalization is again misleading. For instance, in the 'adventurous expeditions' referred to, the European was buoyed up by many mental influences (of interest, ambition, hope and so on), which were quite absent from his savage companion, who was mindful of and felt only the fatigue. Endurance, like muscular strength, depends largely on mental impulses, as well as on

practice. Were a hundred young men selected at random from an English country-side and a hundred Zulus from their kraals, and both tested at long and fatiguing *safari* work over rough country, we believe the Zulus would get further and hold out longer on smaller rations than would the others, if only because they are accustomed to that kind of labour.

Taking the evidence of pain as our criterion, there is little doubt that the Zulu would win every time. During the Zulu War, Natives quite commonly hacked away at their own flesh until they had extracted the disagreeable bullet within. A Zulu boy, knocked down and run over in Durban some time back, calmly got up and walked away home—with a shattered arm. A few days ago as we write (July, 1932), the Durban *Mercury* reported the case of another Native walking into a hospital with a split skull. Schweinfurth¹¹⁴ wrote of the Sudan: "Instances far from unfrequent have been known where the sufferers have had the fortitude to perform the operation [of amputating a mortifying hand or foot], hazardous as it is, upon themselves." Examples like these are constantly encountered in the Zulu homes; but all that they seem to prove is that the Zulu nervous system is less sensitive than is our own. Since civilization has arrived, however, with European surgeries easily reached and habitually patronized, the Natives are rapidly losing their former habit and spirit of brave endurance and hardy venture, and their nervous system is softening accordingly.

The young Zulu is agile enough in his own environment, as, for example, at tree or precipice climbing; but his heavy build would be a serious handicap against him in fast running, jumping, or dancing in the European fashion. In none of these quick-movement activities could he compete with the slenderer and sprightlier Whiteman. Horses and canoes are non-existent in the Zulu country, and consequently also riding and rowing. The Zulu is quite obviously not of water-side origin; wherefore he can swim but indifferently (using only the dog-paddle stroke), and is nauseated at the very idea of eating fish. We imagine he ought to prove, with training, a good heavy-weight lifter, even fighter, and a formidable tug-of-war's man.

The sense of rhythm is developed in the Zulus (as in all Negroes) to a quite extraordinary degree. It manifests itself

in all kinds of ways, and proves helpful in all kinds of group-activity. Whenever set to work in a party, they always prefer to operate in unison. Thus, when engaged at pick-work on a road-cutting, when hoeing a field, moving weighty cases or carrying heavy rails, they invariably strike up a song, form themselves into a choir and leader, and get into the regular rhythmical movement of a machine. Singing-choirs (in church or school) find themselves disturbed by European instrumental accompaniment; but, if left alone to go their own leisurely way, they perform with the precision and unanimity of a trained band. The same is noticeable in their national dances (when well performed, as they used to be), each thunderous stamp of the fifty dancers, all dressed in line and mutually out of sight, being heard at exactly the same instant, as though it were done by one. This strong sense of rhythm in primitive peoples shows how much nearer nature they still are than we; for this regular succession of action and state is one of the fundamental principles in this cosmos.¹¹⁵

Migeod¹¹⁶ has observed that "the decline of fertility of Europeans among themselves, even though not apparent in the first generation, when they reside in the tropics, bears witness that change of locality, when widely different, cannot be attempted by a race without injury to reproduction." The obvious remedy to that, provided by nature herself, ever so solicitous for the preservation of her works and yet so often balked by man's petty interference, lies in the mixing of the breeds. But the blend, it seems, to become a perfect success, must be between the suited races, the dark and the fair, the temperate and the torrid zone; not between two comparative likes. It is rather surprising to find such a one as Gobineau,¹¹⁷ so consistently grudging towards the primitive peoples, actually advocating these 'misalliances'. "It may be remarked," he says, "that the happiest blend, from the point of view of beauty [and probably, we might add, of that of self-preservation and profitable consequences, under the particular circumstances], is that made by the marriage of white and black. We need only put the striking charm of many mulatto, creole and quadroon women by the side of such mixtures of yellow and white as the Russians and Hungarians. The comparison is not to the advantage of the latter. It is no less certain that a beautiful Rajput is more ideally beautiful than the most

perfect Slav." Antagonism to such alliances is therefore biologically a mistake, and based solely on racial prejudices. "Advocates of the polygamist theory," says Tylor,¹¹⁸ "that there are several distinct races of man, sprung from independent origins" [which, of course, is counter to the belief of Darwin, Keith and most other first-rank authorities], "have denied that certain races, such as the English and native Australians, produce fertile half-breeds. But the evidence tends more and more to establish crossing as possible between all races, which goes to prove that all the varieties of mankind are zoologically of one species." Darwin¹¹⁹ cites evidence that "known mulatto families [of America] have intermarried for several generations, and have continued on an average as fertile as either pure whites or pure blacks". Some have thought that the Latin or Southern European makes a better blend with the Negro than does the Nordic. Such a mixture might, perchance, in course of time produce not only a strong and enduring tropical blend, but one also of outstanding beauty, fertile of artists and musicians of a new and eminent type.

A belief in the influence of the moon on human beings, as well as on animals and plants, involves subscription neither to astrology nor to superstition. It is simply a well authenticated natural fact. That there are more things in lunar rays than are dreamt of in our philosophy, is more than 'poetry'. At the Anthroposophical Agricultural Institute at Bray-on-Thames in England, Mme Kolisko found that peas planted two days before full-moon yielded two and a half times as much as those planted before that time; while beans produced half as much again, and tomatoes nearly double. Dr. Mirbt explained that the moon made its influence felt through the water in the plant. The Zulus, too, hold to the teaching of Galen, the famous medieval physician, in that they implicitly believe in the influence of the moon on their actions and themselves. We once had in our establishment a Zulu girl who suffered in the ears and became partially deaf with persistent regularity whenever a certain phase of the moon reoccurred. Others have their eyesight or brain affected, or some other nervous disorder aggravated at similar periods. Livingstone¹²⁰ mentions a 'witchdoctor' among the Sutus of Sebitwane who, as he says, 'probably had a touch of insanity, for he was in the habit of retiring, no one knew whither, until the moon was full'. That experiences of

this kind occur also among Europeans is well authenticated. The London *Observer* of Jan. 10, 1932, reported a case in Berlin where a bride obtained a divorce from her husband on the ground of his regular wandering in his sleep at the time of full-moon. The London *Sunday Express* of July 5, 1930, told of a boy of eighteen charged at Liverpool with repeated stealing. "This young man," attested the probation officer, "is affected by the rising of the moon, and at those times does strange things." The astrologist, Naylor, explains such phenomena in his own way by declaring that "if one happens to be born at moon-rise or moon-set, i.e. when the moon is near the eastern or western horizon of the place of birth, or when the moon is on the mid-heaven or nadir, then one is all the more susceptible to lunar influences." The African traveller, Landor,¹²¹ writes: "But not many people are aware that moonstrokes are also frequent . . . I myself . . . who was never affected in the slightest by the rays of the sun, was always somewhat inconvenienced, especially if the moon was full, if I sat outside my tent without a hat. On one or two occasions, when I neglected this precaution, I felt a peculiar sensation in the nape of my neck and very nearly dropped backwards." Evidently a fruitful field for enquiry lies open here for the curious and ambitious scientific researcher.

1. Keane, *L.R.M.*, 384.
2. Barrow, *T.*, vol. 1, 157.
3. Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 133.
4. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 285.
5. Shaw, *M.*, 51.
6. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 104.
7. Fleming, *S.A.*, 200.
8. Maugham, *Z.*, 297.
9. Seligman, *R.A.*, 189.
10. Johnston, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 43, p. 379 fn.
11. ib. *G.G.C.*, 504; van der Bergh, *T.P.*, 261.
12. Maugham, *Z.*, 333.
13. Peringuey, *S.A.M.*, 200.
14. Sollas, *A.H.*, 373.
15. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 182.
16. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138, 508.
17. Marett, *A.*, 83.
18. Sweet, *H.L.*, 30.
19. Westermarck, *H.M.M.*, 269-270.

20. Darwin, *D.M.*, 196; also 32, 192.
21. Livingstone, *T.*, 348.
22. ib. ib. 256.
23. Maugham, *Z.*, 297.
24. Newbiggin, *M.G.*, 21-2.
25. Darwin, *D.M.*, 192.
26. Kropotkin, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1915.
27. Darwin, *D.M.*, 542.
28. Schaafhausen, *Anthropological Review*, VI, 418.
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Chapter 5

The Jomela Wardrobe

Fine forms deserve fine feathers ; and the Zulu and his trappings were particularly well matched. Never has any suit of clothes been better designed than his to reveal the beauty of man's figure, and never a finer figure than his ever created to adorn with finery.

Our search may have been unlucky ; but, so far as we can remember, the major anthropological works have dealt rather sparingly with this important topic. Not even in such modern works as those of Kroeber and Lowie do we find 'Clothing' specifically mentioned in the Index. And yet one would have thought such should have been regarded as one of the principal 'customs' of Primitive man.

This is due perhaps to the fact that the origin of clothing can be only a matter of speculation. Elliot Smith¹ suggests as follows : "The cowry and its surrogates were supposed to be potent to confer fertility on maidens ; and it became the practice for growing girls to wear a girdle on which to suspend the shells as near as possible to the organ their magic was supposed to stimulate . . . This practice probably represents the beginning of the history of clothing." This is rather far-fetched, we think. Perry,² on the other hand, thinks the clothing habit first started by decorating the body to make the wearer's person more attractive or imposing.³ To us, it seems most probable that this earliest of human inventions was, first of all, thrust on the prehistoric Cave-man when he shivered with the cold, for the purpose of self-preservation and comfort ;

secondly, on the prehistoric Cave-woman when out to lure the amorous male, for decorative purposes ; and, thirdly, much later on, after the attractively decorated sexual parts had long become accustomed to be regularly covered, for purposes of shame. We prefer to believe, not that shame gave birth to the fig-leaf, but that the fig-leaf gave rise to shame ; for it does somehow seem, at any rate in modern man, to be the fact that whatsoever part of the body has been habitually concealed for a long time, a feeling of shame eventually comes into being when that part becomes again exposed.⁴

Aesthetically considered, clothes-wearing is something of a comedown, a reversion to the ugly. Surely no Bond Street tailor or Paris modiste by their fripperies ever could improve upon or even attain to the natural beauty of the unadorned body of the ancient Greek, or indeed of the average Zulu youth. No human artifice can excel the handiwork of the Creator, whatever the prudes may say to the contrary. To move among these superb art-types is like passing along a gallery of living statuary. Imagine an Apollo Belvedere dressed in a coat and trousers, or a Venus de Milo draped in a crinoline or a skirt and blouse, and you will at once grant the æsthetic difference between the raw Zulu of the kraals and his 'civilized' brother of the European town. Had our friend, Jomela, promenaded down Regent Street in company with his wife and family in home attire, he would certainly have been 'taken in charge' and escorted to Vine Street, for 'indecent' conduct on a public place. Thank goodness, no police laws, and consequently no indecency, ruled in the Zulu country, where physical beauty and the airiest of costumes could parade uncensured and unabashed, and be regarded at all times as distinctly chic and *comme il faut*. The human mechanism, it would seem has been so designed that it acquire 'habits', become 'accustomed to' conditions, which, when abruptly altered, tend to 'shock the feelings'. This is so equally in the moral as in the physical realm ; so that, while the body habitually clothed readily 'takes a chill', its unaccustomed exposure immediately 'gives a shock'. But we have not yet met the European man or woman who, after having lived for a few years in the African Native territories, where the upper body is universally exposed, has been unable to look upon the bared female breast with perfect unconcern, and to regard the pudenda, in those tribes where they too are

exposed, with absolute coldness. It is all a matter, not of morality, but simply of habit.

Strange is it, but true, that fashions in dress are as varied, as capricious and as weird among the unsophisticated barbarians of Negroland, as they are among the civilized tribes of Europe; and they are generally more natural and becoming and hygienic. Among them all, none are more original, more picturesque and more primitive than are those of the Zulu. There the dress of man is still hardly a step beyond the hunting stage, and yet is already advanced to some measure of refinement. At its gala best, it is more elegant than the hanging loin-cloth of the East African⁵ or Congo⁶ tribes; more neat than the breech-cloth (passed between the legs) of the Sutus,⁷ the Congo baNgata⁸ and the Aruwimi⁹ people, or than the long shirt, reaching from neck to ankle, of Uganda¹⁰ and Bagirmi;¹¹ and more graceful than the multiple-skirts of Bushongoland.¹²

Jomela is our Zulu fashion-plate; and, like all such Zulu gentlemen, he possessed a wardrobe of at least three suits of clothes. The first and best, his court-dress, was reserved for regal ceremonies; the second, for festal occasions (for instance, weddings); and the third, for daily wear.

The base and backbone of the whole series was the last-named, the work-day suit, or as he called it, the *umHambakáya* (the going-about-at-home thing). In this, there was practically no distinction between herdboys and king; all dressed in the same fashion. This work-day suit was therefore the typical Zulu attire. It consisted, with both sexes, wholly of dressed skins, mostly of the useful cow.

"And the eyes of them were opened . . . and they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons" (Gen. 3-7). The Zulu also began his day, and his wear, by affecting a fig-leaf, of sorts. For the morning toilet of the adult male commenced by the attachment of the penis or prepuce-cover (*umNcedo*). This was a hollow, feather-weight, spherical box, brown in colour and about an inch and three-quarters in diameter, with a circular aperture left on the lower side, through which the prepuce, gathered together by the fingers of the right hand, was stuffed; whereafter, slightly distending itself inside the box, the prepuce held the box firmly in position, dangling at the end of the penis, and effectively preventing any inconvenient protusion of the internal glans. For, rather strangely,

what the Zulu felt most ashamed of was, not so much an exposure of the penis itself, as that of the internal glans. These covers were manufactured by a special craftsman out of strips of the skin of the wild banana-stalks (*strelitza augusta*), so woven together as to form a small round box. Immature boys wore no cover at all. When the circumcision custom was still in vogue among the Zulus (it finally became obsolete a century or more ago), there being no longer any prepuce to use, in place of the aforesaid box, a tight-fitting leather penis-stall (*isiZiba*), resembling the finger of a glove, was worn by males. This penis-stall was then generally tied, by a string at its end, to the inner side of the sporran, so preventing any inconvenient exposure of the organ. ¶ Such a leather covering is still worn in Xosaland (Cape), where circumcision is still practised. But there, the Xosas having no sporran, the covered organ was suspended or drawn upwards by a leather string to the waist. The suspended penis being with them normally otherwise exposed, its stall and string were often decorated with brass beads and rings.¹³ The Kare Negroes (neighbours of the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa) had a similar habit in regard to the penis, "which they pulled up in front as high as the wasit" and there fastened it with a string.¹⁴

The above fashion of penial attire was no Nguni invention. It reappears all the world over, and takes us right back to the beginnings of clothing and the birth of human shame. The Tembe Tongas, abutting on the Zulus to their north-east, sported a sheath of plaited palm-strips, an inch or more in diameter and one to two feet in length, according to taste. The Mada Negroes of the Sudan use a cover, usually of a pointed shape, two or three inches long.¹⁵ To the extreme west, in Gambia, the Basari Negroes wear, as their only encumbrance, a cutlass and "a small conical-shaped cover of plaited matting worn by the men only over their Phallic member and secured around the loins" by a piece of twisted gut.¹⁶ In Nigeria too the only male garment is sometimes "a little basket-like object".¹⁷ Over the Atlantic, the Bororo Indians of South America wear a "penis-cuff" (whatever that may be), which they call a *ba*.¹⁸ Over the Indian Ocean, in Papua, "the more usual covering is the bamboo penis-case, which is kept in position by pulling the preputium through a hole in the lower end of the case" (apparently exactly after the Zulu manner).¹⁹

But the most magnificent contraption of this type, as a counter-balance to their insignificant stature, is that affected by the Papuan Pygmies, whose only article of clothing was "made of a long yellow gourd, about two inches in diameter at the base and tapering to about half an inch at the pointed end. It is worn with the pointed end upwards and is kept in position by a string round the waist. As the length of the case—some of them measure fifteen inches—is more than a quarter of the height of the man himself, it gives him a most extraordinary appearance".²⁰ Speaking of the basket penis-cover of certain Sudanese Negroes, H. R. Palmer²¹ observes, "the explanation of all these coverings seems to be connected with the primitive idea that, in the case of a slain animal for instance, unless the apertures of the body are closed, the spirit will escape and may do harm". That may, or may not, apply to the Sudanese; but it certainly does not fit the Zulus, where the motive is simply one of personal convenience and shame.

From the fig-leaf, Adam proceeded to skins—"and the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife coats of skins and clothed them" (Gen. 3-21). The Zulus followed his example: from banana-leaf box to skin-sporran. Having satisfactorily fixed his prepuce-cover, Jomela took down from the rack on the hut-wall, where it was hanging, his *umuTsha*, and therewith girded his loins. This *umuTsha* was the Zulu equivalent for a pair of trousers, being in fact a loosely hanging apron of supple hide behind and a bunch of furry tails in front; for the Zulu gentleman, nautically speaking, was a fore-and-aft rigger. Despite its quaint and, some might think, indelicate appearance, this airy style of trouser seemed to suit very well its dusky 'surroundings' and always 'sat' on the Zulu man much more becomingly than would have done the finest tailor-made garment. It consisted, to begin at the top, of a stiff, flat belt-like top-piece (*isiPénama*) made of three overlapping strips of hide, which rested across the upper part of the buttocks, and from which depended a posterior curtain (*īBéshu*),^{21a} formed of a square (perhaps 12 inches wide by 15 or more long) of dressed calf or goat skin (with the fur outside) hanging loosely over the buttocks. In front was suspended a sporran (*isi-Nene*),^{21b} formed of a bunch of artificial 'tails' or of several flat strips of calf-skin, the sporran being held in place by a slender thong which, passing above the head of the thigh-bone

on both sides, was tightly attached to the top-piece of the posterior curtain. Occasionally, from this thong on one side, was suspended a small bag of weasel or polecat skin containing the wearer's snuff-box, without which he never moved abroad. This was, so to say, his 'pocket'. But sometimes, the snuff-box was contained in a larger kind of bag (*isiTomotiya*) made of the skin of an unborn calf or kid, and carried in the hand. Such, then, was the Zulu man's daily dress, cool, breezy and hygienic, perfectly decent and quite becoming in appearance.

Fashions, as we have said, are no monopoly of civilisation. All civilisations have them; indeed, the multiplicity of fashions might almost be taken as a measure of a civilization's advancement. Tight trousers, bell-bottoms and plus-fours all had their counterpart in the several styles of Zulu *umuTsha* and its varied makes of sporran—its exceptionally short posterior curtain (*isiPimpiyana*), the long trailing (*eli-ziTóle-zi-Miti*), the swallow-tailed (*uShindindi*), the goat-skin (*uTshavu*), the girdle of long tails (*īGqibo*), and others. There were even fashions of wearing the garment on the body—for instance, well up, or low down, over buttocks and pubes, and so on.

The most primitive type of '*umuTsha*' we know of, is that worn by the Bari girls on the Nile, to wit, a small bunch of leaves hanging before the pubes; perfectly Adamic. The only dress of the Putooa tribe in India is also a string round the waist, from which, every morning, is suspended a fresh bunch of leaves dangling before and behind.²² An embryonic *umuTsha* appears among the Kavirondo of the Nyanza region, where some men wear "on behind an apron of deer-skin as large as a handkerchief".²³ This posterior 'apron' among the Dyur of the Sudan has developed into a two-piece suit; for there the men "only wear round the back of the loins a short covering of leather, something like the skirts of an ordinary frock-coat; a calf-skin answers the purpose best, of which they make two tails [or flaps] to hang down behind".²⁴ Still a two-piece suit, these 'frock-coat tails', among the neighbouring Sudanese Bongo, already assume the fore-and-aft *umuTsha* form; for there the men wear a bit of cloth or skin fastened to a girdle and hanging down before and behind;²⁵ while, on the Upper Congo, "men wear a strip of grass-fibre cloth or beaten bark (the bark of the fig-tree, from which the sap has been beaten) suspended in front and behind from a waist belt."²⁶

Something like the sporran or frontal covering of the *umuTsha* existed also among the Hottentots, who used to conceal the penis behind a square piece of skin, with the fur outside, and hanging by two strings from the waist. The two lower corners of this apron were sewn together to form a kind of bag in which the organ rested.²⁷ This cute idea may have suggested that particular style of Zulu sporran (known as an *ĩGobela*), in which the lower ends of the hanging skin-strips had been bent round backwards (while the skin was still wet and supple, and being afterwards allowed to dry hard), so as to provide an effective covering for the penis under certain circumstances.

The name, *umuTsha*, must be an aboriginal, ancient Bantu word, because away in Kambaland, in Kenya Colony, we find that the diminutive apron made of leather tassels worn there by the girls, is also called by them a *muChi*; while the fibre kilt of Bechwana circumcision boys is again termed a *moShu*.²⁸ Perhaps the Nika (Portuguese East Africa) *muChira*, the Herero *omuTyira*, the Ganda *mKila*, and the Swahili *mKia*, all said to mean 'tail', may also have something to do with it.

There are good grounds for believing that in the remoter past our Zulus were not so utterly ignorant, as they now are, of the art of cloth making. Indeed, Ludlow²⁹ distinctly mentions a tradition that the Zulus in pre-Shakan times were accustomed to weave a coarse cloth-material with bark-fibre. Dampier³⁰ too, writing of the men in Natal in 1770, explicitly states that they "go in a manner naked, their common garb being only a piece of cloth, of silk-grass, as an apron. At the upper corner it has two straps round the waist; and the lower [? border] is fringed with the same [? silk-grass] and hangs down to the knees". Furthermore, until almost recent times (first half of last century) members of the Wushe tribe (on the upper Mngeni river in Natal) still wore (as we have personally heard from old tribesmen, who had seen it) a sporran and posterior curtain manufactured, not of skin, but of finely woven grass-cloth, likened by the Natives to a well-made modern *isiTébe* (Zulu eating-mat), also woven of fine grass. The illustration of Rhodesian grass-cloth shown by Bent³¹ will most likely describe its appearance. At the initiation ceremonies among the bamaNgwato of Bechuanaland (also thought to have been of Nguni extraction) are still to be seen "young maidens wearing short petticoats of plaited rushes";³² while

among the neighbouring beChwana a 'fibre kilt' (called a *moShu*—see above) is said to be worn by circumcision boys.³³ Loin-cloths of palm-fibre are also worn by the baYaka in the Congo.³⁴ So long ago as 1593, the survivors of the *St. Albert* noticed among the Natives of Natal "some youths dressed in reeds [? rushes] fashioned like mats".³⁵ But these may have been *umShopi*, or circumcision, costumes.

One might therefore be led to wonder whether, after all, the custom of skin garments might not have been a quite recent substitute among the Zulus for an earlier bark-cloth covering of a similar shape—a habit adopted perhaps, along with the click sounds of their speech, during their contact with the Hottentots further west; for these latter also, we must remember, wore a dress made of a piece of jackal skin suspended in front and a strip of prepared hide behind.³⁶ But this too would appear unlikely, if Roscoe be right. According to him, the oldest dress-material in Uganda (from which region the Zulus are thought to have descended) was skins or hides, not bark-cloth, which was a later introduction. "In early days," he says,³⁷ "skins were scarcely ever dressed, beyond being dried in the sun, stamped on and rubbed with the hands to make them soft enough to use as loin-cloths . . . Later on the people learned to dress skins", and the method employed was practically identical with that of the Zulus, the skin being pegged out above the ground, then moistened with water, scraped with a knife (*Z. Pála*) and scratched (*Z. Kúhla*) with needles protruding from a piece of wood (*Z. iNdlwandlwa*), then softened (*Z. Cápá*) with clotted milk, and suppled (*Z. Shuka*) by rubbing between the hands.

Again, seeing that the Cape Xosas (the southern branch of the Nguni family) know nothing of the *umuTsha* as a male covering, wearing simply a blanket wrapped round the body, one might conclude that their Zulu brothers had also originally followed the same practice and only later adopted skins. Fortunately, the early records make it clear that it is the Xosas who have abandoned the ancient rites, and the Zulus who have preserved them; for Paterson,³⁸ writing before the year 1789, distinctly states that the Xosas "wear tails of different animals tied round their thighs", which indicates plainly nothing other than the present Zulu *ĩGqibo* girdle (see ahead). Since that time, therefore, must it have been that the Xosas have abandoned,

not only their national type of hut, but also their national dress.³⁹

The truth, then, probably is, that the Ngunis (Zulu-Xosas) migrated from the Nyanza region to the south already acquainted both with bark-cloth and with dressed skin clothing. We can hardly believe that the art of cloth-making was a later discovery of the northern Bantu, made after the Zulus had already departed and disappeared to the south, first, because there is evidence that the early Ngunis were actually acquainted with the art, and, secondly, because we find that art universally dispersed throughout all Bantu peoples, as well as among the Negroes of the Sudan,⁴⁰ to say nothing of the Negroes of Papua.⁴¹ Everyone knows of the beautifully made and decorated specimens of cloth met with in the Congo and other parts of Central Africa.⁴² Speaking of the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza, Stanley⁴³ says: "Some exquisite native cloths, manufactured of delicate grass, were indeed so fine as to vie with cotton sheeting, and were coloured black and red, in patterns and stripes." The whole cloth-making industry, perhaps, came down into Negroland from Ancient Egypt, where already in the 1st Dynasty a cotton material was manufactured resembling our coarser calico, and by the 3rd Dynasty it had become almost as fine as lawn.

The first 'foreign' cotton fabrics to be introduced into Southern Africa, subsequently to the commercial invasion of the Whites, seem to have been of some flimsy, dark-blue, gauze-like material resembling Indian salemore; which suggested to the Zulus the idea of a 'spider's web' (Z. *ūLembu*), by which latter name they called it. As its use spread further inland from the coast, the legend passed along with it that, like the coloured glass-beads that accompanied it, it came 'up out of the sea', where it was made. Gradually, the sea became transformed into 'a pool' (any river pool), wherein the particular beings who made the stuff supposedly resided. The Zulus of a century ago used to tell their children that this underwater being was named *Nana-hulé* (which signifies 'barter-with-us, you-hurray-man'), or *Nana-bahūle* ('Barter-with-us, you-hurray-men'), or *Nana-bulembu*, or *Ntatá-bulembu*—all of which were probably the earliest Zulu names for a 'Whiteman'. Coming then to the river pools, these children would shout to the mysterious *Nanahulé*, and beg for clothes.⁴⁴

The Zambebian Rotses (formerly resident further south in Southern Rhodesia) also "have a rooted idea that woven fabrics are produced by water-sprites in the sand at the bottom of the sea and deep rivers".⁴⁵

In daily life the arms and legs of the Zulus were always entirely bare, save that young men were wont to wear armlets of brass or other wire (*ubuSenga*); as did also the Nyamwezis of Tanganyika Colony.⁴⁶ The Taitas, too, in Kenya Colony wore coils of brass or iron wire on the upper arms (New, *L.E.A.*, 331). Thick iron wire, actually called *Sengenge* in Zanzibar (cp. Z. *ubuSenga*), used in former times to be regularly carried on safari for bartering purposes.

As every Zulu, male and female, had both ears bored, ear-studs (*isiViliba*) were frequently worn by men, and consisted of circular, slightly conical plugs, an inch in diameter, made of polished ivory, horn or baked clay. Strange to say, the so-called 'buttons' of prehistoric Neolithic man in Britain, also made of ivory and stone, were identical in shape with these Zulu ear-studs.⁴⁷ Instead of the studs, some Zulu men inserted pretty little snuff-boxes (*isiGqobéla*), made of polished horn, and shaped like a slender, elongated barrel, four inches long by five-eighths wide.

Every Zulu man of mature age (say, over 40 years old) carried on his head the 'crown' of manhood. To all appearances, of polished ebony, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick (but a full inch in Natal), this crown was an oval ring, placed becomingly round the top of the head and with a slight tilt to the rear. It was called an *isiCoco* (head-ring), and, as a matter of fact, was not ebony at all. Nor was it removable, but a permanent fixture. It was assumed only after a specific order from the king or chief to some particular regiment of appropriate age. It was a formal and public recognition by the clan that now these men had attained their majority, as men, and conferred upon them a new dignity and superior status (that of *amaKéhla*, or 'ring-men') in the clan. More prized than the decoration itself, however, was the privilege which accompanied it, namely, that of marriage, a right hitherto strictly withheld (at least during the reigns of Shaka and Dingane).

The head-ring itself was manufactured and fixed in position on the head by special craftsmen. Collecting from the *umZungulu* (*Dalbergia obovata*) and *ūSaku* bushes the milk-white,

solidified substance, soft and slightly crumbly (like half-dry putty), found attached to them, and called *uNgiyane* (apparently a latex, but asserted by some Natives to be the product of a flying insect), the craftsman broke the stuff up in his palm, in order to extract the small reddish larva (said to be that of the aforesaid beetle) always found deposited inside each lump. Thereafter he chewed the substance in his mouth,* spitting out from time to time the clear, water-like liquid pressed therefrom. In this chewing process, the previous white colour became changed to gray, and the stuff itself became tenacious and elastic, somewhat as do fresh wheat-grains when chewed long enough in the mouth. The chewed lumps were now collected together and crushed to an even texture on a small grindstone. The material was then placed on a potsherd over the fire (generally in the cattle-fold), where it soon melted and boiled, the colour meanwhile darkening still more. While boiling, animal oil and finely ground charcoal were mixed in, resulting in a smooth, even consistency and a deep black colour. The craftsman now took a small oar-shaped stick and, twirling it round in the already cooling mixture, collected the latter on the stick (treacle-wise) in one large, soft lump. This dough-like material he next kneaded on a stone, drawing it gradually out

* The Biblical 'Manna', you will remember, was believed by the credulous Children of Israel to have been "rained down from heaven", to provide them with a much needed foodstuff during their wanderings through the Sinaitic desert. Less credulous, but better informed, modern investigators, however, inform us that, in reality, this *Manna* originated right there 'on mother earth'; thus, the traveller, C. S. Jarvis (in his *Yesterday and Today in Sinai*, p. 169), declares that this *Manna* was really "the deposit left by a small insect on the tamarisk tree" (common in those parts); while Odham's *English Dictionary* (recently published) says, it was "the gum exuded by certain wild plants".

Now, the substance (technically known by the Zulus as *uNgiyane*) employed in the manufacture of a Zulu man's 'headring', is, we were informed, "the material attached to the branches of certain bushes by the larvæ of a particular flying-insect; which material, after collection by the Zulu headring-maker, was "chewed up in the mouth into a gummy or putty-like substance", and so used for forming the headring.

All which looks so suggestive to us, that we have wondered whether by some strange chance this Biblical *Manna* and this Zulu *uNgiyane* may not have been one and the same thing?

By-the-way, we note that the Sinai Beduin Arabs call their 'water-pot' a *Gula*, while our Zulus call their 'milk-pot' (or calabash) likewise an *iGula*.

into one long sausage-like roll, which he carefully wound round the outer and upper sides of an oval framework (called the *ūQondo*). This framework, consisting of a 'rope', half an inch thick, made of palm-fibres, had been already previously placed in position on the client's head, and been firmly sewn to the underlying hair with tendon or string. Applied when still soft and warm, the *uNgiyane*, hardening as it cooled, clung to the internal framework as firmly as does the putty to the window-frame. Finally, the hard black latex was rubbed with grease, and polished with a small pebble or with the stone-like root of the *isiDwa* gladiolus, till it attained the gloss and appearance of polished jet. Inside the oval framework and around it outside, the hair was shaven away, so that the ring sat cleanly and alone upon the head. As the hair to which it was attached, grew longer, the ring rose higher, and sometimes reached a height above the skull of four or five inches, being then termed an *umPatsha* (a name in more recent times applied by the Natives to a Whiteman's top-hat).

The head-ring, as known in our own times, seems to have been a more recent development of something else much earlier. Stangely, the Xosas of the Cape, who separated from the Zulus about the year 1600 A.D., know nothing of this head-dress.⁴⁸ But Capt. Rogers,⁴⁹ writing about the year 1770, tells us that at that time the Ngunis of Natal wore on their heads "caps made with beef-tallow of about nine or ten inches high [note the *umPatsha*, above]. They are a great while a-making these caps; for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for use [comp. the careful preparation of the latex, above]. Besides they lay on but little at a time and mix it finely among the hair, and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a-hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may sit the snugger, but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height. It would be a ridiculous thing for a man here to be seen without a tallow cap. But boys are not suffered to wear any, till they come to maturity, and then they begin to build up their heads".

Whether or not the Ngunis of Zululand had a similar fashion at the same date, we cannot say. The earliest reference to the hair-dress of the Zulus is that found in the narrative of Capt. Owen, who visited the Delagoa Bay region about 1822-3,

and personally met in that neighbourhood a large body of refugees driven out of Zululand by Shaka. He says: "The chiefs of Mapoota and Temby [Tongas] wear their heads shaved, except a large tuft on the crown, on which is placed a small pad or roller [? ring], into which the wool, after being combed out straight and tight, is tucked with much neatness. The Zoolas or Vatwas, on the contrary, shave the crown, and leave a ring of wool round the head, but similarly dressed by being trussed over a pad and kept in place by wooden skewers".⁵⁰ Lieut. King, who was actually in Natal and Zululand a few years later, says:⁵¹ "Their heads [the Zulu men], in general, are kept shaved, except a circle, neatly made with the hair, in imitation of the mode adopted by Chaka, and from each side is suspended a bunch of feathers". No mention is here made of any manufactured heading. Nor does Isaacs, present with Shaka about the same time, make any reference to so conspicuous an object of body-wear, when he describes the Zulu dress. On the other hand, it is passing strange that, when Harris, about the year 1836, visited Mzilikazi (who had fled from Zululand somewhere about the year 1823, and therefore even prior to Isaacs' time), he drew a sketch of him with what certainly appears to be a small, though genuine, heading on his head!⁵² Where did he get it from? The successor to Shaka was Dingane (1828—1840), whom Capt. Gardiner visited in 1835. So far as we know, he makes no reference to any Zulu heading in his book: but he does say⁵³ that the neighbouring Swazis "adopted the heading first in Shaka's reign". Does he there intend to imply that the heading 'first originated' with the Swazis? In his picture of Dingane, the Zulu king, he depicts him wearing something very like a heading of the modern type. Furthermore, he definitely states (ib. 286) that Ncapayi, the Baca chief, was at that time actually wearing such a ring: and Ncapayi had never been near Zululand, but was a Natal chief, then a refugee beyond the Mzimkulu river.

From all this, it rather looks as if the modern *isiCoco* (heading) first came into fashion among the Tekela (i.e. Embo and Lala) Ngunis of Swaziland and Natal, and that it was introduced among the Ntungwa Ngunis of Zululand (perhaps from Swaziland) somewhere about Senzangakona's time. Indeed, it looks as if the 'ebony' (or latex) heading was the actual

invention of those Embo or Lala folk, being their local improvement on the earlier simple 'hair-ring' (see above), which they had met with among the Tongas about Delagoa Bay. But wherever it came from, the earliest heading was everywhere much smaller than those worn in these later times, as Ludlow⁵⁴ tells. Indeed, we have ourselves seen such a tiny heading on an aged Native (Baca) southwards of the Mzimkulu (in Ncapayi's old territory) so recently as 1889. The ring was not more than half an inch in thickness, and was worn well forward over the forehead (not tilted backward, in the modern fashion), encircling a space not much greater than would contain a large duck's-egg.⁵⁵

Having thus arrived at the crown of his head, we have now completed our description of Jomela's 'everyday' suit of clothes. But Jomela possessed a costume much more elegant than this. Indeed, he would have felt much humiliated and displeased had he been aware that we were here presenting him to the world in his shabby day-clothes.

Now, by some strange coincidence, there happens to be a local wedding on this very day, and at the general dance there, he, the several Mrs. Jomela, the Misses Jomela and the Messrs Jomela Jnr., will be expected to appear; aye! will be most certain to do so, for a free feast of meat and beer, to all and sundry, will be there provided.

It is already forenoon; and all alike, having first washed their bodies at the river, are now at home anointing them with lard or other grease (*umNembe*), mixed together with a little red-clay (*ibomvu*) to give the skin an agreeable flush and glossiness, and preserved in a special pomade-gourd (*umFuma*). The women, in addition, ever more finicky about favourable impressions, take the further precaution to rub both body and leathern kilt with fragrant powder (*amaKá*). This scent-powder is made from various sweet-smelling leaves, woods and berries, like the *umTómbotí* (*Excæcaria africana*), *iNtsindwane* (*Peliostomum calycinum*), *umDlonzo* (*Mikania capensis*), *umGxamu* (*Schotia brachypetala*), *isiGcence*, *iNkuzwa*, *uHlazazana* and others, and is always kept in stock for occasions like the present. With bodies thus fragrant and glossy, all now betake themselves to their respective dressing-rooms and wardrobes, and extract their festal costumes from the lavender.

The Zulu's dressing-room is, of course, the same as his bed-room, sitting-room and kitchen; and his wardrobe contains the following outfit. In the glorious days of 'savagedom', no ugly piles of cheap store-boxes disfigured, as now, the Native harmony within the hut. And yet all their simple finery was stored away in suitable furniture of their own design, and with all the care and concern of the Victorian lady for her silks and furs. The Zulu civilization was still in the earth and grass stage; and their furniture, like their homes, was mainly constructed of those materials. At the back of every man's *iLawu* (private hut)—such as were possessed by most of the better-class kraal-heads and young men, and where things were always kept neat and clean—there stood a large, globular, earthenware pot *iMbiza yeMpahla*, eighteen inches high by as many broad, in which were preserved the ornamental fur ropes (*imCilo*) for garlanding the upper body, as well as the less precious feather head-dresses (e.g. the *isiDlodlo*, a bunch of feathers worn on the top or the back of the head; the *ubuTékwane*, a bunch worn dangling away behind; the *īJomela*, a bunch of black finch tails worn on the head-side; the *īHunu*, a compact bunch of feathers clipped short, so as to form a 'rose' worn protruding before the forehead; the *ubuShokobezi*, a bunch of several dressed cowtails worn erect on each side, or in front, of the head, when in regimental costume; the *isiYaya*, a circlet of standing feathers worn round the head; and other such. Then, from the hut-wall hung the *isaMbo*. This was a portion of the trunk of some soft-wooded tree, hollowed out so as to form a cylinder some three feet long, closed at each end by a tight fitting cap (shaped while the hide was still wet and then allowed to dry hard) with a loop attached, by which the whole contrivance was tied, standing up, against the wall. In it were carefully laid out at full length the more-precious head-plumes of ostrich (*umBóngo*), blue-crane (*iMbangayiya*), or black finch (*umNyakanya*) feathers. The *umBúma* was a mat of bulrushes (*īBúma*), four feet wide, in which such articles as cow-tail fringes (*iNgeqe*) and girdles of dangling furry 'tails' (*īGqibo*) were wrapped. To prevent the ingress of smoke, the mat-ends were drawn together by a string and tied so as to form a pointed bundle. In this way it was suspended horizontally from the hut wall by a couple of strings. In cases of distant weddings, it was borne on the head by a carrier-boy (*ūDibi*), serving as a

'suit-case' wherein to convey the festal outfit. The *iDlelo*, likewise suspended from the hut-wall, was a bag, about 2 feet square, very tastefully woven of fine rushes (*iNcema*) and sometimes of hyphæne-palm leaves (*īLala*), and sewn together on all sides, but open at the top. Sometimes it was even made of a cow's bladder. In it were kept the more frequently required men's girdles (*umuTsha*), side-tails (*iNjobo*), beadwork and other such articles.

So Jomela dived into his private hut, and the remaining Jomelas into theirs, and all alike made for the *umBúma* (above) on the wall. Therefrom Jomela Snr. drew forth a style of *umuTsha* (loin-girdle) entirely different from the everyday affair he then had on, and called an *īGqibo*. Instead of the ordinary posterior curtain and sporran, this consisted of a kind of fringe, eighteen inches long, of dangling furry 'tails' compactly strung together and sufficient to encircle the whole body. Really, these apparent tails were long strips of lamb, goat or, in the best makes, genet skin, with slits cut along both edges and then twisted, with the fur outside, so as to resemble, let us say, the appendage of a Persian cat. Besides the *īGqibo*, there were also other varieties of this type of *umuTsha*, e.g. the *isiTinti*, the *isiTóbo*, and the *īDlaka*.

At each side of Jomela's *īGqibo*, there hung, down the thighs, a huge bunch of blue-monkey 'tails', longer than the girdle itself (and called *iziNjobo*), which had been presented to him by none other than his Majesty, the King. In front, beneath the *īGqibo*, he wore that particular sort of sporran or penis-bag known as the *īGobela*, constructed of sheep-skin or of genet.

Then from the *iMbiza* pot, the *iDlelo* and the *isaMbo*, Jomela extracted other trappings of divers kinds, not worn when simply walking to the wedding, but to be donned upon arrival on the dancing ground. All these he packed inside the *umBúma* mat, and handed the whole over to the *ūDibi* boy to carry on his head.

So, with his sons, he departed for the wedding. His sons wore girdles of the same fashion as those worn every day, but of newer and finer materials—posterior curtains of glossy, black-and-white calf-skin, with sporrans to match, and now, in addition, a heavy, tassel-like bundle of genet-tails (*iziNjobo*) dangling down each thigh. Some young men also wore, as an

anklet, a string of dried caterpillar cocoons (*umFece*), in each of which a small stone had been inserted, in order to make a continuous rattling noise, when dancing. This anklet was called an *ĩFóhlowane*, and had been adopted from the Bushmen or the Hottentots.⁵⁶

Arrived at the dancing place, Jomela opened the *umBúma* mat borne by his carrier-boy, and took therefrom numerous long, silver-white fringes (*iziNgeqe*) made of cow-tails.⁵⁷ Three of these he tied round each arm—one above the biceps, another above the elbow, the third above the wrist, the fringes hanging down and covering the whole outside of the arm. Another such fringe was attached to each leg above the calf. A thick coil of black glossy ropes (*imCílo*), made of twisted calf or lamb skin, he then hung over his left shoulder and under his right arm; and then a second over his right shoulder and under his left arm, the two crossing over his breast. Finally, on his head—where also was stuck away (into the hair on the inner side of his headring) the bone face-scraper (*uPépéla*) for removing sweat—he set a pair of plumes (*umNyakanya*) of long, black, finch feathers (*ĩSakabuli*). Each plume consisted of several feathers fixed on the end of a small pointed stick, which latter was inserted, so as to stand erect, into the hole in the circlet (*umQéle*) bound round his head below the headring and tied behind the head—the circlet itself consisting of a bulrush stem bent into a ring and covered externally with leopard or other skin. To this circlet, furthermore, were attached two flat strips of blue-monkey (*iNtsimango*) or leopard (*iNgwé*) skin, which fell loosely down alongside the cheeks to the shoulders, almost like blinkers (*amaBéqe*). Through them the eyes peered out, rather fiercely; which was admired. Then, taking up in his left hand his dancing-shield (*ĩHawu*) of black-and-white cow-hide, and in his right his dancing-stick (*isiCópó*), finely polished, with a small knob at the end, he strutted away to take his place in the long file of dancers.

Such was the orthodox festal attire of the Zulus.

Once a year came Christmas-time; and with it came the Grand National Festival of the Zulu tribe, the Royal Festival (*umKósi*), celebrated at the king's kraal, and at which every man of the tribe, in full panoply of war, was compelled to appear in company with his own particular regiment.

Now, Jomela enjoyed the rare distinction of being an *isiLomo* (a personal friend or favourite) of the king, and, as such, had been presented by his Majesty with a special court-dress appropriate to such dignity. It was called an *umQubula*, and was kept carefully stored away in the capacious interior of an *iMbiza* clothes-pot. Thence Jomela now extracted it. It was a three piece suit, and consisted of three separate, heavy, fringe-like girdles of blue-monkey (*iNtsimango*) or genet (*iNtsimba*) skin. This skin was cut into narrow flat strips, whose upper part, with the fur outside, was tightly twisted into a rope, the lower portion being allowed to remain spread out flat. So many such ropes were then strung together as would suffice to encircle the whole body. Each of the three girdles consisted of three overlapping layers, each longer than the other (after the manner of the old-fashioned coachman's cape), so that the lower or flat portion of each layer was alone left visible. One such triple-caped girdle encircled the neck and reached to the waist; a second encircled the waist and descended over the buttocks; the third rested over the thigh-bones and descended to the knees. Thus the whole body was thickly wrapped round with a dress of dangling strips of monkey or genet skin. The whole outfit was termed an *umQubula*.

Having packed all this, together with other necessary trappings, inside the aforesaid *umBúma* mat, Jomela set forth on his way to his own regimental head-quarters or special military-kraal (*ĩKánda*). There, on the appointed day, he removed the dress from his suit-case, and transferred it to his body. On each bare arm he then tied three separate, silver-white frills or ruffles (*isiPúnga*), made of the dry *isiKólokotó* (*Sansevieria*) bulb—some were made of monkey or goat skin, and termed an *isiPándla*—one above the biceps, another above the elbow, and the third above the wrist; save that on the lower right arm, instead of a frill, he wore a heavy, serrated glistening ornament of brass, called an *iNgxotá* (likewise a present from the king), and resembling in shape the upper part of a gauntlet (without the glove).⁵⁸ Sometimes, on each upper arm, he wore also a couple of brightly polished brass arm-rings (*ĩSongo*).^{58a} Round his neck he strung a necklet of lion-claws. Finally, into the *umQéle* circlet (above) on his head, he stuck a couple of long blue-crane feathers (*iMbangayiya*), one on

each side. Then, taking his war-shield (*isiHlangu*), some four feet long, in his left hand and his dancing-stick (*isiCópó*) in his right (leaving, like everybody else when entering the royal Presence, his assegai behind in the military-kraal), he proceeded with his regiment to the Great Kraal (*k'omKúlu*) of the king.

As already said, all men alike, great and small, had to attend the annual Grand National Festival in ceremonial attire; and the ceremonial attire of the common people, including Jomela's sons, was the uniform of their regiment. The regimental uniforms were, in the main, all alike, save for certain minor 'facings', which distinguished one regiment from another (differences of head-dress and other body trappings); for example, the cirlet of otter skin, bearing erect on the head four bunches (*iPóvela*) of cow-tails, marked the *isaNgqu* regiment, while the broad belt of white cow-hide (*umBémbeso*) worn round the waist, marked the *umTwisazwe*. But all warriors alike carried round their necks, in front and behind, a lengthy fringe (*imKlezo*), two feet long, of silver-white cow-tails, entirely covering their upper body. Round their loins they wore the ordinary gala *umuTsha* of dressed calf-skin; while three fringes of white cow-tails (*iziNgeqe*) adorned each arm and one each leg, being placed as already said above. In his left hand the warrior carried his war-shield, and in the right a dancing-stick (of the usual cudgel kind).

There is no evidence that the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu ever made use of the breech-cloth (passed between the legs—*ukuSubela*), as do their neighbours, the Sutus, and other Bantu peoples. We think this fashion must have been learned in ages past by East African tribes from either Indians or Arabs.⁵⁹

Turning now to the females of the family, we find their dress much simpler than that of the males.

There seems to have been a common tendency throughout Negroland—it was the same also in Tasmania⁶⁰ and elsewhere—that where one sex covered the body, the other went naked. In Equatorial Africa the Mambetu men are exceptionally well dressed; but the women are satisfied with a tiny patch of plantain-leaf in front. The Sudanese Dinka women modestly conceal their shame; but their husbands go perfectly unabashed.⁶¹ On the Congo, at Urangi, the men wear an ample

loin-covering of grass-cloth, while their women go nude;⁶² and among the baHima of Ankoleland "the men are scantily dressed; except for a bit of cow-hide on their shoulders, they are absolutely nude"; but "the women are profusely dressed, they wear two large cow-hides, one fastened round the waist, while the other covers the head and shoulders and extends to the feet".⁶³ Among the pure Bantu, male nudity seems rarer, but female more common. There appear to be few Bantu tribes, except the North Nyasa folk, the Central Zambezians, and (since comparatively recent times) the Cape Xosas, in which the men go wholly uncovered: the male nudity noted by Isaacs⁶⁴ in pioneer days among the Zulu and Lala refugees round Durban, was probably due to the extreme poverty in the then generally disordered and undisciplined conditions. On the other hand, male nudity is quite the rule among the Nilotic Negroes (on the Nile).⁶⁵

So, therefore, it came about that, among the Zulus, the Mesdames Jomela had to content themselves with one only, simple and drab costume for both home-life and wedding. It consisted of a 'Highland' kilt (or *isiDwaba*). Their universal tartan was—all black, on suppled leather. Arms, torso and legs were entirely bare, the only extra body-wear being the grass-belt (*isiFóciya*) round the waist and the bandage-of-respect (*umNqwazi*) round the head (both of them a universal rule with married women), and, perhaps, a cirlet of beads round the neck on festal occasions. Not only the Zulu ladies, but, in former times, also those of Xosaland,⁶⁶ as well as Mpondoland,⁶⁷ wore such a costume. The only difference between a lady's working dress and her gala gown was that the latter was newer, fuller and longer, and distinguished from the mere *umHambakáya* (working kilt) by the higher title of *iNgúbo* (festal kilt). An old *iNgúbo* often served as a coverlet for the children at night; while the name was also occasionally applied to the original Zulu skin-blanket or kaross (*isiPúku*). We have already conjectured that, prior to the universal adoption by the Zulus of skin coverings, they were probably acquainted with the manufacture and use of the common Bantu bark-cloth; and the fact that this word, *Ngúbo*, turns up again everywhere throughout Bantuland as the common term for 'cloth', confirms our supposition; thus Zambezi Toka, *iNgubo*, piece-of-cloth; Swahili, *Nguwo*, cloth; Rega, *Nguwo*, cloth; Herero,

Nguyu, cotton-cloth; *Kuwa*, *iKuwo*, cloth; *Ganda*, *Mbugu*, bark-cloth.

One half (*umBando*) of a large bullock-hide (*isiKumba*) provided the material for one Zulu lady's gown. How the hide was prepared for use by the skin-dresser and then manufactured into a garment by the seamstress, will be found described in Chap. 10. The finished kilt had the form, not of a cylindrical sack (like a European skirt), but of one long, extended piece, which was simply wrapped round the body above the thigh-bone. When donning it, the wearer first rolled up the top border, with the roll (*umQulu*) running along the outer side of the kilt and carrying a leather thong through it, by which the garment was tied on towards the side.

Nowadays, all female kilts are cut rather shorter (like the modern skirts in Europe), although the best-wear dress (*iNgubo*) is still somewhat longer than that worn at work (*umHambakaya*). But in older times, there were 'fashions' in ladies' kilts, just as there were in men's girdles. In Shakan and Dinganean times (the first half of last century) ladies of rank wore a confection which reached to the ankles in front and had two extended strips (*amaSondo*), about a yard long, trailing behind, like a Victorian lady's train.⁶⁸ But ordinary women, even at that period, confined themselves to the shorter fashion of present days, reaching only to the knees.⁶⁹ The long Victorian train went entirely out of fashion during Mpande's reign (middle of last century), and is now unknown.

This female leathern kilt is a very ancient Bantu, or even Negro, survival, and is not peculiar to the Zulus. Strabo,⁷⁰ speaking of the women of Ethiopia (east bank of the Nile), says, some of the women there "wear small skins or girdles of well-woven hair round the loins" (the 'hair' being probably the 'furry' side of skins). Even nowadays, the Shilluk women resident thereabouts wear an 'apron' of calf-skin bound round the loins and reaching to the knees.⁷¹ The Kagoma Nigerian females cover their loins with short pieces of cloth;⁷² while the Carayu Gala women have real "skirts of tanned leather".⁷³ The Nika Bantu, above Mombasa, have "a curious petticoat very similar to a Scotch kilt";⁷⁴ and, among neighbouring tribes, the Chagas "wear leathern girdles, faced with beads, around their loins",⁷⁵ and the Tavetas "a small skin, worn as a girdle round the waist" and reaching to the knees. Away on the

lower Congo, Merolla,⁷⁶ three centuries ago, wrote that "the Noble Women have a sort of Straw Petticoat call'd Modello, which reaches to the Middles"; and Livingstone⁷⁷ says that, in the middle of last century, the Makololo women on the middle Zambezi were wearing a kilt of soft ox-hide reaching to the knees. The Hottentot ladies, about the year 1700, affected a 'divided skirt', there being a square apron of skin suspended from the waist in front, and a second hanging over the buttocks behind.⁷⁸

The head is another part of the body that from the earliest of prehistoric times was selected for special adornment. Where the Zulu man had his head-ring, his wife counterpoised with her top-knot (*iNtloko*). This latter, in earlier times (up to the first two or three decades of last century) consisted of an oval, or sometimes circular, patch of hair, known as the *iMpiti* (Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 43; vol. 2, 113, 289; and Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 100), of about the same size as the then corresponding 'hair-ring' of the men (see p. 144), left on the crown of the head after the rest had been clean shaven. This hair-patch or *iMpiti* of the women, with the hair about half an inch long, was then reddened by smearing with a mixture of fat and red-ochre, whereafter the hair was rubbed with a circular movement of the palm (*ukuSokohla*), so as to form it into a mass of tiny, red and glossy, bead-like balls. The Zulu females, wrote King (append. to Thompson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 417) at the time, "have their heads shaved, except a small part on the crown, which is, like the men's, perfectly round, and kept plastered with red clay and oil; at a short distance it has the appearance of several rows of beads". And now listen to Speke, writing of Nyoroland (Uganda) in the '50s of last century. "The great king, Kamrasi," he says (*D.S.N.*, 403), had his hair, half an inch long, "worked up into small pepper-corn-like knobs by rubbing the hand circularly over the crown of the head". So, we see, *this* may have been the hair-dressing fashion with which the Zulus came down from the north half a millennium ago. And even today it is still an occasional mode of hair-dressing in vogue among the girls of Zululand, and is still called an *iMpiti*, though nowadays the hair, though greased, is usually left black: in southern Natal, however, it used still to be reddened, resembling a mat of brick-red beads, as recently as 40-50 years ago.⁷⁹

Naturally, in due course, the hair of this patch would grow long; and it was probably that fact which later suggested its being worked up into a 'tuft' (*isiCólo*), sitting, in a receding manner (not standing straight up) on the top of the head, like a small truncated cone some three inches in height (see illust. in Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*). There seems to have been also another fashion, called the *ubuSuda*, still earlier than the *isiCólo*, in which the central tuft was not shaven round, but was surrounded by a ring of shorter hair peculiarly twisted and coloured red, the central tuft remaining black.

The neighbouring Swazis (the Ngunis to the north of the Zulus) had by Mpande's time already developed the original small tuft into a much longer or higher 'top-knot'. This, being soon afterwards introduced into Zululand, was jocularly referred to as an *ĩShona-li-nga-Shoni* (the thing which, when gone over the hill-top, still remains visible). This form of *iNloko* (top-knot), however, never became popular among the Zulus; whose head-piece remained a tuft, never exceeding five or six inches in length.

This 'hair-tuft' fashion of some sort, was pretty common and widespread throughout Africa. Even among the Bush-women, heads were "sometimes even shaven, but a quantity of hair was left and arranged as a tuft on the crown, and always plastered with ochre, fat and the powder of an aromatic plant called buchu" (Stow, *N.R.*, 45, 139). The baPedi Sutus (adjoining the Swazis, in the north-eastern Transvaal), men and women alike, carried their heads completely shaven, save for "an oval tuft in front" (Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34). The baMbala women (of western Congo) are likewise said to "shave all round the head, leaving only a long top-knot" (Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 579). The baLoi, too, (of the lower Mubangi river, in northern Congoland) "shave their heads . . . leaving only a patch of short wool behind". An illust. in Johnston (*G.G.C.*, 581) shows that the head-dress of the Mangbetu women (near by the Nyamnyam mentioned below), as well as that of the women of the Bwela country (in northern Congoland) resembled the *iNloko* of their Zulu sisters very closely indeed. Still further north, the semi-Nilotic Dodinga women wear the head shaven, with the exception of a little round patch on the crown, which looks like a small black cap (Cotton, *U.A.*, 403).

In making the Zulu top-knot, the bunch of hair (which in a Zulu female may grow to a length of nine inches, or more) is straightened out by combing with any pointed instrument, e.g. a long thorn; then, held together in a circular compact mass, is sewn round, throughout its whole length, with horizontal stitches passing through the hair near to the outside. The top of the tuft is so flattened as to give the whole the appearance, as said, of a truncated cone. In quite modern times, several new styles of top-knot have been invented in Natal; but they are not yet favoured in Zululand. A kind of magnified *iNloko* is in vogue also among the Nyamnyam Negroes of Equatorial Africa. There "the coiffure of both sexes is alike; the hair of the top and back of the head is mounted up into a long cylindrical chignon, and, being fastened on the inside by an arrangement made of reeds, slopes backwards in a slanting direction". The hair of the local ladies, like that of the Zulus (who, however, always use grass for the stuffing), being sometimes insufficient to complete the head-dress, the deficiency is supplied from the hair of those fallen in war, or indeed with such hair as is procurable on the market.⁸⁰ Thus we find that 'false hair' is no European invention; and even some Native women of South African towns have already discovered the secret of the magnificent locks of their European mistresses, and as a consequence now invest their savings in buying *ĩFólosi* (false-hair) in the stores.

Zulu matrons, then, were not overburdened with raiment. Their unmarried daughters still less so. These latter moved about the world like dusky Venuses, with no further attempt at concealment, in earlier times, than a light and delicate fringe (*umKíndi*),⁸¹ four inches to a foot in depth, of dark-brown strings (attached to a waist-band or *umQondo* of plaited fibre), made of the twisted under-skin of *ubEndle*, *isiHlabamaKóndlwana*, and other plant-leaves. This fringe-girdle encircled the body, not round the waist as with Europeans, but, according to the general Zulu custom, resting low on the buttocks, then passing over the thigh-bones, and so before the pubes. Such a costume was usually worn at home; but when 'walking out', it was replaced by another, a species of leathern frill or ruffle, about six inches deep, likewise attached to a fibre waist-band, the whole being termed an *umNenezo*.

Beads, in and before Shaka's reign, were the fortune of the few, the daughters of the rich.⁸² But during the reign of Mpande, European store-goods penetrated into Zululand pretty freely from Natal, and they rapidly ousted the old-fashioned fringe-girdle from the land. It was now replaced by contrivances of beadwork—sometimes by a stiff patch of beadwork (*isiGege*), six inches across by three deep (see illu. Bryant's *O.T.*, 122, 240); at others, by a fringe (*isiHeshe*) of dangling bead-strings, and of the same size as before. Both were suspended from a beaded waist-belt, and allowed to hang before the pubes. The whole costume, whatever the type, was generically referred to as a girl's *umuTsha*.

It is interesting to note that the ancient Egyptian dancing-girls wore beaded girdles exactly like these of their modern Zulu sisters; and they wore them in exactly the same fashion, over the thigh-bones, not round the waist.⁸³ The Manja girls, in Equatorial Africa, also wear a girdle almost identical with the Zulu girl's *umuTsha*.⁸⁴ Among certain Nigerian tribes, too, girls wear the *ivyian*, which is "a girdle of loose native strands of string, not plaited or twisted in any way, which is fitted round the body a little lower than the waist".⁸⁵ Masaba girls, about Mt. Elgon, use a frontal of fibre, or fringe of strings, six inches by three in size.⁸⁶ Kamba girls, in Kenya Colony, have a tiny apron of leather tassels;⁸⁷ while the Chaga maidens, not far away over the Tanganyika border, wear a kind of fringed *umKindi* (above), much like and about the same size as that of Zulu girls.⁸⁸ Some Kavirondo women, too, sport a small fringe frontal of papyrus fibre.⁸⁹ Boloki women, on the Congo, have girdles of palm-frond fibre like the fringed *umKindi*, but somewhat longer;⁹⁰ and the maNywema of both sexes, further up the river, wear a dress of long grass-tassels from waist to knee.⁹¹ Down south, in the early part of last century, Mpondo girls had a "small apron" decorated with beads.⁹² Even away in Australia, unmarried girls don a narrow little apron or fringe made of fur or strings of hair, attached to a hip girdle,⁹³ and in South America, young Amazonian women wear "the *tanga* or small apron of beads".⁹⁴

Beads have always had a strong fascination for primitive folk. Even in the remote prehistoric times, they had them; and the simple idea of that period has been preserved right up to our own days in the ostrich-shell beads of the Bushmen.

In the civilization of Ancient Egypt, coloured glass and other beads held an important place as body decorations; and it may have been from there that the Negroes first made their acquaintance with the article. In the Mt. Elgon district of north-east Uganda, blue crystalline beads are quite frequently picked up out of the soil, and are thought to have been brought down there in ages past (along with the typically 'Roman' lamp, also unearthed there) either from Ancient Egypt or ancient Nubia.⁹⁵ Glass beads, declared by Sir Flinders Petrie to have originated in the Eastern Roman Empire in the 5th or 6th century, have also been dug out of the old copper mine at Messina, in the Transvaal. Blue glass beads, again, reputedly of the 15th century, were found by Miss Caton-Thompson beneath the Dlodlo ruins in Southern Rhodesia; while 24 feet below the present surface of the Acropolis Hill at Zimbabwe, she extracted "80 beads in coloured glass, blue, green, yellow, red and black", thought to be of Arab importation, perhaps from India.⁹⁶ Beads of gold are known to have been used by the Ancient Egyptians in the earliest times; and one such gold bead was unearthed beneath the Conical Tower at Zimbabwe. "The Katanga [Congo] people at an early date, some say six hundred years ago, as soon as they were influenced by the Hima metal-working civilization, made blue beads out of the vitreous substances in the slag of the copper-smelting furnaces".⁹⁷

Blue seems to have been a favourite colour with the bead-making and bead-wearing ancients; and the taste has been maintained right down to our own times. Nyamnyam,⁹⁸ Kavirondo,⁹⁹ Kikuyus,¹⁰⁰ and some Galas,¹⁰¹ all show a preference for that colour. The choice of the Sudanese Bagirmi was for blue and white,¹⁰² as it was also of the Xosas of the Cape early last century.¹⁰³ The Sukuma Bantu of Tanganyika Colony loved best the flat transparent blue and red varieties.¹⁰⁴ Beads of a blue or a white colour, resembling portions cut from the stem of a clay-pipe, passed as currency at Ujiji and thereabouts on the eastern side of Tanganyika Lake up to the year 1890.¹⁰⁵ Similarly shaped beads, called *iNtlalu*, were in vogue in former times also among the Tongas of Delagoa Bay; but there they were green, the cinderella among the colours.¹⁰⁶ Red was the preference of the Masarwa Bush-Bantu people;¹⁰⁷ while with the Carayu Galas the red and white beads were most fashionable.¹⁰⁸ Some tribes remained obstinately old-fashioned in

their tastes. Thus, the Madi on the Nile, even in the middle of last century, preferred beads like small shirt buttons, made of native ostrich shell, rather than any of the imported kinds;¹⁰⁹ while the Sudanese Dyur preferred beads of iron.¹¹⁰

So we see that Landor¹¹¹ was right when he wrote: "There are fashionable colours among the African tribes as there are in Europe, and fashions change continually". Colenso,¹¹² speaking of the Zulus about 1855, said, "the choicest kind are the *umGazi* (blood), a small deep-red bead; the next are the *ĩTámbo* (bone), a small white bead; then the *amaQanda* (eggs), a round blue bead, rather large. A beautiful new sort has just come out, likely to have a large run; but Panda will not allow any of the people to buy any, until he has seen and approved of the pattern; so the traders have taken them up to his sable majesty". However, "there is one large bead [probably the *iMfibinga*, see below], like a pigeon's egg, which no one but himself and his great captains are allowed to buy". Thirty years later, in 1880, Ludlow¹¹³ noted that in Zululand "in one district black and white beads were much sought after. Girls crowded into our hut for them, and many of them came from long distances to get the precious beads. At another kraal, green and pink [these colours, by-the-by, were those beloved also by the Makololo on the Zambezi¹¹⁴] were in great favour, and they would not look at black and white ones . . . Those which seemed most to take their fancy were some very large red beads [*iMfibinga*] worn round the neck, and for these they would have bartered almost anything, and for the reason that . . . only Cetshwayo's wives and daughters were allowed to wear them". These opaque, light-red *iMfibinga* beads, sacred to royalty, became so revered among the Zulu people, that they swore by them as a form of oath—"Ngi-yi-Hulule *iMfibinga kaMpande!*" (I-would-slip-off-from-their-string the-*iMfibinga*-beads of-Mpande—if I be not speaking the truth!). During the final decade of last century, our own experience in Zululand was that the small black (*isiTimane*), the small white (*ĩTámbo*), the small blood-red (*umGazi*), the small light-blue (*uZulu-cwatile*) and the small transparent crimson (*umLilwana*) beads were the universal favourites; above all, the first two colours; which, being neither flashy nor gaudy, seemed to us to denote quite a refinement of taste. The pink (*isiPófu*), the yellow (*iNcombo*), the

green (*ũHlaza*), the clear transparent glass (*iNtlaka*) and other beads, though obtainable, were in small demand.¹¹⁵

With different coloured beads strung on a string in a special order, the Zulu girls used to make what they called an *iNcwadi* (a letter or book). Telling the beads one by one, they would 'read' the 'letter', saying, "My heart today is white (happy); my heart is black (depressed), and so forth". The same idea seems to have occurred also to the Indians of South America, who used a 'readable' cord, with smaller pieces (*quipu*) dangling from it. These latter "are often of various colours, each with its own proper meaning; red for soldiers, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, etc." (Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 155). But most of all, the Zulu girls made with their beads a multitude of ornaments, wherewith to bedeck their own and their sweethearts' bodies. There were circlets for the head, necklaces, shoulder-ropes, belts, wristlets, anklets and pendants of various sorts, all differently designed by the maker herself, in multi-coloured stripes, crosses, squares, circles, chevrons and divers other geometrical patterns, as well as being worked by different methods of stringing; each of which articles, patterns, and modes of working possessed its own distinguishing name.

Brass and copper provided body-ornaments of several kinds much more precious than beads. These metals (i.e. copper and brass) were regarded by the Zulus as simply two differently coloured varieties of the same metal, viz. white *ĩTúsi* (brass) and red *ĩTúsi* (copper; this last was also sometimes called *uSokele*). These two metals were, so to say, the 'gold' (which metal they did not know) of the Zulu people, indeed we may say, of the whole Bantu race. Copper and brass were introduced into Bantuland, by way both of the eastern and the western coast, by the early Portuguese, after their discovery of southern and eastern Africa at the end of the 15th century. Prior to that, Masudi,¹¹⁶ describing the East African Bantu at the end of the 10th century, distinctly states that their metal was iron, which they used alike for implements and ornaments. Subsequently to the founding of the settlement of Delagoa Bay in 1544,¹¹⁷ Tonga hawkers (*abaHwebi*) regularly visited Zululand and adjacent territories—though we hardly think earlier than the times of Ndaba and Jama (1740-1780)—trading in heavy brass and copper rings (*umDaka*) of various sizes (but usually about 4 inches inside diameter and about an inch in thickness) and selling

them mainly to the chiefs and aristocracy. Such rings (coming probably from the Portuguese of West Africa) became in the Congo region¹¹⁸ (where they were called *nTaku*, pl. *miTaku*—comp. Zulu *umDaka*), employed as regular currency. No doubt, iron rings had been used for the same purpose prior to the arrival of brass. Referring to the 'Monbuttoo' of Equatorial Africa, Schweinfurth¹¹⁹ writes: "As a general rule, no special form is given to the iron used as a medium of exchange, unless the great semi-circular bars in the royal treasury be considered as currency, and which remind one of the rough copper rings that are brought from the mines of Darfoor." "Iron rings of the heaviest caliber are current in Wandala, south of Bornoo."

No doubt commercial convenience first suggested the idea of moulding the metals into rings, which were so much more easily and safely carried about in that shape. Then later, the metal ring-shape itself suggested the introduction of metal arm and neck bangles. The Egyptian Pharaohs started the fashion by conferring on their favourites heavy collars of gold exactly resembling the collars of brass (*ūBédu*) similarly distributed by the Zulu kings at the beginning of last century.¹²⁰ About the Mubangi river (northern tributary of the Congo), massive iron and copper collars, called *moLua*,¹²¹ are worn by the local ladies. Lighter rings, of brass, half an inch in thickness, are worn, several together, by both sexes about the Kwango-Kasai junction.¹²² The Boloki dames, on the contrary, favour solid brass collars like the old Zulu *ūBédu*, but double the thickness, a single one sometimes being 28 lbs. in weight.¹²³ At length, with the opening of Delagoa Bay, the metal trade rings reached Zululand and Natal, where they became known, as said, as *umDaka* (see above). Later on, English and other slave-hunters found them more prized in those parts than a human being. So it came about in April, 1719, that Robert Drury landed in Natal (Durban) with a cargo of such "large brass rings, or collars" and received in exchange therefor "seventy-four boys and girls",¹²⁴ who were taken off to colonize America. And while the Whitemen bought slaves with the rings, the Natives themselves, following suit, bought wives, one fine ring being held equivalent to one fine girl. And thus were wives bought right up to Shaka's time (the beginning of last century).

Out of these rough brass and copper rings, the local smiths manufactured various body-ornaments, but chiefly neck and

arm rings. The metal was melted and poured into circular hollows, of appropriate sizes, cut into a flat stone. The rough rings were subsequently shaped and polished by rubbing with rough stones; then, rendered pliable once more by re-heating, the finished neck-ornament (now known as an *ūBédu*) was pulled open and the person's neck passed inside, whereafter the arms of the ring were pressed together again and so allowed to remain. Removal was effected by tying a hide thong to each side of the ring and then having the thong pulled by a couple of local stalwarts.¹²⁵ These *ūBédu* brass and copper neck-rings were finally distributed by the Zulu chiefs and wealthy aristocrats¹²⁶ to their favourite gentleman and lady friends. Some of the favoured individuals received more than one, perhaps three or four, and courtesy compelled them to wear them all; with the disagreeable consequence that, becoming intolerably heated by the tropical sun, a special boy had to be kept in attendance to cool them with water. Such were the 'stiff collars' of ancient Zululand. The Mantatee (*baTlokwa*) Sutus, says Moffat,¹²⁷ had "large copper rings, sometimes eight in number, worn round their necks"; and so eager was Sikonyela, the Tlokwa chief, to become possessed of more, that, when Motsholi, a Hlubi refugee from Zululand, reached him wearing one, he promptly chopped off his head to get possession of it.¹²⁸ The Zulu men, on the contrary, soon found them so infernally hot, that they relegated them solely to the gentler sex, who (like their European sisters of today) seemed prepared to endure gladly any kind of torment, if only their charming appearance could be thereby enhanced.

At last, in 1824, English pioneers landed in Durban (Natal); and having come there solely for their own 'uplift', they were not long in interesting themselves in the neck and arm ring trade. So they introduced a much lighter, if more flimsy, type of hollow brass bangle, which, costing the importer only one quarter of the price of the older and heavier solid article, was no doubt disposed of at the same old price. This new and more comfortable style of neck-ornament became known as the *umNaka*, which name, we very much suspect, was simply a Zuluization of our own word, 'neck'. "Twenty large neck bangles" presented to Shaka, is an entry in Isaacs' day-book;¹²⁹ then later he adds, after Shaka had already distributed them among his harem sweethearts, these latter "had

each of them four brass bangles round their necks, which kept them in an erect posture, and rendered them as immovable as the neck of a statue".¹³⁰ This neck-ring fashion gradually died out in Mpande's time.

But the less troublesome forms of ring-ornament continued to flourish. For out of the rough brass trade-rings were fabricated also plain arm-rings (*iSongo*) and decorated gauntlets (*iNgxotá*). The former were worn, in any number, usually on the upper arm, but also round the wrist. The gauntlets, however, were always presents from the Zulu king, and were worn on the right lower arm, which it encircled for some 5 or 6 inches, and had its outside filed into a number of deep serrated circles. The Galas wore an almost identical ornament, but without the serrations.¹³¹

Up from the Hottentots of the Cape¹³² came, in later times, the magic *umNembe* shell, a mottled black-and-white, cowry-like, sea-shell found on the shore south of the Mzimkulu river, highly prized and highly priced, which, when strung on a string, were worn as a wristlet, and gave the wearer the power of securing a 'bull' every time he hurled his assegai.

Other bracelets (*isiGqizo*), as well as anklets, were made of wire and beads, and were worn both by females and young men.

Nowhere is the modern 'degeneration' of the Zulu people more manifest than in their present complete neglect of their hair. In former days, and right up to the last decade of last century, the Native men, both in Zululand and Natal, were most fastidious about their hair, and they had several quaint, but becoming, modes of hair-dressing, now every one of them fallen into obsolescence, and to the present generation utterly unknown.

We have already spoken of the head-ring (*isiCoco*) of the elder men. This was always, except with the very aged who no longer entered 'society', kept brightly polished by rubbing with rough-surfaced leaves, and the hair round them inside and outside kept cleanly shaven. When the hair had grown an inch or more in height (the ring rising with it), the hair below the ring was regularly dressed by a process of picking-out or picking-up the hairs with a thorn or other pointed instrument, so as to give them a neat and even appearance (*ukuCwala*).

Sometimes the hair below the ring was more daintily arranged into small vertical 'combs or furrows', called *iKlezelo*. Among the un-ringed, younger men (*iNtsizwa*), several fashions of coiffure were in vogue. No youth with any self-respect ever dared to appear at any public assembly or before his sweetheart, unless his hair had been previously somehow dressed. The most artistic of these young men's styles was that known as *ama-Ngéngé*.¹³³ Here the hair, already long, was picked up (as before) and carefully arranged in several 'combs' (like those of a cock), standing about three inches in height, with corresponding deep furrows in between, the furrows crossing the head either from front to back or from side to side. In the *isiHlutú* style, the hair was again 'picked up' into one neat and even frizz,¹³⁴ rising two or three inches all over the head, and suiting certain faces admirably. Sometimes this *isiHlutú* was combed or brushed up in front, so as to present a straight, erect face, called an *umPéndlemaná*. Short hair also was sometimes 'picked up' with a thorn, so as to stand puffed out in an even frizzy fashion, termed *ukuQíkiza*, and giving a dressy appearance. Hair left to grow in short pointed twists or tufts was called *iziMpukane*. The *umYeko* (unknown among the Zulu-land tribes, save to the 'witchdoctor' profession) was formerly practically universal among the Embos and Lalas of Natal. It was called by the Zulus an *isiYendane* (after the drooping ear of a certain kind of Kaffir-corn); which name was also applied to those Natal people themselves, the 'drooping-haired people'. It consisted of a number of long twisted strings, generally blackened, though sometimes reddened, hanging down on all sides from the top of the head, so as to resemble an inverted mop. This mode of hair-dress must have been very ancient, because it is found throughout the whole of Negroland.¹³⁵

Corresponding with the head-ring of the men was the top-knot of the Zulu wives, both already described; and it is interesting here to note how, among the Hereros,¹³⁶ the heads of some small girls are shaven "all round, except a small tuft at the top, called an *oNdomba*" (like the top-knot of a Zulu woman); while the heads of other girls are "shaven on the top, leaving a circle of hair round the head" (like the ring of the Zulu men). In earlier times, unmarried Zulu girls were normally shorn; but by the middle of last century they were already daring to grow their hair and to dress it in various ways.

The *isiHlutú*, as well as the *uku Qikiza*, of the young men (both described above) were favoured also by many girls. In preparation for the *isiHlutú*, the girls would wear their hair, for some time before, twisted together with grass in rigid spike-like tufts, two or three inches long, in order to straighten it out. But, as a girl's hair-dress, the *uMagqibane* was more common; in which the hair, after being clipped short, was patted or gently rubbed round, so as to form it into an even surface of tiny ringlets or coils all over the head.¹³⁷

Depilation of the genital parts by a process of plucking out the hair (*uku Qúta*) was universal among the Zulus of both sexes for the sake of cleanliness and comfort. Sometimes the parts were shaven, or the ash of the *isiFúce* tree (*Rhus longifolia*) was used as a depilatory. Depilation was a common practice in Africa from the most ancient times. Even the Ancient Egyptians had the custom, not only, as Herodotus says, shaving clean the whole head and face, but also removing "the hair from the whole body". The Zulus, however, confined their attention strictly to the genitals, and did not, like the Nika Bantu of Kenya and the Bongos of the Sudan, pull out their eyelashes and eyebrows, nor, like the Masai, carry about tweezers with them for plucking away pertinacious hairs from the chin, nostrils, cheeks and elsewhere.¹³⁸

As will have been noticed already, shaving entered largely into the Zulu methods of body-care. The whole head of small boys and girls used to be kept constantly shaven (probably against vermin), as well as parts of the heads of their parents, as already described. Such shaving entered especially into their mourning rites. For the shaving process, in olden times, a sharpened piece of iron, resembling a large knife-blade, and called an *iNtsingo*, was employed. When this was not available, they followed the method of the Bushmen, who, when lacking another cutting instrument, looked about for a flint-like stone and knocked off therefrom a suitable flake.^{138a} Such small flakes the Zulus called an *iNtsengetsha*, perhaps after the eNtsengeni hill near Hlobane (or *vice versa*), where they were in the habit of procuring them. With civilization (about the middle of last century) came glass bottles, and fragments of these were soon found to possess a beautifully sharp edge, besides being dirt-cheap; so that they soon came into common use.¹³⁹

Now, while the Zulus carefully rid themselves of their hair because it proved an inconvenience, they of the higher classes, males as well as females, cheerfully endured the discomfort of wearing finger-nails of quite respectable mandarin length, sometimes an inch or more long. And not only that; but when, by some regretful mishap, the nail chanced to get broken, they carefully collected the fragment, enclosed it within a lump of moist cow-dung and buried it within the cattle-fold, in order thereby to ensure a speedier re-growth of the damaged limb. These claws, if on both hands, were a sure sign of high birth and standing; but ladies merely of the upper middle class, who occasionally had to do some work, aped the aristocracy by wearing the decoration on one only, the left, hand. Anyway, all alike endeavoured to keep their mandarin nails scrupulously clean (more or less). This, again, appears to have been an old Bantu custom; for Roscoe^{139a} tells us that the Ganda royalties also habitually wore such talons; while ordinary women were permitted the extravagance only when mourning.^{139b}

Such talons were the prescriptive right only of the elders. But the young girls too had their own vain foible. The Zulus, unlike some of the Natal Nguni tribes, knew nothing of tribal-marks or facial incisions; but cicatrization was much practised by unmarried females in earlier times. One method was to decorate their arms with what they called *iziMpimpilizi*. For this purpose they dropped a pinch of wood-ash or dry cow-dung on the arm, then cauterized the skin beneath by applying there-to a glowing firebrand. The result was a pretty little scar, several of which were worn along each arm. We said before, that the Zulu young-men were collected together into 'age-groups' or (later) regiments, and that each regiment had its own distinguishing mark, in head-dress or body-decoration. Now, the girls too had their 'age-groups', and their own particular manner of distinguishing them. This was accomplished by a form of cicatrization called *uku Qakaqa*. Here, by picking up the flesh with a sharp thorn and then slitting it with a sharp knife, it came about, upon healing, that a small raised lump, the size of a pea, was formed on the spot. These lumps were arranged in various patterns by the operating 'artist' and made in different parts of the body (chest, abdomen, shoulders and sides, and even on the calves), and effectively served to differentiate the one age-group from another. Towards the

end of Mpande's reign, the custom of age-groups, and largely of cicatrization too, gradually died out.

Remembering what we have already said on Zulu origins (Chap. 1), we are not surprised to find that the waNika Bantu of Kenya Colony decorate themselves just as do the Zulus, on abdomen, shoulders and arms, and that they do it in the same way, "picking up the skin with the fingers and snicking little pieces of flesh almost off with a knife".^{139c} This particular type of the cicatrizing art seems to have reached its 'greatest' development among the Bololo Congolese, where "lumps of flesh as large as pigeon's eggs" adorn each temple, chin and above the nose.^{139d} Between these two extremes, one finds every degree of cicatrization prevalent throughout Negroland.

Indeed, this cicatrization was the aboriginal African equivalent to the tattooing of Polynesia. But in comparatively recent times, tattooing, as well as body-painting, has been further spread about Africa by Arabs, Indians and Europeans, and is now sporadically met with in several parts of the continent. As Bantu still of the purest and most primitive type, the Zulus know nothing of these new-fangled notions. The expressions, 'tattoo' and 'cicatrice', however, are frequently confused by African travellers in their writings; as was the case with Thompson^{139e} when he wrote of the Zulus' brothers, the Xosas of the Cape, that they 'tattooed', especially on the shoulders. As an oriental importation, on the other hand, we are not surprised to hear that about Delagoa Bay "some [Tshopi] women tattoo their faces all over with small pricks, in which the juice of the cashew nut is rubbed; and occasionally one sees a Chobi woman with stomach, chest and back tattooed into the most elaborate patterns".^{139f} At the other end of the field, in Senegambia, among the Mandingoes, "women were fond of tattooing their arms and breasts with a hot needle, making figures which seemed like the flowers wrought in silk on handkerchiefs, and never wear off".^{139g} In between these two points, both tattooing and body-painting appear in many directions; but nowhere does the painting art appear to such perfection as among the Mangbetu women of Equatorial Africa, where one beholds the female form divine still further beautified in "an almost inexhaustible variety of patterns. Stars and Maltese crosses, bees and flowers, are all enlisted as designs; at one time the entire body is covered with stripes like a zebra,

and at another with irregular spots and dots like a tiger [? leopard]; I have seen these women streaked with veins like marble, and even covered with squares like a chess-board." So Schweinfurth.^{139h 139i}

Everybody has seen the illustrations in African travel-books of that hideous mouth-piece worn by many Bantu ladies in their upper lip, commonly known as the *Pelele*.^{139j} Well, the Zulus, we are glad to state, had not yet reached that advanced stage of civilization. We say 'civilization' because we think the idea may have been first learned from some northern, or oriental, 'foreigners'. So long ago as Strabo,¹⁴⁰ the Ethiopian women (on the east bank of the Nile) were already wearing "in the upper lip a copper ring" (which may really have been a 'stud')—indeed, we are told by Gessi that "a small button" is even still worn by the Jur Nilotics, but now in the lower lip. In later times, another form of civilization entered Bantuland through the Portuguese on the west coast; so that we are not surprised to hear that "not unfrequently [in Bengwela] one may see the cartilage of the nose of both sexes ornamented with a piece of stick, run through it",¹⁴¹ in correct Papuan fashion. On the east coast, the Yawo Bantu, in place of the stick, had substituted "a small stud in the nose",¹⁴² like the Indian ladies; but which stud the Eskimos of the Arctic regions, we understand, wore in their cheek.¹⁴³ The Kuwa Bantu, of east Africa, had already lowered the nose stud (of the neighbouring Yawos) down to their upper lip,¹⁴⁴ and by the time the stud had reached the Kondes (more inland), it had already grown to be some two inches in diameter, and gave the ladies there the appearance of human spoonbills.¹⁴⁵

When Shaka went forth with an army to meet the Ndwandwe host, and his poor feet had become sore with trudging over the rough, stony veld, he noticed that the Hottentots accompanying pioneer Fynn (who was with him) had taken the precaution to provide their feet with a second sole (in the shape of a patch of hide), which seemed insensitive to pain;¹⁴⁶ for, you must know, these Hottentots had such a habit, of wearing "a kind of bullocks' hides upon the feet, which, in case of necessity, are boil'd or broil'd and serve them as food".¹⁴⁷ Well, it occurred to Shaka that this was an uncommonly cute idea, and forthwith commanded that his own feet be similarly

armour-plated. And these were the first, and the last, of sandals ever known in older Zululand. May-be the Hottentots had learned the trick from the early Boers; just as the Nilotic Suks, Masais and Turkanas have since apparently learned it from the Arabs or the Whites.¹⁴⁸

But though he had nothing on his feet, the Zulu youth, whenever he walked abroad, be it a-courting, to dances, or merely on friendly calls, always had something useful in his hand; for at any moment he might be attacked by snake, by dog, or by aggressive man. What he therefore always carried was a couple of stout cudgels (*umZaca*), roughly cut from some exceptionally hard-wooded tree, each stick being about 3 feet long by an inch in thickness. These were always in pairs (unless a protective shield was being carried; in which case one would suffice), so that one could be used for striking (always at the opponent's head), the other for parrying: at both of which exercises the Zulu men were extremely expert. A similar, but shorter stick (*isiKwili*), was used, along with the smaller shield (*īHawu*), when dancing. Occasionally, the *umZaca* cudgels were pointed at one end (*iMpiselo*); others were pared to a chisel-shape (*iNtlabela*), both being used for stabbing. A finely polished, but much more wicked, type of stick, called by us a 'knobkerry', by him an *īWisa* (or feller), about two feet long with a heavy spherical knob at the end, was sometimes carried in place of an *umZaca*, as a weapon of offence. The knobs were of different shapes and sizes, one sort being as large as two fists together (*iNtsulungu*). Some were further fortified with brass nails or studs inserted all over the knob. A particularly heavy-headed, but shorter-handled, kind (*isiMonqo*) was employed for throwing at an enemy out of reach. For ordinary bird-hunting, a rough knobbed stick (*isaGila*), as cut from the tree, was used.

The only dress of small boys and girls was an armlet (*umBijazane*) made of the twisted stalks of *isiKónko* grass; though some boys, in imitation of their elders, donned a tiny prepuce-cover consisting of a dried caterpillar cocoon (*umFece*). For the rest, all the young fry went entirely naked, until they reached puberty or had their first menstruation, in both cases termed *ukuTómba* (to have the first sexual discharge).¹⁴⁹

Having now completed the story of the day-wear of the Zulus, we may add that, at night time, prior to the introduction of cotton and woollen blankets by the Whiteman, every Zulu had his or her cloak or kaross (*isiPúku*).¹⁵⁰ This was made, either of a supple cow-hide, dressed in the same way as a woman's kilt, with the fur removed; or of a number of goat-skins sewn together, with the hair remaining and worn outside. The goat-skin variety (*ūSu*), worn by women, often had a broad stripe of hair scraped away down the centre of the back. Such a cloak made of sheep-skins was termed an *isiQáma*.

Thus warmly wrapped up in their respective *iziPúku*, we leave Jomela and his family to be wafted away into the arms of Morpheus.

1. *E.D.*, 153, 155.
2. *O.M.R.*, 15.
3. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138 note; Migeod, *E.M.*, 49, 50, 76; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 291; Haberlandt, *E.*, 33; Hoernes, *P.M.*, 12; Tylor, *A.*, 236.
4. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 199.
5. Maugham, *P.E.A.*, 286.
6. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 159, 182.
7. Lagden, *B.*
8. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 537.
9. Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 254.
10. Purvis, *M.E.*, 187.
11. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 93.
12. Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 201.
13. Paterson, *F.J.*, 93.
14. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 60.
15. *Illust. Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 42, p. 198.
16. Reeve, *G.*, 51.
17. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 89.
18. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 386.
19. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 113.
20. *ib.*, 161.
21. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 22, p. 123.
- 21a. New, *L.E.A.*, 331; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 255; Bird, *A.N.*, 58; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 99; Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 94; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 42, 340; vol. 2, 313.
- 21b. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 596; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 193; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 30; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 186; Harrison, *L.P.*, 12, 17, 7; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 99; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 113; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 313.
22. Samuels, *J.A.S.B.*, XXV, 295.
23. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 257.

24. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 77.
25. *ib.* *ib.* 136.
26. Ward, *V.C.*, 257.
27. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 190.
28. Willoughby, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 39, p. 233.
29. *Z.C.*, 193.
30. *V.A.*
31. *R.C.M.*, 310.
32. Mohr, *V.F.*, 137.
33. Willoughby, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 39, p. 233.
34. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 41.
35. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317.
36. *ib.* *E.S.A.*, 99.
37. *G.*, 409; also Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 134.
38. *F.J.*, 93.
39. Kay, *T.C.*, 42, 112, 269.
40. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 49; Ward, *V.C.*, 257; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, vol. 2, ch. X; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 16; Hore, *T.*, 86; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 93; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 131; Tylor, *A.*, 244, 246.
41. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 115.
42. Johnston, *G.G.C.*
43. *T.D.C.*, ed. 1878, ch. XVII.
44. See Bryant, *O.T.*, 11.
45. Coillard, *T.C.A.*, 536 fn.
46. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78.
47. Munro, *P.B.*, 143.
48. Fleming, *S.A.*, 202, 206; Kay, *T.C.*, 116.
49. Quoted by Dampier, *V.A.*, vol. 2, 388.
50. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 78.
51. Append. to Thomson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 415.
52. See Harris, *W.S.*
53. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 168.
54. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 119.
55. See also Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34; Livingstone, *T.*, 364; Johnston, *C.*, 279.
56. Stow, *N.R.*, 46, 111.
57. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 210, 264.
58. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 206.
- 58a. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 109; Shooter, *K.N.*, 357; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78.
59. See Reeve, *G.*, 191; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 105; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112.
60. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 161.
61. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 50, 51; vol. 1, 32, 50.
62. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, vol. 2, chap. X.
63. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 94.
64. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 23, 150.
65. Johnston, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 43, p. 389; also *G.G.C.*, 137, 367, 558, 655; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 39, 60, 170, 187, 190, 193; vol. 1, 348, 356; Livingstone, *T.*, 362; Peters, *N.L.*, 227; Cotton, *U.A.*, 78, 80, 216, 312, 319, 467; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 418; Angelo, *V.C.*, 621-2; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 161; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 42; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 30;

- Oswald, 53; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 475; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 289, 291, 307; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 289, 293, 313; Roscoe, *B.*, 443; Gomme, *E.F.*, 178-9½.
66. Thompson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 359.
67. Steedman, *W.A.*, 260.
68. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 314; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 474.
69. Dampier, *V.A.*; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 23.
70. Strabo, XVII, ch. 2, 3.
71. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
72. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 106, 128.
73. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 51, 140.
74. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 27.
75. New, *L.E.A.*, 358, 456.
76. *V.C.*, 696.
77. Livingstone, *T.*, 127.
78. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 193.
79. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 100; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 474; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 403.
80. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 51-2; vol. 1, 33.
81. See Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 91; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 579, 581; Stow, *N.R.*, 45, 139; Cotton, *U.A.*, 403.
82. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 314.
83. See illust. Engel, *M.A.N.*, 196, 249.
84. See illust. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 172.
85. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 104, 106, 128.
86. Roscoe, *G.*
87. Hobley, *K.*
88. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 186, illust.
89. *ib.* 277.
90. Weeks, *C.C.*, 118.
91. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 312.
92. Steedman, *W.A.*, 260.
93. Sollas, *A.H.*, 221.
94. Wallace, *T.A.*, 204, 343; also Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 286; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 50; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 419; Casati, *T.Y.E.*, vol. 1, 212; Junker, *T.A.*, 26; Harrison, *L.P.*, 12, 17; Shelford, *N.B.*, 288.
95. Johnston, *U.P.*, vol. 1, 210.
96. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 29, p. 134, 137.
97. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 790.
98. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 239.
99. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 137.
100. Dugmore, *C.A.*, 122-3.
101. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 166.
102. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 102-3.
103. Kay, *T.C.*, 114.
104. Declé, *S.A.*, 376.
105. *ib.* 314.
106. Stuart, *B.*, 51.
107. Declé, *S.A.*, 52.
108. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 50.

109. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 459.
 110. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79; see also Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 142; Baldwin, *A.H.*, 68; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 7.
 111. *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 166.
 112. *T.W.N.*, 30.
 113. *Z.C.*, 78.
 114. Livingstone, *T.*, 127.
 115. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138-9; New, *L.E.A.*, 332; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 50, 66, 209, 245, 261, 330, 345, 347, 388; Hinde, *T.C.S.*, 428; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 24, 51, 78, 139, 239; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 59, 328; Elliot, *P.M.*, 267, 357; Johnson, *P.A.*, 48, 49, 50.
 116. See Bryant, *B.O.*
 117. Bryant, *O.T.*, 294.
 118. Johnston, *G.C.C.*, 794-5.
 119. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 54 fn., 224.
 120. Maspéro, *A.E.A.*, 115-6.
 121. Ward, *V.C.*, 257; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 129, 111, 151.
 122. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 151, 588, 587, 590, 591.
 123. Weeks, *C.C.*, 102, illust.
 124. Kay, *T.C.*, 396.
 125. Martin, *B.*, 31.
 126. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 94.
 127. *M.L.*, 95.
 128. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 48.
 129. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 85.
 130. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 122; also Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 27, 39, 94.
 131. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 190.
 132. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 190.
 133. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 370; also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 579.
 134. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 122.
 135. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 147; also Baines, *E.*, 45, 125; Bird, *A.N.*, 42; Livingstone, *T.*, 242-3; Monteiro, *D.B.*, 78; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 59, 595; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 166; New, *L.E.A.*, 126, 331, 357, 413; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 97, 194; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 39, 169; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 58.
 136. Viehe, *F.L.J.*
 137. See Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 286; Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 2, 362; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 275-6; Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 83; *Man*, VI, 101; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 275, 304, 286; Hillier, *N.R.A.*, 32, 34; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 275; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 303; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 359, 370; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 128, 226; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 23, 24, 25; Darwin, *D.M.*, 32, 603, 160, 559, 57, 575, 600; Sollas, *A.H.*, 100; Tylor, *A.*, 71; Frazer, *T.P.S.*, 268, 275-8; Laing, *H.O.*, 133.
 138. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 367; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 141, 156; New, *L.E.A.*, 126; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 78; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 44; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 25; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 309; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 17; Wallace, *T.A.*, 336; Herodotus, 1, 131.
 138a. Stow, *N.R.*, 66.

139. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 222; Kay, *T.C.*, 201; Roscoe, *B.*, 443; New, *L.E.A.*, 126; Kassner, *R.E.*, 50, 157; *Man*, XXI, 90; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 248; Tylor, *A.*, 238; Herodotus, II, 269, 271, 284; Galton, *T.S.A.*, 109; Chaillu, *K.M.*, 67; Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 146; Stow, *N.R.*, 66.
 139a. *B.*, 144; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 112.
 139b. See also Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 51; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 303; Tylor, *A.*, 140.
 139c. New, *L.E.A.*, 127.
 139d. Ward, *V.C.*, 255.
 139e. *T.*, 359.
 139f. Monteiro, *D.B.*, 82.
 139g. Reeve, *G.*, 183, 191.
 139h. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 51-2.
 139i. See also Livingstone, *T.*, 185; Cotton, *U.A.*, 239; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 194; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 30, 34, 54, 55, 63; Kassner, *R.E.*, 147, 159, 163, 189; Haberlandt, *E.*, III; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 372; Roscoe, *B.*, 442; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 76; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, III; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112; Sollas, *A.H.*, 222; Maugham, *Z.*, 300; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 182, 197; Frazer, *T.*, 28; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 118, 127, 138, 139, 143, 562, 563; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 139, 276; Casalis, *B.*, 151; Declé, *S.A.*, 81, 298; Weule, *E.A.*, 56-7.
 139j. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 126; Johnston, *G.C.C.*, 323, 351, 353; Ward, *V.C.*, 143; Rankin, *Z.B.*, 236; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 50, 192; vol. 2, 53, 155, 242; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 168, 188; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 416; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 596; Keith, *A.M.*(1), 255; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 110, 111, 280; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 170; Tylor, *A.*, 242; Kassner, *R.E.*, 250; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 285, 307; Maugham, *Z.*, 300; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 71; Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 278, 296; Darwin, *D.M.*, 575-6.
 140. XVII, ch. 2, 63.
 141. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 198.
 142. Weule, *E.A.*, 33.
 143. Lubbock, *O.C.*, 42.
 144. Weule, *E.A.*, 47.
 145. *ib.* 56, 220.
 146. Bryant, *O.T.*, 590.
 147. Rhyne, see *Atwsham's Voyages*, IV, 768.
 148. Cotton, *U.A.*, 79, 171, 366.
 149. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 289, 293-313.
 150. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 472.

Chapter 6

Daily Life in Arcady

Free and cheerful as a lark, the Zulu smiled and sang his way leisurely through a lifetime of peace, content and romance in a land of perpetual sunshine. That gloomy old yarn, so often trotted out, about the pitiable conditions under despotic chiefs and the perpetual nightmare of superstitious dread in which the Zulu lived, is mostly bosh and bogey, conjured up by Europeans whose 'knowledge' of Native life is the product solely of their own imaginations. Hardships and injustices insooth there were (from our point of view); but to them they were the normal and natural state of affairs, to which they were accustomed from birth. Other conditions simply did not exist, as unknown. In older Zululand, law-abiding tribesmen, who knew how to live on friendly terms with their chief and their neighbours, had no more to fear than we have from the police or from the terrors of our own 'religious' beliefs. The political upheaval, with its manifold suffering and unrighteousness, due to the licentious aggression of Shaka, was entirely exceptional and abnormal to previous Nguni history.

The hardy Zulu constitution was little sensitive to pain, and subject to few diseases. Do as you like, work when you will, but don't infringe on others' rights, was his country's rule of life and law. No living to earn, no fortune to make, no dignities to aspire to; no ambitions, no disappointments, no worries. He knew nor money, nor shops, nor taxes, nor police; but helped himself freely from bountiful Nature's cornucopia; from the woods, the arable land, the edible game. Few were

his needs, and such as they were, he himself supplied—a self-built house, home-grown food, home-made raiment. Practically law-free was his land, and free from lawlessness; for everybody there was trained to discipline and self-restraint. No child ever went to school; for every home was such. Court-houses, gaols and churches were alike unknown; and yet every family-head was both priest and policeman within his own domain. Open house was kept for all who cared to come in every home; for home was bound to home by a common bond of tribal relationship and mutual help. Free meat, free beer, free love; no demands for payment, no moral responsibilities, save to one's own and one's neighbour's sense of honour, decency and right. And no fearsome penalties threatening in another world. Blest with such unhampered freedom and unruffled peace, the Zulu gloried in the fullness of the *joie de vivre*, in a lovely climate and a beautiful land. Was not this Utopia in actual being? Was it not Arcady re-found? Certainly it was Zululand in olden times, before that blight came down upon it, which was Shaka, the Hitler of his world and time; when each clan was still a large and happy family, enjoying full liberty within its own estate, and its joys unenvied, benevolently ruled by its own hereditary chieftain, personification of all the clan's great ancestors.

Into those halcyon days, the Zulu's Golden Age, Jomela was born. And knew not how blest he was and happy; till the White man came, and told him he was a savage and a slave!

The daily life of the Zulu Bantu was simplicity reduced to its lowest terms; but it was the reverse of savage. As we mentally pass a day with them, we shall be surprised to find how civilized these so-called 'savages' really were; how like our own were their social rules and simple culture, despite the fact that right up from Adam they had been self-evolved, never touched by Aryan or Semitic influence. We shall consider their life as it used to be under the older Native conditions, 'before the Whiteman came' to disturb and drive their race into an unstable and disorderly transitional stage—at present one mainly of degeneration—hardly of any ethnologic worth, with the ancient idols wrecked and nothing yet replacing them.

Were the adage true, this poor and benighted Zulu ought to be the wisest and wealthiest of men; for few could better him in the practice of early rising and early retiring. The blackness of night had hardly dissolved into the greyness of dawn, than tiny clouds of blue-white smoke rose from every hut on veld and hill, announcing to all that the busy housewife was already up and doing. There, wrapped in her kaross, just risen from her mat near by, she kneels beside the central fireplace kindling the family fire. Her matches are not in a box, but on the hearth; for, before she went to rest last night, she had not forgotten to leave a blazing log, and, when she woke, she found a tiny ember always there still glowing. Therefrom, with a little tinder and much blowing, she at last produced a flame, and so, with the store of firewood in the hut, soon made up the fire anew.

Presently Jomela himself turned on his mat and yawned; then, sitting up, he himself drew near and squatted on the opposite side of the hearth with kaross around him. So the couple sat for some time, gazing drowsily at the fire, with palms outstretched to catch its warmth and heads drawn back to escape its smoke, in perfect silence; for neither yet (as they expressed it) had sufficiently 'thawed' (*ukuNcibilika*) to speak.

The same procedure was repeated about the same time in all the other huts. Ere long, little nude figures of boy or girl, sent by their mothers on some errand, would flit across the open courtyard from hut to hut. Presently, more stately figures emerged, the men of the home, who, with both hands clasping their karosses toga-wise tight around them, stood there a while, gazing out on the world and weather with all the dignity of Roman senators. A moment or two, and they also crept back indoors, not into their own private huts (*amaLawu*, where fire was seldom made, owing to the disagreeable effect of smoke on their finery), but each into that of his mother. There they squatted, along with the smaller boys, on the right-hand side of the hearth, with their mother and sisters on the opposite side, and the fire blazing between them. Gradually the silence was broken, and they all commenced to talk in undertones, which, in half an hour, had developed into a general hum and awakening activity throughout the kraal.

At length, in the principal hut, Mrs. Jomela, now thoroughly awake, arose from her knees, and, while still holding her kaross hanging from her shoulders, put on her leathern kilt. Then, rolling up her sleeping-mat of woven rushes, she placed it within the string-rack suspended from the hut-side, and hung her folded kaross over a grass-rope also tied there for the purpose.

Her lord and master, as became his greater dignity, remained seated where he was, having no menial duties to perform. But at length he too, already comfortably warmed, got up (not always so particular as his wife about retaining his kaross), donned his girdle, and called loudly to one of his daughters to bring him a wash-basin (a broad, shallow earthenware bowl reserved for this purpose, and called an *umCengezi*) filled with water, wherein he washed his hands and face, allowing the water to dry in the air, neither soap nor towel being provided.

Along with one or other of his elder sons, who had come in to keep him company, he now proceeded to enjoy his 'breakfast'. This meal consisted of nothing more substantial than an apparently exhilarating smoke with the hemp-horn. This 'hemp smoke' seemed to serve as a kind of national cocktail. Thereafter everybody felt thoroughly revived and ready for the duties of the day.

In the Zulu social system, every kraal was self-contained and self-supporting, and, by a tradition that bore the force of law, the work of the home was clearly, though far from equally, apportioned between its male and female inmates. It was the peculiar province of the males to provide and preserve the fabric of the kraal and to tend the cattle; of the females, to provide the 'family' and to cultivate the fields, in other words, to find the food and cook it. The men were the artisans and pastoralists; the women, the housekeepers and agriculturists. To the Zulu men, then, it fell to build the framework of the huts; to erect and repair the various fences (of the cattle-fold and kraal-enclosure); to cut away the bush and long grass from such spots as the *paterfamilias* allotted to the several wives for cultivation; to milk the cows and herd the stock. In these duties, it is important to note, all took some part, from the kraal-head himself, even when he was a person

of rank, down to the smallest herdboy. All who had passed beyond the age of infancy (that is to say, were already above their sixth year), be they male or female, were expected to work or be ready to do so when called upon, the males under the direction of the father, the females of the mother.

Besides the aforesaid general duties pertaining to the daily needs of the kraal or family, every man had some small private task of his own, wherewith, in a leisurely sort of way, to occupy his time, e.g. a new stick to pare or polish, an *umuTsha* to make or repair, a hatchet or assegai to grind, his hair or headring to have dressed, a snuff-box or ornament to manufacture, a wooden post to seek and fell in the forest, a medicinal herb for himself or family to search for on the veld, or a visit, friendly or on business, to pay some neighbouring kraal. Then, again, many of the maturer men were constantly engaged with special offices, professions or trades, as state-messenger, as doctor, diviner, smith, wood-carver, basket-maker, skindresser, stock-castrator, headring-maker, shield manufacturer, and so forth. And when no more serious business presented itself, an occasional hunt, in parties or alone, or, much more frequently, a courting expedition in search of an exogenous girl to woo, or a visit to a sweetheart already won, all added spice and variety to one's daily life.

The boys, up to the age of eighteen or more, daily went out with the stock—those of seven or eight with the sheep or goats, those older with the cows—when the dew was off the grass, returning with the cattle, first, towards midday for milking (*iNtlanzane*), and finally, in the evening after sundown, thus spending the whole of their days in the exhilarating sunshine and in the invigorating free life of the open veld. On rainy days, and in very cold winter weather, the smaller boys were permitted to stay at home, but the elder lads had to stick manfully to their guns: a fine, healthy life indeed, that could hardly have resulted otherwise than in weeding out the weak and breeding up a vigorous and robust type of manhood.

On the wives and their daughters, as already said, devolved the duty of keeping house and cultivating the fields. Immediately after break of day, these hardworking drudges cheerfully shouldered their hoes and wended their way to sow or weed in their respective allotments. The Zulu, through milleniums of experience in all the needs and defects of polygamous

conditions, had long learned the wisdom of bowing to female jealousy, and of so maintaining peace in the home by rendering to each of the wives her due, and, for the rest, keeping them all severely apart. As each wife was provided with her own hut, and oftentimes also with her own family milch-cow, so likewise was she allotted her own separate garden-plots to be cultivated by herself and her daughters, so as to furnish the foodstuffs for the sole use of her own family.

Referring to this palming off of the arduous field-work on to the females, Shooter¹ makes the following observations:—"It seems that this extremely barbarous treatment of the female sex prevails only among the Zulus and those tribes whom they have influenced. Mr. Fynn says that among the Amampondo and Amaswazi, the fields are cultivated by the men as well as the women; and I have been told that the same thing may be seen among the Amatonga. It would appear also that the coast tribes in the Zulu-country were accustomed to this better practice; a Dwandwe man told me that his father worked in the garden during the reign of Dingane, and that old men among the Mtetwas did it still. He added that these representatives of the ancient usage very much lamented a change which had diminished the supply of food, and ascribed it to Tshaka and the Zulus." We think Shooter is here, in the main, correct; though we must not forget (as he probably did) that, from the beginning of man's history, the woman, and not the man, had been the family agriculturist. It will be noticed that all the clans that Shooter mentions pertained to that particular group of the Nguni tribe which we have herein called the *Tekela* or *Tonga* Ngunis, from the fact of their having come, in the course of their migrations, under strong East African or Tonga influences; and these latter Bantu are well known as a markedly peaceful and industrious type of Bantu. The Pure or Ntungwa Ngunis, on the other hand, possessed instincts that were as markedly 'Spartan'. Whether this 'Spartanization' of the Ntungwa Ngunis came in with Shaka or not, is not clear. Anyway, with them a man who 'went to the fields to work with his wife' was ridiculed as effeminate, an 'old woman', or, as they said, an *uMkandumba*, a-wife-of-the-Ndumba-beans (from *uMka-*, wife, and *iziNdumba*, beans).

Throughout the early morning, while their mothers and elder sisters were in the fields, smaller girls, each with her

appointed task, were engaged minding the babies, sweeping the huts and surrounding courtyard (each family being responsible for its own particular *iCi* or patch of yard surrounding its hut), fetching water in gourds from the neighbouring river; while one of the elder girls crushed the boiled maize-grains for the midday repast.

Towards eleven o'clock each morning, the family re-assembled. The men came back from the forest with posts or wattles on their shoulders; the women with their hoes from the fields; the herdboys with the cattle from the veld. The cows went into the fold, and were either milked at once, or were first allowed to rest a while (*ukuPunga imKónto eKáya*). In any case, the herdboys could not partake of food until the cows had first been milked. During the milking, the smaller children brought and placed near by, outside the cattlefold fence, the already washed milk-gourds (*iGúla*) pertaining to the several huts, each of which received its share. Meanwhile the mothers had been preparing each her own family-meal, the first of the day, to which all now repaired, each to his or her own mother's hut.

The men and the boys of the family took their place on the right-hand side of the hut (after entering), which was that strictly sacred to the males, no female being permitted to seat herself thereon. Save the smaller boys (who simply squatted on the ground), the men all sat on special sitting-mats (*isiCepú*) of rushes, or perched on low wooden rests; for it were ill-mannered in any adult, especially if a male, to sit on the bare floor inside a hut. A common bowl of food—these were earthenware basins (*imCakulo*; and *imQéngéle*) specially manufactured for serving food—with the requisite number of clean, wooden spoons standing round it, their ladles resting on its brim, was placed before the men by one of the girls, who always acted as servants to their brothers.

On the opposite, or left, side of the hut (after entering), equally sacred to the females, there assembled, in one or more groups, each round a common bowl, the mother, her daughters and the smaller children of both sexes. It was a strict rule, not only that the males should be first served, but also that the females should eat apart, and eat, moreover, without the use of spoons, the hand providing an adequate substitute. The fingers of the right hand were extended and a small portion of

the mash slowly and decorously scooped up from the common dish, the food being then licked with the tongue from the fingers. Over-haste and greediness were considered bad manners and sternly checked in the young. This mode of eating, somewhat uncouth to our tastes, was performed by the females and children in a cleanly and even pretty manner; for it was a rigorous observance throughout Zululand, that previous to partaking of food, a person, even a child, should first carefully wash his hands, the men being provided with a special basin (*umCengezi*) for the purpose. This morning, or rather noonday, repast usually consisted of sour clotted-milk (*amaSi*), thickened with a course paste (*umCaba*) of crushed boiled maize-grains. In season, fresh green maize-cobs, boiled in water or roasted on the embers, furnished a much appreciated addition.

The meal completed, each person rinsed the mouth and teeth (*ukuXubá*) with cold water (as, by the way, is done also in Uganda)¹³ and, if need be, re-washed the hands, there being no knives or forks. While the girls cleared away and washed the dishes, the elders, having refreshed themselves with a pinch of snuff and enjoyed a gossip, leisurely separated, and betook themselves each to his self-imposed occupation for the afternoon. The younger men, having performed the rougher jobs during the forenoon, occupied themselves with minor private tasks; or, if nothing else detained them, went down to wash their bodies in the river (which they were rather fond of doing—the herdboys, in good weather, enjoying an almost daily bathe), then anointed them with a pomatum of fat mixed with fragrant herbs and a little red-clay (to render the skin supple and smooth, and give it an agreeable flush and gloss), donned their best attire of fine skins and bead ornaments (see illustration, Bryant, *O.T.*, 240), and so went off to flirt with the girls, whom, at that hour, they usually found collecting fire-wood in the woods.

The females, during the hours of the early afternoon, generally employed themselves with light household duties or agreeable personal jobs, such as beadwork, mat-making and the like. But somewhere about two or three o'clock, they again shouldered their hoes and returned to their work in the fields. Later still in the afternoon, the girls betook themselves to the neighbouring bush (where roaming swains frequently stood,

waiting), for the purpose of gathering dry sticks for firewood (*iziNkuni*), which they afterwards bore home on their heads in huge and heavy bundles, four feet long and one foot thick.

After sundown, the whole family was back again in the home. The cattle were back from the veld, and the cows, again to be milked, were lowing for their calves, the latter in Bantuland always feeding from the udder. The milking over, the second and last meal of the day was partaken of, in the manner already described. At this evening repast, something more 'substantial' (or, as they said, *oku-nomSwani*, 'something-providing-some-cud-to-chew', that would carry them through till tomorrow midday) was served. Such consisted mostly of soft-boiled maize-grains (*iziNkobe*), eaten whole, the great Zulu stand-by; varied at times with sweet-potatoes boiled in their jackets, Kafir-potatoes (*Colocasia*), and mashes of boiled beans or of crushed maize-grains with pumpkin.

The Zulu, like most healthy animals, felt happiest and slept best on a full stomach. That was why, when the meal was over, this was always the hour selected for 'Old Wives' Tales'. Grandmother and the children alike at this time became infused with a bright and cheerful humour such as they had displayed at no other time of the day. So grandma relaxed and smiled, and re-told to the little ones the old, old stories of weird and wonderful creatures half-man half-monster, of cannibal witches and magic snakes, of handsome princes and love-sick maidens, that had come down the ages from the dim past, as she in turn had heard them all from granny.

So, after a cheerful chat all round, during which the indispensable 'nightcap' of a generous pinch of snuff was quietly enjoyed, one after the other 'retired' for the night. Sleeping-mats and karosses were taken down and spread by each on his or her, by habit appropriated, sleeping-spot (*isiLili*), a large log was set on the fire to maintain the warmth all night, and in a few minutes all were wafted away to the wonderful land of African dreams. Each individual adult had his or her separate mat and covering. Though at times a couple of small boys or small girls might occupy together the same 'bed', the two sexes were always kept strictly apart, the boys on the right (or male) side of the hut, the girls and

their mother on the left (or female) side. If, as was always the case in a high-class kraal, the unmarried youths and elder girls possessed *amaLawu* (private huts) of their own, they now betook themselves to them; otherwise, the mother and all her offspring slept in the same hut. By eight o'clock in the winter and nine in the summer, cattle and man were wrapped in sleep, and one big hush enveloped all the kraal.

Such was the general routine of daily life among the Zulus in days of yore, and, in the main, is so still in the remoter Native territories. Though by no means always 'beer and skittles', and despite the poverty and frequent dearth of food, when the pangs of hunger (with the reduced ration of a single meal a day, in the evening, and occasionally not even that) were especially painful for the children, yet all in all a happier kind of life could hardly be imagined. In that life, all the fundamental features of our own civilization stand revealed in simpler forms; which fact should force the truth upon us, that these 'savages' are after all, in a lower degree, perfectly 'civilized', plodding slowly forward after us, along the selfsame road as we ourselves once trod.

The reader is not to suppose that we here suggest that we have found at last something perfect on earth; for even the Golden Age had its faults and deficiencies. The great Cosmic principle of dual balance had ordained that wheresoever perfection is, there also shall imperfection be. So it came about that the Zulu life-system had its defects as well as its virtues. True, it had attained the ideal of the 'simple life'; but at the expense of equal losses. It had reduced man's wants and cares to a minimum; but only at the cost of much poverty, discomfort and dirt. It had rid itself of all troublesome aspirations and disappointments; and consequently had remained utterly stagnant, destitute of every improvement and advance. Its purely material outlook had rendered it at the same time intellectually poor, unspiritual and unmoral. Its unhampered freedom was enjoyed in a vacuous world, where there was little use for it. Its unruffled calm engendered indolence; and that indolence engendered, not only much suffering from ever-present poverty and ever-recurrent famine, but also that mental lethargy and inertia which proved at last the tribe's complete undoing, and ensured its subjugation by those who were

strengthened by the might of productive thought. And yet, somehow, this low-grade, animal life of mere sensual existence had evolved a remarkably strong sense of social law and order, with a system of child-education and character-formation that went very far indeed towards ennobling the brute.

One of the greatest calamities that ever befell the Zulu people was the break-up of its home life, which followed the introduction of European industries and government. The home should be to every man, as it is to every child, the dearest, most hallowed spot on earth; for upon that spot he came into being, there his progenitors lived and he with them; there he received his nationality, his religion, his language, such mental and physical powers and moral character as he possessed—in a word, his very life and all that made him man. Despite our better understanding in these modern times, the old fallacy still persists that a child's only 'school' is the room wherein he learns to read and write; his only education, that which gives skill to the hands and loads the memory with impersonal facts. That idea, in spite of the protests of the few, is being rapidly instilled also into the minds of the Natives. Yet the first and greatest school in life, responsible for most in the making of the man, is, and ever has been, the child's own home. So important is a recognition of this fact, that we shall not apologise for repeating here what we have already said elsewhere (Bryant, *O.T.*, chapter 9).

The Zulu home was the very basis of the whole Zulu social structure. A Zulu kraal was the whole clan-system in miniature. For within the kraal were many huts, each with its separate family of mother and children, the embryo of many future kraals; and all those huts and families were ruled by one common head, at once father and king, who governed all, at once his children and his subjects, with a benevolent despotism of affection, protection and care. Indeed, a Zulu kraal, a Zulu home, in the good old times of so-called savagedom, was a model to civilized man of stern family discipline and refined manners. Amidst the crudest of surroundings, the brightest of social virtues flourished; and by their practice, taught. Great and salutary and lasting were the lessons there taught and there learned by the developing child.

It used to be the universal custom that from birth till puberty, with the boys, and with the girls till marriage, the

Zulu children never left the parental kraal or its immediate neighbourhood, save, perhaps, for a very rare journey with their father or their mother. When, towards the end of last century, we ourselves first entered Zululand, before the country had yet been opened to European entry, practically the whole population of boys and girls (and of these many were already from twenty to thirty years of age) knew nothing of the world further than two or three miles from home. That little home-spot was all their world, the only world they ever knew or cared about. There all their affections, all their concerns, all their interests, all their thoughts, were wholly and solely centred.

The one great law that ruled in that little kingdom was the law of complete submission to paternal authority. Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction of all alike; of mothers, of sons (some of them strong men, already with families of their own), of every child. Every failure to obey was immediately followed by drastic reprisals; persistent insubordination led infallibly to the disgrace of expulsion; while open revolt might easily have terminated in the death of the transgressor. And what each inmate of the kraal saw and experienced in the father, that he in turn practised in a lesser degree himself, demanding from all below him in the scale of age or position, exactly the same measure of submission as was demanded of him by those above. Alongside, or out of, this practice of complete submission was gradually evolved something more than mere respect, almost a holy awe (*ukwEsaba*, as the Zulus called it), for those in authority over one. And this again was mutual and universal, the little boy respecting the bigger boy; the bigger boy, his elder brother; and all, their parents.

The child-mind having thus been once reduced to this happy state of perfect docility, it was capable of being moulded in a hundred other fashions. By precept and by example the child was led or forced into ways innumerable of nice and proper behaviour—how it should be sympathetic and generous towards its companions, treating the little ones with consideration, and unselfishly sharing every good thing with all; how it should accustom itself to the tasks of daily life, by herding the calves, by minding the babies, by fetching water and firewood; how it should take a pride in personal

appearances, in cleanliness and neatness; how boys should associate with the males of the family, and grow manly, and the girls with their mothers, and grow womanly. There were strict rules of etiquette governing almost every phase of daily life—how to deport oneself before elders and superiors; how to behave at meals; how to respect the places and property of others. In such ways as this were habits of order and orderliness, of civility and cleanliness, of unselfishness and self-respect, of industriousness and sexual propriety, constantly encouraged and gradually acquired in this admirable and efficient school of precept and practice.

But Zulu mothers were hard-working folk, who had scant time for toying with their children. From the age of four or earlier, girls and boys, especially the latter, were largely left to their own devices and thrown upon their own resources. Within the limits of the kraal and the adjacent veld, the little ones might roam at will and mind themselves. Then the bigger boys went out with the cattle, and spent the day hunting on the hills and partly feeding themselves on roots and berries. Yet all the while they must remain alert on sentinel duty, guarding and guiding their herd of cows or goats (in days, you must remember, when ferocious beasts still roamed at large), and each bearing an increased weight of responsibility according to his age. On to the gentler habits of respectfulness, obedience, generosity and decency, the manlier virtues of love of freedom, of sense of duty and responsibility, of trust and trustworthiness, of self-reliance, of self-control and self-defence, were now superadded.

Meanwhile, a huge amount of nature-study was quietly proceeding, and a huge amount of nature-knowledge was being accumulated. The small girls with the babies were learning many of the secrets of human anatomy and of the care of children; while the bigger ones were passing through a complete course of domestic art and science alongside their mothers in the home and on the field. Out on the veld, the boys were busy studying the nature of every plant and tree, the habits of every insect, the peculiarities of every rock, and ere long could interpret the meaning of the winds, the clouds, the mists; could give one the names of all the grasses, and the medicinal uses of many herbs and trees; could describe to you the qualities of different kinds of wood, the shapes of different kinds

of tree-leaf, and explain to you the internal bodily structure of every bird and fowl, and wild and domestic animal within their little world. Thus, through the ages, this admirable system of forming character and imparting knowledge continued, until at length was evolved a Zulu race, noble of heart, dignified of bearing, refined of manners and learned in natural science—qualities, alas! now rapidly becoming lost before the destructive and demoralizing accompaniments of European 'civilization'.

Arrived at about the age of 14-16 years, the former herd-boy blossomed into an *ūDibi* (carrier-boy), that is to say, was now deemed big and strong enough to carry the baggage of his father (or other kraalhead with whom the latter might place him) when travelling. The peculiar privilege of this new status was the delight of seeing now a bigger world and, as said, the honour of accompanying his father or other gentleman on their distant journeyings, bearing on his head their kaross, wooden pillow and sleeping-mat all rolled up together, cigarette-wise, inside the usual *umBúma* mat, with the paternal hubble-bubble dangling at the rear end of the roll, and, as often as not, his equally essential *isiKigi* (chamber; more familiarly referred to as 'the-boy', *umFana*), the high-water mark of Zulu civilization! Elevation to this high rank was an epoch-marking event in a boy's life. Final withdrawal from the herd-boys on the veld marked the closure of his boyhood's school-days; and the pride he felt at first being permitted to carry a man's luggage, was the pride of the white lad when first going out to work. It was the first consciousness of budding manhood and, quite appropriately, generally occurred about the period of the boy's attaining puberty (*ukuTómba*).

Two or three years after this, the boy would move another rung up the social ladder. With other lads of a like age (*iNtanga*), he would go up to one or other of the king's numerous military-kraals (*amaKánda*), where some regiment had its headquarters, there to tend the royal herd of cattle there stationed (which was the chief purpose of his going) and at the same time to 'milk direct from the udder into his mouth' (*ukuKleza*). All this was another established process in a boy's up-bringing ('going to college', one might say), needed, it was said, to 'make him grow well', which, no doubt, the plentiful supply of fresh milk, at this particular period of life, did help to bring about. Strange indeed does it seem that, despite this

habit of fresh-milk drinking in his boyhood, no Zulu man would ever drink thereof again in after-life : along with eggs and fish, he found it quite too nauseating.

So soon as there seemed to the king a sufficiency of youths in the land of about 20 years of age, a brand-new 'age-group' or regiment (*ĩButó*) would be created by royal proclamation for their enrolment, and a brand-new military-kraal be erected as their barracks. In that kraal, save for occasional 'vacations' to his home, the young man would sacrifice the better part of manhood's prime in the service of the State. At length, perhaps when approaching 40 years of age, but by no means with virility impaired, he would be released and permitted to retire into the 'reserve' of private life, wherein his first most urgent concern was to assume the headring and then to marry.

Life and manners in a Zulu military-kraal were much as they are and ever have been in other barracks. That spirit of geniality, comradeship and *esprit de corps* so strong in the African character, was here at its best, and fully maintained the highest standard of England's public schools. While ease and freedom were abundant, stern discipline continuously reigned ; but it was a wholly moral force and rarely put in action, the men being entirely thrown on their honour, without regulations and without supervision : and they seldom disgraced that trust. They were there for the sole purpose of fulfilling the king's behests. Though they had no drill, they acted as the State army, the State police, and the State labour-gang. They fought the tribe's battles, made raids on foreign herds when State funds were low (and the State funds were the royal cattle), 'ate-up' kraals and destroyed condemned families in the king's name, brought to justice contumacious offenders, built and repaired the king's kraals, cultivated his fields, manufactured his war-shields : for all which they received spare diet, no wage, not one word of thanks. It was their duty to the State as men, and they did it without question or complaint. The one outstanding flaw in this otherwise excellent organization was (at least, from the warrior's point of view) the chronic dearth of food and the dearth of girls. The life of a Zulu man, felt they, in the vigour of his prime, is, without these two essentials, hardly worth the living. Save for a batch of oxen slaughtered from time to time, but by no means regularly, no provision whatever was made for the body's needs. Each was

left to fossick for himself as best he could, and, what is more surprising, actually did it, keeping himself in perfect form by sponging on surrounding kraals or by sharing in the constant 'parcels' of foodstuffs sent up to himself and his brother-warriors from their several homes.

In the Zulu system, girls, as well as boys, were embodied into age-groups or regiments (*ĩButó*) ; but in the case of girls, only nominally so. Adult girls throughout the land, of like or equal age and not yet enrolled in any age-group, received, from time to time, from the king a common group-name ; but receiving no barracks, they continued as before to remain at home. Whenever a male regiment was released as free to marry and to wear the headring (*ukuKéhla*), the king at the same time commanded (*ukuJuba*) the then eldest female age-group to assume the top-knot (also *ukuKéhla*) and to marry them. Prior to such royal injunction, neither man nor maid dare enter the wedded state.

Thus was each and every individual in the Zulu State taught, boys and girls, maids and men alike, first to their father, then to their king, to be ever obedient, docile, disciplined, unto the last.

*Now, these are the laws of the jungle, and many and mighty are they ;
But the head and the hoof of the law, and the haunch and the hump is—Obey ! (Kipling).*

From the general, we shall now proceed to the particular ; from the rough sketch above of the Zulu daily routine, to a closer examination of some of the more arresting details in the picture.

Structurally, we have already declared the Zulu beehive hut to be a quite passable contrivance, considering ; and, as Dr. Oswald² has observed, " if kept scrupulously clean, a structure eminently adapted for a hot climate, from the point of view of coolness during the scorching heat of the day and of freedom from chills at night ". But when the excellent structure is examined in actual working order, it becomes quite a different proposition. Ninety per cent. of the kraal huts are what we have described as ' family huts ', wherein live a wife and her

offspring. Being what Europeans euphemistically call 'one-room flats', they accordingly serve at once as bedroom, living-room, dining-room and kitchen, and that for a whole family of half-a-dozen human-beings, plus very frequently a calf or two. With their accumulated clabashes of sour-milk and fermenting beer, their badly-cured hides, their numerous unwashed personal garments reeky with the smoke of ages, the garbage and droppings of the preceding meal, to say nothing of the deposits of the family babe (removed, when liquid, by being well rubbed into the earthen floor with the household grass-brush, or, otherwise, deftly collected with a handful of grass or leaves), these things all together rendered the atmosphere around hardly salubrious, and the huts themselves hardly cleanly, orderly and savoury resorts. That was why the young men and adult girls preferred to get out of them and into private apartments (*amaLawu*) of their own, which they took a pride in keeping always sweet and clean and neat. Nevertheless, they were, none of them, an over-squeamish or fastidious people, and even the young men and girls did not object to taking their meals *en famille*; though it did sometimes happen that the young men ordered their food to be served in their own 'room'.

These *amaLawu* or private-huts of the youth of both sexes were not peculiar to the Zulus. Although not universal, they were common to several other Bantu and Equatorial Negro tribes. Schweinfurth³ says: "The peculiar huts appropriated to boys, which I have mentioned as being adopted by the Niamniam and called 'bamogee', are found here, and are always built in a style that is most symmetrical". Among the Teso Bantu of Uganda, Purvis⁴ writes: "Care is taken to protect the unmarried girls by making it compulsory for all young unmarried men of a family or village to sleep together in a hut set apart from the rest; and it is said that after these youths have retired, the elders prepare the ground in such a way that trespassers are easily traced". But among the Eastern Bantu of Zambezia, children must be exceptionally passionate; for "when they reach an age of three or four years, by which time they are almost, if not quite, as advanced as a European child of seven or eight, they are sent out to reside in a large hut inhabited in common by the boys, and called *Gwero*. Small girls also have a dwelling of their own".⁵

We have described the Zulu hut as dome-like in shape; consequently, upon entering, by a creeping process through the front doorway 2 to 2½ feet high (though the Natives themselves manage it by a mere stoop and a bend of one knee), one finds oneself inside a tiny panorama of the flat earth below and a dark night-sky above, with several wooden posts confronting one like so many upright trees. Between two of these pillars, one opposite the doorway, the other towards the back of the hut, lies the hearth (*iZiko*), encircled by a raised oval border. Away, against the left-hand wall, leans the family grindstone, with a large round pebble for grinding concealed behind it. Within string racks suspended from both wall-sides, rest piles of rolled-up sleeping-mats. A similar hanging arrangement, on the right-hand side, is the *isiPándla*, holding a bundle of assegais and sticks belonging to the youths of the family. Still higher up on the wall, hangs a kind of 'shelf' or 'cup-board' (*iTála*), in reality a hanging basket or bag made of fibre net-work, in which small objects are kept out of reach of the children. At the back of the hut, a semi-circular raised border cuts off the rear portion (*umSamo*) of the floor, for the storage of the numerous earthen pots, calabashes, meat-dishes and the like. On the left (or female) side of the hut, another segment of the circular floor space is frequently cut off (by a wicker-work partition), so as to form a pen (*iTómbe*) for the family calf or goat. Into the thatch everywhere round the hut, various oddments such as knives, spoons, clyster-horns and other such, are thrust for safe-keeping; while the whole of the 'ceiling' may be covered by the housewife's crop of Kafir-corn-ears thrust into the thatch in a similar way, the perpetual smoke effectually keeping the weevils away from the grain. Once a week the floor is smeared with diluted cowdung to keep down the dust; but beneath the earthen floor, in the older huts, lurks a whole host of disagreeable beasts (known as *amaTúku*, and apparently the larvæ of some dipterous insect), which swarm out at night to graze on the would-be sleepers. Small beetles in their myriads rove about the thatch above, and ultimately find their way down to their feeding-ground in the milk-gourds and food-dishes.

The Zulu fire-arrangements take us straight back to pre-historic times, into the age of Neolithic, if not even Palæolithic,

man. The most momentous discovery ever made by humanity was that of making fire. By it the whole later life of mankind became entirely revolutionized. It was, furthermore, probably the very first of man's major discoveries, seeing that its secret seems to have been already in the possession of the man of Neanderthal, some 30,000 to 70,000 odd years ago,⁶ if not indeed in that of him of Peking, twice or thrice his age. Some surmise that it must have been a discovery already made before the dispersal, in man's first home;⁷ but, though it may have been so, there is equal likelihood that the discovery was made independently in several places at various times. It is not difficult to imagine how this might have come about. A flash of lightning, for instance, might have set the dry veld or forest on fire. This might have provided a source from which fire could be taken, preserved and transported by firebrand from place to place—as is indeed still the habit with Australian tribes,⁸ who, moreover, do actually state that fire first descended from heaven.⁹ But even so, that would not have taught man how to produce the element for himself.¹⁰

There are several plausible explanations as to how that might have happened. With thousands of men, all over the world, diligently engaged, throughout thousands of years, chipping flints for the manufacture of weapons and tools—and particularly note that it was flint or similar hard stone that they were chipping—it could hardly have avoided happening here and there, now and again, that a stray spark of fire should chance to alight upon some dry grass hard by; whereafter the wind would soon complete the process, and awaken the tinder into flame. The method of producing fire by concussion in this way was actually known to such distantly separated primitive peoples as the Eskimos and Patagonians.¹¹ Another habit common with Palæolithic man was that of drilling holes in hard stones;¹² when a similar result might have followed, eventually leading to the invention of the fire-drill, or stick-and-hole, method of producing fire, which appears to have been that most universally in vogue amongst primitive peoples, from Australia to the Veddahs of India, from Northern India to Kamchatka, from the Eskimos to Mexico and Tierra del Fuego.¹³ Then, again, it is further well known that, when the siliceous external rind of two bamboos is continuously rubbed together by the wind, fire is sometimes generated, which may

set the whole forest in a blaze—the dry, easily powdered, internal substance probably acting in this case as tinder, after a portion of the hard external surface has already been worn away.¹⁴ Certain other trees are known to produce the same result.¹⁵ Further, two pieces of bamboo, when vigorously rubbed together by their sharp siliceous edge (as is actually done by certain Negritos¹⁶), or even when simply struck together with force (as is done in some parts of Malaysia¹⁷), will readily produce fire. In these facts, no doubt, will be found the origin of the friction or stick-and-groove method of producing fire so common amongst the primitive peoples of Malaysia and Melanesia.¹⁸

Our Zulus, then, were quite familiar with the art of making fire long before we came and sold them matches; and, further, they belonged to the Australia-Kamchatka-Patagonian persuasion, who believed in the fire-drill (*ūZwati*), or the stick-and-hole, method. Two small sticks, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick or more and about 18 inches long, were cut from the same soft-wooded (liable to be bored by insects) tree, e.g. the *iPáhla* (*Brachylæna discolor*), the *umTómbe* (*Ficus Natalensis*), or the *uPúlule*. When thoroughly dry, one of the sticks was laid on the ground and firmly held in position by the two feet of the squatting driller, or by the knees (if kneeling), or by a second person. The second stick, held upright between the extended palms, was placed with the slightly pointed lower end resting in a small hole cut into the upper-middle part of the other stick, lying horizontally on the ground. The upright stick was then rapidly twirled by vigorously rubbing the two palms together, the hands (which, in twirling, gradually descended down the stick) being repeatedly and quickly raised again to the top. Soon a little wood-dust was produced (in the hole of the ground stick), at first yellowish, then becoming darker, and finally, after two or three minutes twirling, red-hot or glowing. The glowing dust was then removed on the point of an assegai, or simply cast, on to a tiny heap of tinder (*iMvili*), e.g. the dry leaves of the *iNkondlwane* plant, the *uPéhlwacwati*, the *umQaqongo*, or perhaps merely dry cowdung; whereafter a little blowing with the mouth immediately produced a flame.

The only people we have heard of, in our age, who, though possessing fire, are said to be unable to produce it, are the

Adamanese¹⁹ and the extinct Tasmanians.²⁰ The Papuans produce fire, like the Zulus, by friction, but by a different method, namely, by rapidly drawing a rattan cord across a dry stick.²¹

Fire-making, among the Zulus, was a man's job; some Bantu tribes (like the Kambas of Kenya Colony²²) making it definitely unlawful for the mere female to tamper with the firesticks.²³

The flaming tinder having been duly produced (as above), the housewife placed it on the hearth, and upon it a few small dry sticks, which, after a good deal of blowing (*ukuFútéla*), became in turn ignited (*ukuVútdá*), and so the fire was 'made' (*ukuBasa*, *ukuPémba*). The process of 'keeping it up' was called *ukuKwézela*. For fuel, any dry wood was used; and the females by long experience soon learned which varieties were the best. In treeless parts, cakes of dry cowdung (*ĩLongwe*),^{23a} and dry maize and millet stalks (*ũHlanga*), provided a substitute. Especially in winter time, the fire was kept alight all night, and in the morning re-kindled from the still-glowing embers. But sometimes it went out. In that case, a child was sent off to a neighbouring kraal (perhaps a quarter of a mile distant) to fetch new fire, that being less troublesome than working the firesticks. For this purpose, the *iNkondlwane* plant (*Helichrysum*) was employed, this retaining fire in a smouldering state for a very long time.²⁴ The fire-ashes, when the hearth was cleaned, were thrown on the family rubbish-heap (*ĩZala*) outside the kraal.

In country infested by nocturnal beasts of prey, a high platform was sometimes erected inside the central cattle-fold, supporting a thick layer of earth, upon which a fire was kept blazing throughout the night to scare off from the stock any contemplating intruders.²⁵

The Zulus, unlike the Hereros (of South West Africa) and the Gandas (of the Victoria Nyanza), knew nothing whatever about any 'sacred fire' to be kept perpetually burning in the home or clan—unless the kindling of the fire at a royal installation (see Chapter 12) may be a survival of such. The Hereros maintain such a fire in every home; but in Uganda the duty seems to be the prerogative of the king, near whose hut the fire is kept burning, and is carried about with him, when

he travels.²⁶ The custom is said to have been introduced by its first king, Kintu; and the existence of the custom among the Hereros in far-away South Africa provides a possible proof of a former relationship between these two peoples.

The elemental facts of mathematics was another of the earlier discoveries of mankind. Having discovered the circle and the square, and introduced the idea into the structure of his dwelling, man now lighted upon the triangle, and put it on his hearth. From the earlier Neolithic times, when the first cooking-pot had to be put upon the fire, three stones, forming a triangle, were found to supply the safest and easiest support. The eternal triangle thus became universal among mankind, at any rate among African man. The Bushmen of the Karoo,²⁷ the Guanches of the Canary Islands,²⁸ the Hamites of Galaland,²⁹ and the Bantu of Negroland,³⁰ all alike build themselves a three-cornered cooking-stove.

We have already said that at each end of the Zulu oval hearth there stands a wooden pillar, supporting the roof. Now, that hearth-stone (*ĩSeko*) which forms the apex of the aforesaid triangle, always stands close to the pillar nearest the doorway. This particular stone is especially sacred (as imaginative ethnologists would say); for it is honoured with a distinguishing name, *umLindaziko* (the-hearth-guardian), and is always religiously left in its place, none ever daring to remove it. On the other side of this same pillar (that is, immediately facing the doorway, and outside of the hearth) may frequently be seen a bone (*umGúlugúlu*) protruding out of the floor. This is a charmed 'peg' (*isiKónkwane*), formerly part of the anatomy of a baboon or other weird animal, appropriately medicated by the local practitioner and set up by him to render null and void any machinations of the local *aba-Tákati* (secret workers of evil). It is possible that the Zulu *umLindaziko* stone (above) may be related to the large stone set up by the Masabas of Uganda near the hut-door, which stone is called by them the *Mboge*, and is regarded as the residence of the family manes, for whom offerings of beer and food are there placed.^{30a} In New Guinea, "Mr. Chalmers tells us that . . . 'pigs are never killed but in one place, and then they are offered to the spirit. Pigs' skulls are kept and hung up in the house. Food . . . is placed near the post where the

skulls hang, and prayer is said. When the centre-post [of a new house] is set up, the spirits have wallaby, fish and bananas presented to them, and they are besought to keep that house full of food, and that it may not fall when the wind is strong'.^{30b}

The Zulu corn was ground in the most ancient of mills. It was a simple flat slab of sandstone, about 17 inches long by 12 inches broad and 5 thick, whose upper surface, in course of time, by constant rubbing, was rendered concave in the middle. It is interesting to note that this so important household commodity has not even yet, after all these thousands of years, received in Zulu any distinguishing name, being simply called 'the-stone for-grinding' (*ĩTshe lokuGáya*). At one end of this grindstone (which was laid flat on the ground), the woman or girl, who was doing the grinding, knelt on the floor. With a large, smooth, oval river-pebble (*iMbókóde*), grasped with both hands and continuously rubbed backwards and forwards, with the full weight of the leaning body to give pressure, she crushed the grain—if hard and dry, into a coarse meal; if previously softened by boiling, into a coarse dough. At the other (or front) end of the stone, a small eating-mat (*isiTébe*) was placed on the ground to receive the crushed grain as it was rubbed forward by the grinding-pebble. To see the Zulu girl taking her daily place behind this same old grindstone, was to have a vision of the Ancient Egyptian girl,³¹ or the maid of Old England,³² doing precisely the same thing in the same way 6,000 to 10,000 years ago. Such was the corn-mill of the Neolithic Age. By-the-bye, we fail to find, in the *Ethnological Handbook* of the British Museum, any reference whatever to this very important object in all ancient and primitive civilizations.

Turning now to Zulu crockery, we find ourselves once more in Neolithic times. The manufacture of these wares was the prerogative of the women, who probably invented the art. It was one of the female 'trades', and as such will be further considered when we come to deal with (Chapter 10) the Zulu arts and crafts.

Meanwhile, we may say that the wares produced by these simple craftswomen were by no means works of art. Most of

them were pure 'Neolithic' pots and bowls without any ornamentation whatsoever.³³ The only 'pattern' these Zulu women ever achieved was the affixing to the outside of some pots a number of mammillæ or (as they called them) 'warts' (*amaSumpha*), arranged variously, either in a single multiple band (*ũHanqu*) encompassing the pot, or as several circles (*iziDlubu*), swallow-tails (*ĩNkonjane*), and other devices (*ĩNgotá*, etc.). The vessels were nearly always rimless, like those of predynastic Egypt 7,000 years ago. But the lack of art was somewhat compensated for by the excellence and variety of form. Right at the bottom of the ladder, was the rough-surfaced, lidded cooking-pot (*ĩKánzi*) in various sizes, which became completely ousted (that is, in quite recent times) by the iron cauldron of the European stores, and is now quite unknown. The largest type of vessel was the *iMbiza*, similarly rough-surfaced, and likewise in various shapes and sizes (e.g. the *ũHoho*, the *umNdindimana*, the *ũGágá*), but generally some 2 feet high by 18 inches wide, and used principally (though by no means only) for fermenting beer. The *iMbiza* always stood at the back of the hut in the *umSamo*, and was sometimes partly embedded in the earth. Turning now to the polished pots, all of them black, and nearly all with wide, open mouths, we may start by saying that out of the *imBiza* the already fermented beer went into the *ĩPángela*, a large globular vessel (a foot wide by another high), into which it was strained. If the beer was going to be drunk in the home-kraal, out of the *ĩPángela* it was poured into the *isiKámbe*, an equally high, but narrower and less globular pot. In this it was 'sent to table', that is to say, was conveyed by the girls to the 'company' assembled in the several huts. Arrived there, from the *isiKámbe* the beer was poured into the several 'tankards', the Zulu tankard being another smaller polished pot (*ũKámbe*), seven or eight inches high, with a broad mouth, and, not globular, but slightly oval in shape, so as to allow of easier drinking. A very small kind of *ũKámbe* or beer-drinking pot was called an *umNcishane* (the 'stingy-one'). But when beer had to be conveyed to distant kraals, it usually went in an *ũPiso*, which was a large globular pot, polished, with a narrow (say, three inches) mouth surrounded by a straightly upright rim (some two or three inches high), which kept the beer from spilling while in transportation on the girls'

heads. Besides these beer-pots, there were also several kinds of vessels for eating from or other purposes, e.g. the *umCengezi* or wash-basin, a broad, shallow, flat-bottomed dish, 15 inches wide, for washing the hands and face; the *umCakulo* or food-basin, for eating from; the *umQengele*, a broader basin, for porridge and mashes; the *iNgcungu* or food-pot, a small globular vessel, fitted with a small rim to hold a grass-work lid, and in which the *umVúbo* (crushed boiled maize-grains mixed with sour clotted milk) was preserved from the beetles.

All these pots stood marshalled together on the floor at the back of the hut (*umSamo*). But not they alone. Alongside or mixed up with them were divers calabashes. These were the emptied shells of the gourd-plant, each with a hole, one or two inches across, at the top. There were larger ones (*iGóbongo*), 9 or 10 inches wide by a foot in height, for storing water and carrying beer; others (*iGúla*), equally large, but with an extra hole (*umuNgé*) at the bottom (for drawing off the whey), used for preparing and keeping the sour clotted milk (*amaSi*); and still other smaller kinds (*isiGúbú*), mostly used by children when fetching water, or for serving drinking-water to the thirsty, or for keeping baby's clotted milk.

The heavier and dirtier business of pot-making had been relegated to the gentler sex; while the male sat down and made the lighter and cleaner basket-ware. Like all the rest, these too displayed many shapes and sizes and modes of workmanship. There was a small size *iMbenge* in several varieties, shaped like a bowl, for serving certain dry foodstuffs, or for holding small goods; an *iNgcungu* or food-basket, of small globular shape, with a rim and grass lid, in which crushed boiled maize-grains (*umCaba*) was kept from the beetles; a medium-sized grain-basket (*umHelo*), like a bowl, a foot across; a larger size (*iQoma*), likewise bowl-shaped, but 18 inches or more in width, and serving as the ordinary grain-carrying basket; and, finally, the *isiDinganiso* or grain-measuring basket, which was simply a magnification of the preceding *iQoma*, being two to two and a half feet in width, though only about six inches high. A large globular basket (*isiCúmu*), a foot in breadth and height, and fitted with a lidded rim, was so finely woven that it was used, without the

slightest leakage, for carrying beer. The Cape Xosas used a similar basket for holding clotted milk (*amaSi*). These various baskets, being all day and every day in constant use, were to be found scattered everywhere about on the female side of the family-huts; though some of the smaller ones might be hung up on the hut-wall. Some of these smaller baskets (*iMbenge* and *iNgcungu*) were oftentimes very excellently worked and decorated with patterns (mostly squares) in red and black,³⁴ the black colour being obtained by boiling the strips of palm-leaf (*iLala*—with which they were woven) along with the indigo plant (*Indigofera erecta*), and the red, by boiling them along with old, reddened sorghum-leaves.

Food needed stirring, as well as cutting, at times in its preparation. For this purpose, the housewife was provided by her husband with a stirring-stick (*iPini*—an oar-shaped piece of wood), and a knife (*umuKwá*). This latter was an iron blade, seven or eight inches long by one and a half wide, rounded at the end (not pointed, like an assegai), having an edge, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on one, and with a tang fitted into a wooden handle.

With the passage from eating to sleeping, we pass over from baskets and pots to mats—sleeping-mats (*iCantsi*), sitting-mats (*isiCepú*), and eating-mats (*isiTébe*). All these were the product of female industry, just as were the pots.

The Zulus had never risen to the same height of bed-chamber culture as had the Gandas, who slept on raised wooden frames spread with a cow-hide. But even with these latter, the raised bed seems to have been a comparatively recent advance; for, in earlier times, they too slept on the ground, but ground elevated to the rank, as Roscoe³⁵ says, of a "dais of beaten earth, spread with grass and bark-cloth". Raised earthen beds of this type are frequently met with also elsewhere throughout Bantuland.³⁶ The Zulu bed and bedstead, on the other hand, was never higher than the thickness of a piece of matting. Their sleeping-mats were made either of the fine round stems of the *iNcema* rush (these were the best kind, called *iNketá*, and appropriated mostly by the men), or of the inferior *iGceba* rush; or, again, of strips from the flags of the *iKwáni* and *iBúma* rushes, the which mats, being softer

and warmer than the preceding, were retained by the women for themselves, and called *isiKwábukwábu*. The *iNcema* variety was always 'sewn' (*ukuTúnga*), that is, a hole being pierced through the rush stem with an awl, the fibre-string (*ũZi*) was passed through it, so binding together stem after stem until the full mat-length had been attained, the string itself remaining invisible. The other varieties (*ĩGceba*, *ĩKwáni*, and *ĩBúma*) were 'woven' (*ukwAluka*), that is, working with a double string, one string was passed over each rush and the other beneath it, the rushes thus forming the weft and the string the warp of the mat. The spacing of the warp-strings, further, differed in different mats. Sometimes the strings were placed at regular half-inch intervals right across the mat (then called an *iCítintambo*); at others, several strings were placed close together, forming 'stripes' or 'bands' right down (not across) the mat. If such 'stripes' were narrow (containing only 8 to 10 strings in each) but many in number, such a mat was called an *uBangazana*; but if the 'stripes' were greater in width but fewer in number (each stripe containing 20 to 30 strings, with only 3 or 4 stripes down the whole mat), then the mat was called an *isiDlidli*. In the Cape Town Museum will be found specimens of Ancient Egyptian mat and basket work found at Tarkhan, and attributed to the first of the Dynasties (c. 6,000 years ago). It will there be noticed, not only that the large grain-basket is constructed in exactly the same manner as are the Zulu *ĩQoma* (above) grain-baskets of today, but also that the rush-mats are woven exactly as are the Zulu mats of the *isiKwábukwábu* type (above); while the reed-coffins are 'sewn' together (with strings passing through each reed) exactly as are the Zulu *iNcema* mats (above).

Besides the sleeping-mats (which might be six feet long by three in breadth), there were smaller sitting-mats (only three feet long by a couple wide) 'woven' (above) of *iNduli* rushes. This *iNduli* held rather a superior place among the rushes; because it had been its privilege from all time to supply the material for the royal 'throne' or seat (*isiHlalo*). This royal seat was really an extremely long *iNduli* mat, which, when rolled up and set upon a cowhide, furnished a soft and well-sprung throne for his Majesty, whenever he was called upon to preside over any assemblage in the open. As for the

commoner, it was regarded as quite improper for any decent man to sit upon the bare ground inside a hut; while not to offer a sitting-mat to a visitor was the height of ill-manners. Flattened goat-skins, with the hair left on, often performed the role of sitting-mats. Were those sitting-skins a 'survival' from pre-mat days?³⁷ Skins and hides, says Roscoe,³⁸ were the only chairs in Gandaland "until the Arabs introduced the art of making them [mats] in the middle of Suna's reign". With Ancient Egyptian matting (as said, often identical in make with that of the Zulus) so close at hand, this last remark of Roscoe's seems rather surprising. Certainly, the Arabs did not teach the Zulus the art of mat-making.³⁹

Then there is the eating-mat (*isiTebe*—it may be noted that the Masai Nilotics also call their eating-mat *madeba*), usually not more than 18 inches square, were generally 'woven' (above) throughout with *umũZi* rushes, these furnishing both warp and weft, without any string work. They were often decorated with red and black colouring, like the *iMbenge* baskets (above).

It was the women's work both to thatch the huts and to make the mats. The thatching needed a good deal of rope, generally $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, and made by simply cross-plaiting (*ukwAluka*) strands of long grasses, like the *isiKónko*, *umTshiki* and *ũHashu*. Stouter ropes (*ĩGóda*) were made by the men (for binding cows when milking, etc.) out of fibrous bark (*iNxoxa*) of the *umSasane* and *umuNgá* mimosas, the *iNdola* (*Triumfetta rhomboidea*) and other trees.

Mat-making, again, and beadwork both required a constant supply of fine string or thread. This was manufactured by the women and girls themselves from the fibre (*ũZi*) of several plants. The bark was stripped off the plant, then sun-dried and pounded with a stone; whereon the constituent strands would become separated and visible, and so easily pulled apart in fine, strong threads. The ends of two such pieces of thread were then joined together, by deftly rolling or twirling them to and fro together with the flat palm on the bare thigh (*ukuPótá*). For providing the finer threads required for mat-making, beadwork and general sewing purposes, the following were commonly used—the inner bark of the *isiSanto* coast-bush; of the *iNtozwane* shrubs (*Lasiosiphon anthylloides* and

Peddeia Africana); of the trees, *umTómbe* (*Ficus Natalensis*), the *umSasane* and *umNgámanzi* mimosas, and the *iMpo-ngozembe* (*Urera tenax*); and the roots of the climbers, *umNxwazibe* (*Vigna* or *Glycine*) and *umTókwe*. For rougher, stouter rope-work, the *umTwázi* (*Cissus rhomboidea*) and *umZungulu* (*Dalbergia obovata*) were commonly employed. It is probable that some of these barks were used in earlier times for manufacturing bark-cloth.

The women were the tribal beasts of burden, and so were constantly occupied carrying about huge faggots of firewood and sundry other bundles on their heads. All which necessitated much binding and the employment of knots (*ĩFindo*). The simple knot formed by the contra-twining a single string, as well as that formed by joining together two strings by our 'overhand' knot, had no special names in Zulu, being simply called an *ĩFindo* (knot). But the sailor's 'reversed' knot was called the *ĩFindo leNja* or 'dog-knot' (so called after the back-to-back contingency often occurring in the process of dog-copulation). The 'slip-knot' was known as the *iNtlubuyela*.

Having drawn out his sleeping-mat from the rope-rack, and with a quick throw unrolled it on the floor, the retiring Zulu next looked about for his pillow (*isiGqiki*) and set it at its head. And his pillow was as hard as wood; indeed, it was wood, being nothing more than a smoothened block, ten inches long by three wide, with the upper surface (where the head rested) slightly concave, so that the head might not easily roll off. The oblong block (itself some 3 inches thick) stood upon a couple of stumpy legs, three inches in height. Sometimes both sides and legs of the pillow were decorated with carved grooves forming diamonds or squares (*ĩShisa*), afterwards blackened by burning with a red-hot iron. It is rather surprising to find that the Ancient Egyptians also had not been able to invent a more comfortable pillow than this crude Negro contrivance; for they too used an almost identical headrest, though theirs was much more deeply concave at the top, and rested upon a single central pillar.⁴⁰ Such wooden headrests are universal also throughout the Hamite and Sudanese domain, though there they have usually a couple of

legs at each end, frequently carved in many artistic and original designs.⁴¹

Obviously, with sleeping arrangements of this type, it was not possible to conceal the night-convenience 'under the bed'. So it had to be placed anywhere within easy reach, usually near the hut-wall. These vessels were sometimes specially manufactured, but as a rule any old pot furnished a suitable 'chamber' for the lady of the house, who referred to it euphemistically as her 'daughter' (*iNtombazana*). The husband, however, always preferred a small calabash or gourd-shell, with an appropriate aperture at the top, to any of these earthenware vessels; and he lovingly called it his 'son' (*umFana*). Only superior persons, like family-heads and the aged of both sexes, were deemed entitled to the use of these chambers (*isiKigi*), all younger and middle-aged persons betaking themselves outside, to the rear of the hut. In the morning, the 'maid' (who was a daughter of the family, or a wife) passed out with the vessels through the *iNtuba* (or small exit on each side of the kraal)—not through the main kraal-entrance (*ĩSango*); only the ashes went out that way—and cast both chamber and contents on to the appointed place (*isiTóndo*, urine-place) outside of the kraal; whence they were fetched back again in the evening, after deodorization in the sunlight throughout the day. The Zulus' relatives away in Gandaland also made use of a chamber. "In the capital, chiefs, and often peasants too, used vessels made from plantain-leaves tied together at the ends; these vessels were thrown away in the morning." But more generally both husband and wife had each a separate 'fixed urinal' inside the hut for night purposes only, this being a hole dug in the earthen floor, filled with soft gravel, into which the urine sank. The excuse given was fear of wild beasts.⁴²

The Zulu hut was never brilliantly illuminated, neither by day nor by night. After dark in the evening, either the blazing fire shed a cheerful flicker on the scene, or a Zulu 'candle' was lighted. Above the doorway was always kept a bundle of the small reed-like stalks of the andropogon grass (*ũQunga*). When the fire no longer blazed, a small boy was appointed to light and hold one of these in his hand, flicking away the

burnt end from time to time. There by the fire he sat, perhaps for an hour or more at a time, replenishing his supplies from the bundle above as each long stalk was consumed. More effective lamps were manufactured by mixing into a cake suet and dry cowdung, and burning the cake (*iLongwe loNwali*) on the hearth. For outside purposes, when wild beasts or *abaTákatí* (evil-doers) had to be scared away, flambeaux (*isiHlonti*), made of a bundle of dry grass or sticks, were employed.

Once a week the whole floor of the hut was smeared (*uku-Sinda*) with a thick dilution of cowdung and water. This was a girl's job, who, kneeling on the floor, poured some of the mixture on the ground; then, with a sweeping stroke, cleared it away again with the side of her hand (bringing the excess of cowdung forward in the direction of herself); and so continued to do, until the whole floor-surface had been smeared. In a short while all was dry again, leaving a thin, cake-like covering all over the hut-floor, giving off a fresh, dairy-like smell, that was by no means disagreeable. A similar method is employed in the mud-huts of India.

Among Africans and other such primitives who rest solely on the ground, there are modes of sitting now entirely lost to us denaturalized humans, who know only how to perch and dangle and sprawl on elevated seats. They are mostly varieties of squats, always more natural and quite as graceful as our own rigid and formal perchings on bench or chair. If on a journey and tired, the Zulu man may sit down on the roadside as we would do, with knees up and buttocks on the ground; or, if he be working on some object at home, he may sit flat with legs outstretched before him. But round the morning fire, or when enjoying a quiet gossip, a pinch of snuff or a pot of beer with his friends, he more generally assumes that particular squat more proper in polite society. Planting himself on his feet (at a convenient distance apart), he allows the body to sink till the haunches are resting on the slightly inclined calves and the buttocks slightly above the ground between his ankles. Such is the politest sitting posture among the Zulu males.

But the females likewise have their own particular squats, different from those of the males and more appropriate to their sex. Should a wife be engaged on some light manual work, as

when preparing the vegetables for dinner, weaving mats or working in beads, she may often sit with the knees well apart and the buttocks well down between the feet behind. But when eating her meals, paying visits, or sitting amongst friends or strangers, she will always assume the 'more genteel' posture (corresponding with that of the males above) of bending both legs towards the right or left side and then resting the body with the off buttock or ham flat on the floor—a rather curious posture, which even the Zulu male finds it not easy to imitate. The Ganda women (and probably all other Bantu females) sit in the same way; and, what is more, the Ganda men do likewise.⁴³

"Bishop Codrington," writes Hartland,⁴⁴ "comparing the statements of Mendana, the Spaniard who discovered the Melanesian Islands in the latter part of the sixteenth century, with the customs and conditions of society that he himself found four hundred years later in the Solomon Islands, decides that they were essentially unchanged". Though, under the quite abnormal pressure of European influences, Zulu ways of life and thought have changed very considerably since the days of which we are writing—days of the last two decades of the last century—it is fairly certain that most of the habits and customs described in the preceding and following paragraphs have come down unaltered from most ancient times.

Being one of the best of nature's own gentlemen, the Zulu never approaches or accosts a superior person, whether on the road or in the home, without first saluting him. At the same time he never dares to address him with any verbal greeting, unless the two are on friendly or familiar terms. Now, the salute the Zulu gives is virtually the same as that given by all the civilized armies (including that of Ancient Rome), as well as by the uncivilized peoples, of the world. The action would therefore seem to be a natural impulse; for in every case, be it in India, in Africa or in Europe, it consists in a raising of the hand; and the hand that is raised being everywhere the right (that which carries the weapon), it is supposed that the original purpose was that it be a sign of friendly intention. But whereas the Roman, when raising the arm, thrust it forward, and the European bends it towards his head, the Zulu simply raises it straight upward from the shoulder, with the palm to

the front, at the same time ejaculating 'Nkosi!' (Sire), or 'Mnumzana' (Sir), as the case may be. Being furthermore a born democrat, he never bows, not even to his king. Such self-abasing cringes are essentially an Oriental conception, unknown to him. He never cringes, but always presents a proud, upright, frank and courageous front, even in the face of that most fearsome of majesties, Death. This salute of high respect he terms *ukuKúleka* (to-show-obedience).

King, then, and commoner are to the Zulu equally worthy of respect, and both accordingly receive the same form of salute. Whenever a Zulu enters a kraal (which everyone is entitled to do), he walks boldly up the courtyard; then, standing a moment outside the doorway of the principal hut (at the top of the kraal), announces his presence (if the door is open) by one or other of the above exclamations. Should he be a very inferior person (a messenger, for instance) and the kraal-head a very superior, he will deliver his message there standing. But under ordinary circumstances and society, after announcing his arrival by the method of *ukuKúleka* (as above), he would then immediately enter the hut and squat himself down (laying his sticks on the floor behind him) on the mat offered him by one of the inmates, on the right (or men's) side of the hut. There he would sit in complete silence.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the inmates, all equally hushed in silence, would each cast a respectful glance at him, and, after a minute's duration, greet him (*ukuBingelela*) with the expression, 'Sa-ku-Bona!' (We-have-seen-you, and are satisfied—the particle, *Sa*, may here be rather a contraction of *Si-ya*; thus, *Si-ya-ku-Bona!*, we-do-see-you). This is their equivalent to our 'Good morning' or 'Good afternoon'. To this, the visitor would then reply, 'Ngi-Bona wena!' (And-I-see-thee), that is, Good-morning also to you. The principal inmate then happening to be in the hut would now enquire his business (if he be a stranger) by asking, Where he comes from; where he is going to; what he is fetching there, and so on. Satisfied that he is a perfectly honest customer, normal conversation would then be resumed; and, if it be mealtime, a spoon and food would be placed before him without any asking, and if there be beer, he would be served with a pot. It is the invariable rule, alike in the home and on the field, for the person on the spot to offer

the greeting to the comer; never *vice versa* (as often with us). It were the extreme of impertinence for one entering a kraal or hut to address the inmates first himself, or to start the conversation prior to the preliminary silence and its succeeding greeting by them.⁴⁶

When travelling along a road or path, and encountering a high personage whom he knows, a man would give the same formal salute (of *Nkosi!*, *Sire!*, or *Mnumzana!*, *Sir!*), but would expect no friendly acknowledgment in return. But should it be a mere commoner or a friend or acquaintance, male or female, he would omit the formal salute, and the pair would straightway greet each other with the expression, *Sa-ku-Bona* (Good morning), and then proceed to ply each other with the selfsame personal enquiries as before. It would be very bad manners for two persons to meet upon a path and pass each other without this greeting and simple conversation; so that within the space of a single mile, a traveller may be detained by stoppages of this kind quite half a dozen times. European employers are often at a loss to understand how it is their Native servants take so long a time when sent on errands. Here is, in part, the explanation.

Females, being ranked always as minors or children, were not expected (unless themselves were 'superior persons') to give the formal salute (*ukuKúleka*), but simply to stand demurely silent, or silently to pass by, when in the presence of the great, or quietly to enter the hut without previous announcement. But, at the same time, they were expected to receive and to give the ordinary personal greeting, whether in the home or on the highway.

It is interesting to note how these Zulu forms of salutation when compared with those of other Bantu and Negro peoples, are as dignified and natural as he is himself, when compared with those peoples. Spitting at a person, though considered a mark of high respect in the Sudan,⁴⁷ among some Nilotics, and even among the Kamba Bantu of Kenya Colony⁴⁸ (who possibly acquired the habit from the neighbouring Masai), among the Zulus is an expression of the most extreme contempt and disgust. The Masai, as Purvis⁴⁹ remarks, "are quite adepts at sending out the saliva through the notch filed between the two upper incisors, and of course you must take

the salutation in the spirit in which it is given". Stigand,^{49a} however, says the Masai (as is the custom also with the Suk^{49b} and other Nilotics) first spit only on their own palms, thereafter shaking hands with their friend. Masai children have a much weirder way of greeting their elders, namely, by butting them in the stomach with their heads.^{49c} The Monbuttu, to the north of Congoland, also shake hands, "at the same time cracking the joints of the middle fingers".^{49d} In the south of Congoland, some Natives, after shaking hands, "then twist the hands and grasp the thumb in the palm of the hand".^{49e} Others thereabouts first "slap the left hand on the thigh and then raise it in salute".^{49f} About Tanganyika Lake, some Bantu "touch hands twice, and bring the hand to the breast".^{49g} But among the Tumbwes in the same neighbourhood, upon meeting, "the two natives kneel on one knee. Each take a handful of earth from the ground and strews it crosswise over breast and arms".^{49h} The Kalangas of Mashonaland, "on joining a group to talk, or eat or drink, the new-comer claps hands before sitting down, and again when the food or drink is offered him".⁴⁹ⁱ On the Lower Zambezi, the two forms of greeting, clapping and kneeling, are combined, denoting perhaps a composite tribal origin. There "between men, the hands are clapped, with varying intervals between the claps. A woman responds to this form of greeting by bending the knees slightly, and making a stiff, short bob-curtsey".^{49j} But when a local Native meets a white man, "he bends his body slightly at the hips, and scrapes his feet backwards one after the other".^{49k}

It will have been noticed from the preceding paragraphs, that the 'savages' we are considering, were a surprisingly polite and courteous people. Some of them were consequently quite touchy about the forms of address used towards them. One might sometimes hear a man rebuking another with the indignant taunt, 'Zal'owaKó, u-mu-Té ngaLo' (Go-and-beget-your-own child, and-call-him by-it—that name you are applying to me). This signified, 'I am not your child, to be addressed in that manner; give me my proper courtesy-title'. It was said to check a person who, contrary to Zulu etiquette, had called a man by his birth-name (as is done to children

only), instead of by his clan-name, or that of his regiment; or a woman, by her father's name.

The polite form of address for a man, therefore, was to give him the 'address-name' (*isiTákazelo*) peculiar to his clan. Each and every clan, besides the actual 'clan-name' (*isiBongo*) (e.g. *aba-kwa-Zulu*, the-Zulu-clan; *aba-s-ēLangeni*, the-eLangeni-clan—which was usually the name of the clan's founder, or of his kraal), possessed also an *isiTákazelo*, or name whereby to address the members of the clan, perhaps originally the name of the founder's father, or name of some other celebrated clan personality (e.g. *Ndabezitá*, for the Zulu clan; *Mhlongo*, for the eLangeni clan). In polite conversation, a clansman was accordingly addressed, not by the clan's *isiBongo*, but by its *isiTákazelo*; thus, one would say, 'Sa-ku-Bona, *Ndabezitá*' (Good morning, Ndabezita), to the Zulu clansman, but 'Sa-ku-Bono, *Mhlongo*' (Good morning, Mhlongo) to the eLangeni clansman. An alternative form, equally courteous and common, was to address a man by the name of his regiment; thus, Good morning, *Túlwana*, (thou-of-the-Tulwana-regiment). In no case was he to be addressed by his birth or childhood's name by any other man or woman, save only by his own father and mother, to whom he remained always their 'child'. Boys, after reaching the age of puberty, liked to have their 'majority' recognized by their age-group mates; so they frequently coined for themselves, or the latter coined for them, a brand-new nick-name (also euphemistically termed an *isiBongo*, or 'praise-name'), by which in future they would be referred to by their companions, instead of by their former birth or childhood name; and so forward, until they too were old enough to be enlisted in a regiment.

With females, the etiquette of address was even more complicated. Girls, up to the time of their marriage (i.e. the actual wedding) were called by their birth-names by everybody. But after marriage, a woman was referred to, conversationally, by the *father and mother* of her husband simply by her father's name (not by her own); thus 'U-*pi* u*Ndwa-ndwe*?' where-is Ndwandwe? (i.e. the daughter of Ndwandwe). By her *husband*, and his *married brothers*, and their *wives*, and by the *public* in general of an equally adult age, she was referred to with the prefix, *o-ka-* (she-of), placed before her father's name; thus 'U-*pi* o-*ka-Ndwa-ndwe*?', where-is she-of

Ndwardwe? But when she was personally addressed, the prefix, *ka-* (of) was used alone; thus, 'We! *ka-Ndwardwe*', I-say, of-Ndwardwe; or, again, 'Ngi-ye-Zwa, *wena ka-Ndwardwe*', I-hear, thou of-Ndwardwe. The younger members of her husband's family (including unmarried youths and girls), as well as by the *public* of the same young age as the latter, referred to her by the name of her *first-born child*, male or female; thus, 'U-*pi uNina ka-Zitwana?*' where-is the-mother of-Zitwana; or, again, 'We! *Na ka-Zitwana*' (the *Na* being a contraction of *Nina*), I-say, mother of-Zitwana. Members of her *own kraal* or family, or even home acquaintances, would call her still (in familiar conversation) by her birth-name; thus, 'We! *Nomiti*', I-say, *Nomiti*.

Girls had a quaint way of making requests for presents among themselves (but not from males). *Qóboli!* she might say to her companion. To which the other would enquire, 'U-*ngi-Qóbolisa ngoBani?*' on-whose-account do-you-ask-of-me? Whereupon she would reply, 'Ngi-*ku-Qóbolisa ngaMi*', I-ask-you on-account-of-myself, or, 'Ngi-*ku-Qóbolisa ngo-Sibanibani*', I-ask-you on-account-of-So-and-so. If her request was made in the name of somebody whom the second party loved, then the latter could not refuse her; but otherwise, the reverse.

An inferior always received an article from a superior (e.g. a man from a chief, a woman from a man, a child from everybody—and even though the article were but a single small object, like a penny or a key) with *both* hands outstretched side by side, palms upwards (*ukuKángeza*). To receive with one hand only, would imply superiority in the receiver, or at least equality or familiarity between the parties. On the other hand, it was permitted to give another 'a handful' (*uKwéshe*) of anything upon occasion, as a mother giving her child a handful of food; but in such a case, the mother would call for an *umNyaba* (a single hollowed palm).

It is sometimes averred that the Zulu possesses no sense of gratitude and has no word for 'thank', seeing that the word which he employs, viz. *ukuBonga*, signifies simply 'to praise'. One forgets that words can express more than one meaning. When receiving a gift, the Zulu always acknowledges it by

saying, 'Ngi-*ya-Bonga*', which here means 'I-belaud thee, or give thee thanks'; or, if the giver be an exalted person, he might convey his thanks by simply paying him the formal salute of respect, saying *Nkosi!* (Sire or Sir).

Whenever high personages visited a kraal, they were, upon arrival, always presented with something to 'slaughter' (*ukuHlabisa*), perhaps a cow or a goat, as an acknowledgment of their rank. Once, when visiting 'Princess' Ntonjane, a daughter of the Zulu king, Mpande, and being, according to customary rites, presented with a goat, in a moment of forgetfulness and out of sympathy with her present comparative poverty (since the family's deprivation of their position and wealth by the conquering British), we had the audacity very courteously to decline. This was immediately regarded by our hostess as a personal affront, a refusal to 'accept her food', and some little tact and time was needed to appease and reassure her. The correct course would have been, first, to accept the gift with thanks, and then politely to have made a present of it back to her. In older days, it was customary with the Zulu kings to confer presents or rewards (*ukuXoshisa*), usually cattle or body-ornaments, on those who had done them some good service. On such occasions, there was a special manner of returning thanks. Says Isaacs⁵⁰ of king Dingane, "I thanked him in the usual manner, and with the rest of the people who had received cattle, namely, by each holding up the fore-finger, and simultaneously exclaiming 'eezee' [*ya-yizi!*] three times. The ceremony is performed as often as the king makes presents".

The Zulu 'winks' with his eyebrows. The eye-wink is unknown and without meaning to him. Should he wish to give another a sly and silent hint, he raises and lowers sharply both eyebrows.

Again, when he beckons to one, instead of raising and bending back the forefinger, he points the whole hand downwards and, with a 'pawing' motion, draws it towards himself.

Extreme disgust or contempt for a person may be displayed by squirting spittle between the teeth; which, to a person, is always a highly insulting act, equivalent to calling him 'a dirty dog'.

When overcome with amazement or wonder, the Zulu makes his feelings known by 'catching hold of his mouth' (*ukuBamb' umLomo*), that is to say, he holds the side of his doubled fist before his slightly opened mouth, and tries to look as dumbfounded as he can. The same practice is followed also by the Sudan Negroes.⁵¹ The Zulu woman, however, expresses her astonishment by simply placing the palm before the open mouth; after the manner of the Congolese, among whom, says Ward,⁵² "astonishment is expressed by placing the hand before the open mouth and elevating the eyebrows".

Exaggeration is a universal African weakness; or even, one might say, is with them quite 'proper form'. When a man's cattle stray into a neighbour's field and help themselves to a few ears of corn, the owner of the field invariably describes the damage to the owner of the cattle as 'a clean sweep'. This fact he conveys by rapidly passing his open hand before his lips (as though wiping something off), at the same time blowing upon it. Perhaps he learned this trick from the Bushmen. "Chapman informs us," writes Stow,⁵³ "that a raging sickness of this kind having decimated some of the Kalahari tribes, an old Bushman named Cassé emphatically passed his hand before his mouth and, blowing against it, strove thus to indicate the clean sweep the extensive mortality had made amongst them. 'There are no people left,' he said, 'only stones'." So the Zulu says to the owner of the cattle, after a few plants have been destroyed, 'There is nothing left; only a trampled down field.'

When pointing anything out, the forefinger (*isiKombisa*) is used, as with ourselves; but when merely showing one the direction, the full hand is employed. Such, however, is not the custom throughout Bantuland. Among the Northern Rhodesian Lambas, for instance, when pointing, the whole hand, horizontally outstretched, is said to be used, sometimes palm upward (e.g. for a human being), at others palm downwards (e.g. for an animal). That the Lamba chief is pointed at (when not looking!) with the palm downwards, is no doubt due to his being regarded as some very fearsome kind of beast; just as the Zulus think to 'praise' their chief by calling him a lion or leopard, and by greeting him, whenever he appears, with the shout, *hayizi!* a cry used to scare such beasts away.

Native children have their own way of 'pointing the tongue' at their granny. Taking the precaution to get well behind her, they hold their hand in a clutching manner over her head, saying at the same time (or thinking it) *klibi!* (perhaps something like saying, 'You silly old fool'; anyway, a gesture of childish derision).

Smacking the extended fingers together (*ukuShaya imiNwe*), in order to emphasize a statement, was much commoner formerly than now; though one still meets with it. About 1835, Gardiner⁵⁴ wrote that "a Zoolu can scarcely speak without snapping [i.e. smacking together] his fingers at every sentence; and when energetic, a double snap is often made, and that between every four or five words". In other parts of Bantuland, this gesture indicates joy or greeting.⁵⁵

Handshaking upon meeting was entirely unknown among the earlier Zulus. The Xosa Ngunis of the Cape applied their word, *Xáwula*, to the action as they saw it practised among the Whitemen in their neighbourhood. Later they themselves adopted the practice, which, along with their word, gradually spread north into Natal and Zululand. The custom of 'finger-shaking' nowadays observed among the Zulu girls is quite modern.

Hand-clapping, on the contrary, was always a favourite habit with the Zulu females. It constituted an important factor in many of their national dances (e.g. the *isiGekle* and *iMpendu*). But there were several methods of clapping. At the wedding-dance, the form employed was termed *ukuShaya iHlombe* (to-clap an-iHlombe), in which the two hands were brought together point to point (not crossed); but when the dancing men had attained their full head of steam, the clapping girls responded by the more resounding *ukuMahla*, in which the hands were banged vigorously together crosswise. At the menstruation dance (*iNgcekeza*), however, and upon the arrival of the bridal party at a wedding, still another mode was employed, termed *ukuNqukuza*. In this, the two hands were brought together crosswise, but now with the palms deeply hollowed, which produced an entirely different type of noise. The clapping process (simply *ukuShaya izaNdla*, to-clap the-hands) employed by the consultants at the local oracle (*umNgoma*) was identical with the simple *iHlombe* above; only much gentler. At times, too, girls clapped spontaneously from

sheer joy ; and in some Bantu tribes they do so when greeting.⁵⁶ But the Zulu male never clapped, save when consulting the oracle.

All humans sneeze, at times ; but woe betide him who yielded to the impulse in Shaka's presence. You see, the sneeze used to be regarded as a proof that the sneezer was still 'alive' and going strong. But that king regarded it quite otherwise ; to him it was a direct challenge to his sole prerogative to prove the contrary ; which prerogative he was apt to put into immediate execution. Himself, however, he was above the law ; and every time his Majesty sneezed, everyone present wisely roared out *Tútúka, Zulu, u-Be ngangeNtaba* (grow-still-bigger, O Zulu, and-become as-big-as-a-mountain), as though they rejoiced at his Majesty's robust health ! Gqugqu, brother of king Mpande, was once unlucky enough to sneeze in his sovereign's presence. He became immediately suspect ; and it was not long before he was summarily removed. When a child sneezed, its mother expressed her joy by exclaiming *Cítá!* (out-with-it—the nasty thing inside). Or she might say *Có!* (there goes another head-louse). Among the Temne Negroes of Sierra Leone, "there is a curious custom connected with sneezing during a meal. A man will say that the dead are begging, throw food behind him, and say, 'Old people, here are yours'."⁵⁷

The Ancient Egyptians, says Herodotus, were rather partial to a kiss ; but never so a Greek. To the Spartan Zulu male, kissing, as savouring of effeminacy, was (at least, among adults) felt to be repulsive.⁵⁸ Father and mother never knew what it was to be kissed even by their own daughters ; and father reciprocated by doing the same, and kissing nobody. Even when his dearest son returned unscathed from battle (and, further, only on that occasion), he merely greeted him with the ejaculation, *ameHlo a-Mhlopé!* (happy-are my-eyes—to see you back). But otherwise was it with mother. She (though never to be kissed herself) kissed away all round ; but never hubby. To her grown-up son the kiss combined both affection and reverence ; and so was delivered, not upon the cheek, but on the lower arm (above the wrist), as became a superior person. On her unmarried daughter (as became a child) and on all her other small children, she bestowed a

smacking kiss on each cheek ; but were the daughter already married, she too was kissed, like the son, reverently upon the wrist. Infants in arms were kissed (by the women) lovingly on the pubes,⁵⁹ a taste possessed also by the Bushwomen. Some early English travellers in the Zulu country, refer to 'hand-kissing'. Thus Ludlow,⁶⁰ writing about 1880, says ; "When we dismounted, an old dame took my hand, kissed it, and, clasping it between her two palms, pressed it to her breast in a most demonstrative manner". Gardiner⁶¹ writes similarly. It may have been so ; though, more probably, we think, while 'the hand was grasped', the kiss itself was delivered above it. There was no doubt, however, about the location of Isaacs' kiss. "The girls [of Sidunge's kraal] were glad to see us, and saluted us on each cheek with a kiss, an unusual compliment to a white man, though a common custom among themselves".⁶² And even with the males, it appears likely that their usual restraint sometimes succumbed to the stronger urge of sentiment. Indeed, that reputed ogre, Mzilikazi himself, is said to have melted clean away at the mere sight of his two little daughters come to visit him, and, as Moffat⁶³ declares, actually "kissed each of them on the brow and then on each cheek. I observed others kiss them on each cheek, the brow and chin. This seems to be the mode of Matebele kissing ; it is done by men too, when they meet after a long absence". This latter remark is a little surprising ; and yet it is confirmed by the hunter, Leslie,⁶⁴ who traversed Zululand in the latter half of last century, and wrote : "I noticed a custom the Zulus have. A man coming home kisses all his wives, a young man his sisters, and so on". Whether the ancient Zulu left home away in Nyanzaland already kissing, or whether he acquired the habit down south, one cannot know ; but up in Uganda, "no mother ever thought of kissing her child ; there was nothing known among the people like kissing," if Roscoe⁶⁵ be right. The Mangbetu of Equatorial Africa are equally undemonstrative ; they simply touch or stroke their children.⁶⁶

Some way back, Gardiner said the Zulu could hardly speak a sentence without snapping his fingers. Nowadays he has almost lost that habit, but can hardly make a statement without an oath. The oath consists in calling on some 'awful' or 'highly revered' person (like the speaker's father, or his king, or his sister, or his mother-in-law, whose names he could

hardly be expected to 'take in vain') to witness to his truthfulness; or he may threaten to commit some heinous abomination (like having intercourse with his sister or his mother-in-law), if he be found lying. Having no gods to swear by like the Romans, the Zulu therefore swears by his king—*Ngí-Fúnga uMpande* (I-swear-by Mpande), or simply *Mpande!* (by-Mpande). Or he might say *Ngí-Lale kwa-Monase* (I-would-sleep in-Monase's-hut—she being Mpande's favourite wife), or *Ngí-Fúnga uBaba* (I-swear-by my-father), or *Ngí-Fúnga amaTámbo kaBaba* (I-swear-by the-bones of-my-father), or *baKwekazi!* (by-my-mother-in-law). Young men prefer to asseverate by their sisters; thus, *Ngí-Funga uDadewetú* (I-swear-by my-sister), or simply *Dadewetú!* (by-my-sister). Women do not swear by the king, but by one, to them, still more 'awful', their father-in-law; thus, *Ngí-Fúnga u-Mamezala* (I-swear-by my-father-in-law), or simply *Mamezala!* (by-my-father-in-law).

Women, again, when wishing to affirm (but without taking an oath) in a specially compelling manner, have the habit, when making a statement, of throwing, as it were, both hands, outstretched and together, over their left shoulder, and at the same time turning their face, with a fierce look thereon, in the opposite direction (towards the right). This done, no honourable person dare longer doubt their word!

If one Zulu man says something offensive, or utterly incredible, to another, the latter may express his disbelief or indignation by making some 'solemn' retort, like *Kō-Ba kw-Endza abaKwekazi* (it-must-be your-mother-in-law's-people who-will-do-that); or if it be a woman, *Kō-Ba kw-Endza ōNyokozala* (it-would-be your-father-in-law's-people, etc.). Upon hearing so 'awful' a profanity, the first speaker will at once take up his hat (that is to say, his sticks) and immediately march off highly offended. Should it be afterwards proven that he spoke the truth, the second party, who disbelieved his word (and is said to have *Fúngisela*'d him), is in honour bound to make amends in the shape of some small gift.⁶⁷

The curse (*ukuYolanisa* or *ukuLoyanisa*) is a much more serious matter, because it does, sometimes, happen! The unsophisticated Zulu possesses a profound belief in and an extensive experience of the occult, together with an

extraordinarily powerful mind, intuitively and emotionally. Experience has taught us that, among these primitives, mind possesses quite uncanny powers over mind, and mind over body, such as are to us quite unsuspected and incredible, because with us inoperative. The curse most dreaded by a man, and the most effective, is that hurled against him by his own father; for to him that father will, ere long, become the greatest of his gods, the most potent of his ancestors; and the son's conviction of the impossibility of his ever escaping the father's curse, is no doubt the explanation of the evil actually befalling him. This evil, in the Zulu dispensation, may take many forms:—gradual decline in health with ultimate death, insanity, mania for divers forms of crime, impotency to beget, persistent ill-luck with family or stock, disfavour with his chief or neighbours, in brief, in some sort of physical or social ruination. Purvis,⁶⁸ writing at the other end of the Bantu field in Uganda, was not romancing when he wrote; "The word 'Kutsuba' is dreaded, for to 'Kutsuba', or curse, one's child is the severest punishment a father can bestow. The son so dealt with becomes a wanderer, not because his father has cast him out, but because he believes in the power of the curse, and, by the action of his own mind, brings upon himself what his father's words would have been totally incapable of—utter destruction of health and wealth". Happily, fathers in Zululand very rarely inflict this terrible punishment. He who does infinitely more cursing is the professional *umTákati* (secret worker of evil); but his methods are through the medium of magic. A sinister threat hurled by one man against another, used to be, *Namhla, Bani, ngi-Ti, Langa! Válela* (today, So-and-so, I-say-to-you, Sun, good-bye!), the implication being a determination on the speaker's part (usually through some *umTákati*) to bring about the death of the other party. This reminds one of Sir Walter Scott's making the Norman knight, De Bois-Guilbert, cry to Ivanhoe, his antagonist, 'Look your last on the sun!' before they clashed on the lists.

The females had their own way of making their power felt. We constantly meet with them in history deliberately denuding themselves before men and gods, in order to urge their case more impressively. The 'prophetesses' of old habitually played this trick;⁶⁹ and it was staged again, with the usual success, by Zwide's mother, when he determined upon a raid

against which she was as strongly opposed. So when the warriors were mustered, she suddenly rushed into the presence of the departing soldiery, threw away her kilt and hurled every imprecation she knew upon their wicked venture. Utterly cowed by so hideous a portent, Zwide and his army stood all of them aghast, and all calmly went back home again.⁷⁰ On several other occasions, as at the *umShopi* and other ceremonies, formal female nudity was regularly employed to scare the males away. Similarly in everyday life, should a woman see a certain hated man approaching her way, she might cause him to scoot by this selfsame procedure of tearing off her skirts and otherwise insulting him.

Women had frequent ructions too among themselves. And when one woman fell out with another, the fall was apt to be foul indeed; for, to the manner born, she would grab up the most murderous implement within her reach (the *isi-Qobolo*, or heavy stick used for fastening the hut-door, was her favourite weapon) and slash away therewith, without concern or discrimination, at any available spot on the enemy's person. When this failed, they would fall to in a close-quarters grapple, banging, biting, tearing each other to pieces, till at length the weaker would be thrown upon the ground with the victor bestraddling her, pinching and pummeling here, there and everywhere, till the black conquered body was blue all over.

Granny, too, well-trained thereto by long experience, had a similar way of dealing with unruly children. Waiting quietly till sundown brought the naughty boy back home again, when well inside the hut, she would pounce upon him, throw a large blanket over him, then, forcing him on to the ground, sit on him and mightily pinch his body through the blanket, till he yelled for mercy. Such a punishment was jocularly referred to (by the onlookers) as the painful maul of the 'wild-beast of-the-blanket' (*isiLo seNgúbo*).

The custom of tabu, universal throughout the primitive world, is a natural issue of superstitious awe; and, as such, the subject pertains more properly to a chapter on 'Superstitions'. But it enters so largely into the Zulu daily life, and consequently crops up so constantly in this volume, that some explanation of the practice is here advisable. Like so much else, it too is a 'survival', still preserved by the more 'childlike'

racés, of those 'bogey fears' peculiar to all mankind in its infancy.

We have used the expression 'superstitious awe' advisedly; because the Zulu word, *ukwEsaba* (usually explained as 'to-fear'), really implies something more than 'fear', covering, as it does, a compound sentiment combining at once a feeling of 'dread' and of 'reverence'; to which the English word, 'awe', seems the nearest equivalent.

The outcome of this sense of awe is a large number of abstentions (or 'mustn'ts'), which we, following the Polynesians, call *tabus*. These tabus enter largely into Zulu life, where they are termed *ukuZila* (to refrain from, out of awe). They take the form both of 'restraint' from certain actions and restraint from certain speech; and they may be referable alike to persons, places, or things. When the 'awesomeness' reposes in a person, and the resulting abstention is in regard to such person, then the tabu, whether one of action or of speech (mostly the latter), is usually distinguished by the name of *ukuHlonipá* (to do out of reverence for or of respect to).

All forms of tabu affect mostly the female sex; less frequently the male. They come into operation principally in connection with the events of birth, marriage, war and death; and mention of them will occur again and again, when we deal with those matters.

In their general life among mankind, the Zulu women are quite remarkable for their 'respectful' behaviour. Indeed, as already stated, they have in their rule of life, a whole complicated system of 'respectfulness', which they term *ukuHlonipá*, and which affects them constantly in both speech and action. This Hlonipa custom, however, is by no means a Zulu monopoly. It occurs here and there, and in varying measure, throughout the whole of Negroland, as well as among the Australians, the Arabs of Tunisia, the Caribs of Central America, the Indians of California, in Borneo, in Fiji and elsewhere.⁷¹

Even among ourselves, most children are 'ashamed' to mention their father's, or mother's, or even their own, name, when asked for it: all that still remains to us of this primitive instinct. But fear is an older sentiment than shame, and we think that fear lay at the bottom of this strange and universal

practice of *Hlonipa*—fear of some mysterious evil that might follow the mention by name of any particularly dreaded or awe-inspiring person or thing; fear of drawing towards one its undesirable attention; fear of giving it displeasure or of showing it disrespect. 'Don't speak of it!' we ourselves say upon hearing anything especially horrid or unpleasant.⁷² The Chinese call their Supreme Being the 'Heavens' (*Tien*), the Jews theirs 'I-who-am' (*Yahveh*), and the Egyptians too had secret names for their deities. The Kiowa of North America drop from their speech any word which suggests the name of a person lately deceased. In Greenland, the Eskimos will not pronounce their own names. One has only to enquire of a small Zulu girl her father's, even her own, name to see how reluctant she will be to give it. For a Zulu woman to call a porcupine by its proper name, *iNgungumbane*, were but to provoke it to increased depredation in her fields; therefore it must be referred to 'politely' as 'the-little-woman' or *umFazazana*. Nor would she say of a cat that it is *Miti* (pregnant) or that it has *Zalile* (given-birth-to), but that it has *Hlandzile* (borne-fruit), lest it go away and never come back. The *ubuBēde*, red ant with the painful bite, if referred to as such, will retaliate by visiting the kraal in force; and is therefore spoken of 'nicely' as the 'young-wives' (*ōMakoti*) or as the 'young-husbands' (*abaYeni*). Frazer says that the Sayids and Mussulmans of high rank in Northern India never dare to call a snake by its real name, but describe it as a tiger or a string. The Zulu women likewise never call it a 'snake' (*iNyoka*), but 'a-thorn' (*ameVá*); while the lightning they call, not by its name, *ūNyazi*, but speak of it as 'the-sky' (*īZulu*).

Among the Zulus, this *Hlonipa* custom affects mainly the married women; although, as exceptional cases, the men, or indeed the whole clan, may *Hlonipa* the name of a renowned chief or ancestor, as, for instance, the Zulus, a few generations ago, *Hlonipa*'d the words, *iMpande* (root) and *iNdlela* (path), calling them, respectively, *iNgxabo* and *iNyatúko*, owing to certain then great personages being named *uMpande* and *uNdlela*.

A married woman *Hlonipa*'d the names of her father-in-law and all his brothers, the *amaKosana* or eldest among her brothers-in-law, her mother-in-law, and all other wives of her father-in-law. Any common word containing the same root as

that of any such name, would be avoided by her in speech, and another word substituted for it. Thus, if one of the above persons were named *uMuti* (Mr. Tree), not only would this (the ordinary) word for 'a-tree' be disused, and the *Hlonipa* word, *umCakantshi*, substituted for it, but, further, every other word containing within its root the particle, *ti*, would be similarly avoided; thus, for *ukuTiba* would be used *ukuPúnga*; for *umTákati*, *umKúnkuli*; for *ukuTi*, *ukuNki*, and so on.

This practice naturally causes the 'Zulu' of the women to differ, in several words, from that of the men; yet, since each woman *Hlonipa*'s not more than half-a-dozen examples in the whole Zulu vocabulary, the consequences are hardly noticeable in any particular woman's speech, though the whole female aggregate may be considerable.

The *Hlonipa* of action is equally as rigorous and far-reaching. All those persons enumerated above as to be *Hlonipa*'d by name, are themselves to be *Hlonipa*'d in the woman's daily life. Thus, she must ever cover the body, from breast and shoulder-blade downwards, when in their presence; she must not even look at them, nor be seen by them, during the period of 'ceremonial veiling' (*ukuGubuzela*); she must not eat in their presence, nor chew any food while standing or walking outside in their kraals, and so on. Although never released from the *Hlonipa* of speech, a woman may be set free from the *Hlonipa* of action by the particular male group, or the particular women, each for their own party presenting her with a goat or similar gift for the purpose of *ukwAmbula* (to-remove-the-veil).

Of an afternoon one might hear the soft deep boom of the signal-horn (*iMpalampala*) wafting over the veld. This was an invitation by some lonely man to all and sundry to come and keep him company with the hubble-bubble. The *iMpalampala* was a hollow cow's-horn with a hole bored at its tip, or a few inches up its side, for blowing. The hubble-bubble (*īGúdu*) was likewise a hollow cow's-horn (in the better brands, that of a kudu antelope), finely pared and polished, and used for hemp-smoking. It was fitted with a reed stem (*isiTukulu*), inserted at an acute angle half-way down its side, and carrying on its tip a small bowl (*iMbiza*), the size of an egg and made of

a nicely carved and polished jade-like soapstone. The smoking-horn having been filled with water (to just above the level of the stem-aperture), and the bowl with dry, rubbed-up hemp-leaves (*iNtsangu*) bearing a tiny glowing ember on their top, the smoker (having first taken a sip of water and retained it in his mouth) placed the large open end of the horn to the side of his mouth and cheek (so as to close all ingress of air), and gave two or three strong draws, bringing the smoke from the hemp, through the water, and so into his mouth, where part of it found its way straight into his lungs. The consequence was a violent coughing and abundant secretion of saliva, which latter, mixed together with the water and the smoke (already filling his mouth), the smoker now discharged in the form of a bubbly foam through a small reed-like stem of the *iNgwévu* plant. As this foamy spittle passed through and out of this tube (*ūTshumo*) on to the earthen hut-floor, the smoker, by means of his fore-finger, drew with it on the floor various designs (kraals, mazes and the rest). While the one smoker was thus still engaged drawing his picture, his companion would be having his pull at the horn. In a few minutes the whole smoking-party would be loudly coughing, each in the interval shouting out his own or his family's praises (*iziBongo*), and all of them together enwrapped in a state of consummate bliss. The floor-picture they most liked to draw was that called 'the-maze' or *uSogékle*. This consisted of the conventional irregularly intercircling line of spittle, with a passage-way between the lines, and finally, about the centre of the maze, enclosing a tiny circle supposedly representing the hut of the chief. To this latter, a member of the party was now asked to find his way. His usual failure was followed by roars of laughter, with the exclamation, *W'-Apuka Sogékle*, or *W'-Apuka eNgúnjini* (you-got-caught-in-the-maze, or in-the-corner). Most Zulu men smoked hemp daily without apparent harm; but when indulged in to excess, especially by the young, the mental faculties became gradually and permanently blunted. In some individuals hemp-smoking caused extraordinary hilarity and irrepressible laughter; in others, extreme moroseness; in still others, dangerous and criminal incitement, and even delirium. Young warriors were especially addicted to hemp-smoking, and under the exciting stimulation of the drug, were capable of accomplishing the most hazardous feats. The hemp (*iNtsangu*, *Cannabis sativa*)

the Zulus smoked was home-grown in every kraal, the best quality leaves (soft and richly growing) being called *uNotá*, the poorer kind, *īQúme*.

"Hemp", says Johnston,⁷³ "was introduced into Central Africa by the Arabs probably before tobacco came in the footsteps of the Portuguese, and hemp-smoking, originating in Asia, prepared the way for the smoking of tobacco". The Arabs, however, call the hemp-leaves hashish, while the Indians and Persians call them *bhang*. The Zulu name being *iNtsangu* suggests that the custom descended to them from an Indian or Persian source, rather than an Arabian. Referring back to our remark above about the mad-heroism this hemp-smoking sometimes aroused in Zulu warriors, it is interesting to note that our English word, 'assassin', is derived from this same Arabic root, *hashish*, having been originally the appellation given to a medieval military body in Syria (and called *hashshāshīn*), whose members were notorious for their murderous exploits when under the influence of *hashish*. Livingstone⁷⁴ says: "This pernicious weed has a strong narcotic effect, causing even a species of frenzy. It is extensively used by all the tribes of the interior, though the violent fit of coughing which follows a couple of puffs of smoke, appears distressing to a spectator. They have a disgusting practice of taking a mouthful of water, and squirting it out together with the smoke, and then uttering a string of half-incoherent sentences, usually in self-praise". Even the Bushmen had learned the habit from the neighbouring Bantu, their form of hubble-bubble being identical with that of the Zulus.⁷⁵ The Borneo pipe is also similar in construction, although their weed is tobacco. Says Shelford:⁷⁶ "Our carriers produced short lengths of bamboo which, with a few strokes of their small, angled knives, were quickly converted into pipes. The bamboo was half filled with water, and a small pinch of tobacco was placed on the top of a slender piece of bamboo inserted at an angle in a hole in the side of the main piece".⁷⁷

The Zulus are, and have been perhaps for some centuries, great tobacco-snuffers, the tobacco-plant and the snuff made from its leaves being both called by the same name, *uGwáyi*. Indeed, the Zulu clan proper was in olden times famous in its immediate neighbourhood for the excellence of its home-grown tobacco-leaves. Every man and woman habitually carried a snuff-box (*īShungu*), which was the hard, emptied shell of the

fruit of the *umTóngwane* tree (*Oncoba spinosa*). Old women, however, continued to cling to the original small skin snuff-wrap (*ĩViti*), made from the paunch of an ox or from the bulb of the *iNcotó* plant (*Hæmanthus Katherinæ*). Tobacco-smoking, on the other hand, was never a Zulu custom; they preferred the exhilarating hemp. But their Tembu neighbours and relatives on the Natal coast had their pipes already in 1686, as the survivors of the ship-wrecked *Stavenisse* have attested. Johnston⁷⁸ writes that "between 1600 and 1800 tobacco must have penetrated almost everywhere into the innermost recesses of the Congo basin, as well as elsewhere throughout negro Africa". As to how it got there, Angelo⁷⁹ gives away the secret: it came from Brazil, somewhere prior to 1666. Ere long, the gay Congolese, women⁸⁰ as well as men, were sporting long pipes.⁸¹ Attacked from both front and rear, from east and west, the whole of Africa from top to bottom had soon succumbed to the craze, and Park⁸² was right—"All Negroes snuff⁸³ and smoke".⁸⁴ As for our own special South African brand of the fragrant leaf, "on the very spot where the village of Somerset now stands, tobacco was first raised in the colony, under the care of Dr. Makrill . . . It is called [c. 1850] Boer's tobacco to distinguish it from the various species of the imported weed . . . The Hottentots of both sexes take heaps of snuff—not, by-the-way, up the nostrils, but in their mouth".⁸⁵ So says Cole.⁸⁶ But, as said, the Ngunis, both in Zululand and Natal, were growing tobacco almost two hundred years before the just-mentioned date (see reference to Tembus above), the Zulus to snuff, the Natalians to smoke; they having got the plant or its seed either from ship-wrecked mariners or from Delagoa Bay.

Night-clubs and gambling belonged to a civilization far in advance of anything the Zulu knew of. Still, he had his own simple ways of relieving the tedium of life; and of these, he found none more seductive than the dance (*ukuSina*). The Zulu's dancing was a natural urge to express his emotions in vivid action; and with this urge was combined a sense of beauty in graceful attitude and rhythmic movement to the accompaniment of pleasing sound. For with him, the dance was inseparably united with song, and the song with movement. His emotions were still in the Pyrrhic stage, and his dance-

songs commemorated national events and tribal glories, rousing him more to patriotic enthusiasm than to love. Yet the fact that he chose mostly weddings, menstruations and youthful gatherings whereat to display his dancing, showed that his sport was already suggesting to him the amorous in thought, though those feelings had not yet become articulate in song. To this latter stage both Ancient Greece and Medieval Europe had already advanced; there Terpsichore had already wedded Eros, and they danced and sang of love. Gerald Cambrensis devotes some space in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* to the dance-songs of Old England, as they were wont at that time to be performed in church and churchyard; and he mentions a certain parish-priest, who, after listening to them enacted all night long in his churchyard, was so enamoured of their beauty that, on the morrow at Mass, instead of the usual prayer, 'May the Lord be with you!' (*Dominus vobiscum*), he cried out, 'Sweetheart, take pity!'

Egyptian monuments, then, Greek plays, Hebrew scriptures and Indian sculptures, all alike depict or describe this worship of the Terpsichorean goddess. With this gay company, the Zulu now joined himself, and into weddings and hunts and comings-of-age he introduced this charming cult as an essential feature. But of those events we shall speak more fully in another place.

Those were the days, you will remember, when each clan was still a homogeneous and independent unity. Since exogamy was the universal rule among the Ngunis, it was imperative that some means be found of bringing the young of the separated clans sometimes together under suitable conditions. So the Zulus conceived the idea of inter-clan Love Dances (*ĩJádu*). During the bright and merry summer time, the young men and maidens of any clan would accordingly arrange to meet the young men and maidens of another clan on some particular spot convenient to both and generally on the veld near by a wood, nominally, for the purpose of competing at the dance, but really with the object of becoming mutually acquainted. On these occasions, the *iNtsikazi* dance provided the *pièce de résistance*. The pair of friendly chiefs, together with their respective followings and any other onlookers (who constituted at once both the 'house' and the 'judges' of the performance), having seated themselves in a suitable place,

the performing party assembled in a great circle or semi-circle (*umKúmbi*) around them (so that the spectators were in the centre), and in that position they displayed their terpsichorean skill. Usually, the males alone competed on one day, the females on another. The movements and the song—the latter was started by a good-singing girl (*ĩGāgú*) standing in the front—accompanied by the hearty clapping of the on-looking females, and by a gradual ebb and flow, as it were, of the whole line of dancers, were of an exceptionally lively and energetic nature; and the party that succeeded in putting into its performance the greatest verve, was usually that which succeeded in most captivating the public eye and in carrying off the prize (generally *iNtsimba* skins for the men, beads for the females, and such-like). The *iNtsikazi* dance finally resolved itself into an *umPéndu* (or *isiWiliwili*) dance (ahead).

Here, again, in this Zulu *ĩJádú* (or Love Dance), we have another of the ancient survivals still preserved for us; though now, alas! practically extinct. "Among the Kasias of Bengal," says Frazer,⁸⁷ "amongst whom husband and wife are always of different clans, Kasia maidens dance at the new moon in March; the young men do not dance but only look on and many matches are made at these times. On the 15th day of the month, Abh, the damsels of Jerusalem, clad in white, used to go out and dance in the vineyards, saying, 'Look this way, young man, and choose a wife.'" The young maids of Shiloh were actually thus engaged dancing in the vineyard, when the young men of the Benjamin clan, awaiting the opportunity, pounced upon them and "caught every man his wife and went off with her to the land of Benjamin" (Judges XXI. 20).

It may be said that dancing, among the Zulus, was always of a public and ceremonial nature. Private dances were unknown. A couple would no more have thought of performing together in the home, than they would have thought of singing a song. Children were the sole exception; unless the pythoiness (*umNgóma*) may also be included. More often was it the small girls, rather than the boys, who would amuse themselves in the courtyard of their home striking all sorts of quite spontaneous poses, in which the body-curves, arm-bends and leg-movements were blended with much beauty and grace. The postures assumed by the Ancient Egyptian dancing-girls, as

may be seen in Engel's illustrations,⁸⁸ were of identically the same type as those struck by these little Zulu girls.

To the ordinary European, the Zulu dance is wholly incomprehensible. Its arm and leg movements, to say nothing of the accompanying song, are so strange and barbaric, as to be utterly devoid of any meaning or beauty. But to the favoured few who really can interpret them, to the artist and to the historically and linguistically initiated, they are rich in graceful pose and expressive significance. To such, these dance-songs do really 'speak' and touch the heart-strings with pleasure and power. To the Zulu himself much more so; to him they reveal the innermost emotions of his nature with a picturesqueness and force that even his expressive language could, alone, never reach. In this respect, there is in them some semblance to our own lovely minuets; but no doubt whatever that they are infinitely superior to the formless, inartistic and unimaginative shufflings which masquerade as dance in modern England and America.

There were several forms of Zulu dance-song, each with its own peculiar manner of movement and distinguishing name. All were choreographic (in massed chorus), and each clan had its own separate repertoire. In all alike, body, legs and arms were actively engaged. The dancers usually formed up in line (*ukuKlela*), males in front, girls behind, if the dance was on the veld; in a large semi-circle or even circle (*umKúmbi*), if it was held within the cattle-fold: the wives never took part in these dances. The programme normally commenced with the striking up of an *iNkondlo* (starting-piece). This was a lively air, with quick, spirited action of arms and legs, and a slowly progressing forward movement. An *isiQubulo* usually followed, differing from the preceding mainly in being slower, more quiet, dignified and sedate, and therefore beloved of chiefs and aristocratic elders. The *umPéndu* (or *isiWiliwili*) was a kind of interval dance, designed to break the monotony and generally to enliven the proceedings; in which it always succeeded. It was a rather pretty and captivating performance, in which the dancers, two abreast, arranged themselves into two columns (sometimes only one), which moved dancing about the field to the tune of a spirited song, intercircling the one with the other, or sometimes approaching each other head-on

as though about to clash, when the excitement and amusement would become quite thrilling; but only, at the last moment, turning each gracefully about and retracing its steps, or peacefully passing the other by, each continuing in opposite directions. Upon reforming into line, an *isiSuso* (or *isiGékle*) might be struck up, another lively performance, accompanied by continuous rhythmic and inspiriting clapping by the girls. The dance closed (in the better-class kraals) with the *iNgóma* (or national clan-dance), a stately affair, resembling the *isiQubulo*.

Whenever a Zulu wedding was at hand, the bride and bridegroom arranged a dance-programme, each for his or her own party. Although it used to be customary for the party of the bride to repeat old and well-known songs, the bridegroom generally preferred, for his own party, to introduce something entirely new to mark the occasion. For this purpose, he would secure the services of some professional 'composer' (*iNgqambi*), of whom each district could boast of one or two. No fee was charged for the service. A few days before the wedding, the *ukuFúnda* (to-learn) would be announced among the surrounding kraals. The bride, or the bridegroom, would first lead their party through all the proposed older dances. Then the *iNgqambi* would initiate them in his own special new composition. His method was to sing the piece through several times alone; during which, one or more of the smarter youths would gradually pick up the air and join in with him, and eventually the whole class. Strict discipline was maintained by the *iNgqambi* during the teaching, and anyone, man or girl, who was so unwise as to laugh, promptly received a painful reprimand, or was ignominiously expelled from the hut. The second step in the composer's method was for him to go through the actual *dance*, in person and alone, before the class. And this was the stage when the maintenance of order and self-restraint was particularly irksome to the pupils; for it very frequently happened that our dusky composer utterly failed to make the wording and the movements fit together. On such occasions, he had to seek the aid of another professional, an *iNdabuli* (or cutter-up), who arranged the words to the various arm and leg movements. This satisfactorily mastered—although often enough the combined efforts of both *iNgqambi* and *iNdabuli* resolved themselves in to a shrieking farce—the more imitative

of the young people would join in with the teachers; and so gradually the whole houseful.

Most of these dance-songs were performed, so to say, in two choirs. The shrill, fluty voices of the females, in the rear, led off. Then the men, in front, fell in with their mighty bass and resounding stamps on the turf. Now, united together, the two choirs, each with its own quite separate words and tune, would proceed as one perfectly balanced and harmonious whole, executed with marvellous precision. The words of such songs would appear, to us, as quite utterly inane; but the interior feelings and thoughts of the performers conferred upon them a meaning, which we, with no experience of their life, or knowledge of their history, can hardly expect to fathom. For instance, here is one of the national songs of the Zulu clan proper:—

Girls. *Iye eyayeyi! Iye eyayeyi!* (no translatable meaning).

Men. *Yebo!* (So-it-is-indeed).

Girls. *Calakashela; li-ya-Shona iLanga* (Trudge-patiently-along; for the-sun is-going-down).

Men. *Li-yaku-Hlupéka; i-nga-k'-Eshwami iNkosi yeTú* (the land it-will-be-in-a-suffering-state, until our king holds-the-harvest-ceremony).

(Da capo, ad infin.).

Here the girls' opening cry is probably threnodic, suggesting a plaint; to which the men assent. The succeeding sentences of girls and men acquire a meaning at once, so soon as we possess the following knowledge. By the time that spring (the new cultivating season) had arrived, the food-supply of the preceding year were everywhere getting painfully low. The pangs of hunger were already being felt, especially by the children. And yet (by strict Zulu law) none dare touch the early maize or pumpkins in his gardens, until, somewhere late in December, the king was pleased to open the way by performing the *ukwEshwama* (or new-harvest-rite). Hence it is that the hungering girls cry out: 'Keep your spirits up; for Christmas is coming.' And the men continue with: 'Yes, the country will have to suffer, until the king permits us to gather in the new crops'. Thus the inanity of these simple words has become

replaced by a fullness of meaning before this better understanding. With such understanding of the songs, one will come to see some barbaric beauty and expressiveness also in the movements of the dance, and feel with Dugmore,⁸⁹ when he witnessed such a show in Kikuyuland:—"A finer or more impressive sight it has never been my good fortune to witness . . . As the main body would run slowly round in a circle, detachments of five or six would rush across the field shouting and jumping with wonderful agility. For nearly an hour this continued, yet I could have willingly watched for a whole day. I have never seen men keep such perfect time, and their song was positively inspiring".

In the preceding paragraph, Dugmore refers to the peculiar Bantu *ukuGiya* (or *pas seul*) dancing. While the assembly, seated on the grass, awaits the commencement of the Zulu wedding-dance, or at any other suitable intervals during the performance, suddenly one of the young braves, fully accoutred with stick, shield and feathers, will jump up, rush into the arena before the crowd, and there perform all the pantomime of actual Native warfare at its hottest. Working himself into a perfect frenzy of murderous fury, he will charge down on the invisible enemy, with tails and feathers flying, dealing death to right and left as he goes, parrying with his shield, stabbing with his assegai (here a stick), retreating backwards before the overwhelming odds, leaping into the air with the agility of a leopard, the crowd the while roaring out his praises (*iziBongo*), till, the foe finally demolished, the warrior will come to a sudden standstill, fierce of mien, with feet wide apart, but plumes still flying, as proud as a gladiator after his victory in the Roman arena: the perfect mimic! So inspiring do the on-looking youths find this thrilling display, that one or more of them immediately follow suit, springing out into the show-ground, emulating and even surpassing the other's feats of bravery and marvellous antics. This kind of *pas seul* the Zulus, as said, call *ukuGiya*; and it may be witnessed also among the Chwanas,⁹⁰ the ovaMbo,⁹¹ the Nyikas,⁹² in Angola,⁹³ indeed throughout all Bantuland, a remnant once more of very ancient times. Among the Tavetas, writes MacQueen,⁹⁴ "the young fellow who leads the dance, throws up his spear and jumps after it to catch it in mid air, singing as he does so a martial pæan like the ancient Greeks". In Lundaland, writes Livingstone,⁹⁵

"a man starts up and imitates the most approved attitudes observed in actual fight—such as throwing a javelin, receiving one on his shield, springing aside to avoid another, running backwards and forwards, leaping" and so on.

A quieter form of dance-song, though equally as quaint, was the *umCwáyo*. This was performed of an evening in a hut and 'danced' on the buttocks, generally for the entertainment of some visiting sweetheart. Seated in a circle round the floor, the young men would strike up a song, make graceful movements with their arms, and, as they sat, shuffle gradually forward.

The *iNgcekeza* dance was peculiar to a girl's first menstruation and other such ceremonies.

The young men's *ukuGadlela* is but a modern importation into Zululand of the *umDlamu* dance of Natal.

We have already said that there is no solo-singing among the Zulus; and yet every mother invents and sings to her infant a suitable ditty (*isiHlabelelo*) of her own, and every girl in love sings to her sweetheart, as she strums on the family *ũGúbú* (a single-stringed bow, with an empty gourd-shell attached to the back part to act as sounding-board).

There is one great song, however, which every clan possesses, that is only sung in massed choir and is never danced to. It is the clan's national anthem (*ĩHubo*). Each separate clan has a different *ĩHubo*; some even two of them. This song is treated with extreme respect by all the members of the clan, possessing to them a certain sacred sentimentality of character. In earlier days, it used to be to the Native patriot the 'dear old song' reminiscent of the good old times (upon which all old folk so loved to look back) when, in pre-Shakan days, the clan was free and unfettered by the foreign Zulu yoke, when peacefulness and plenty reigned in their land, days gone now and never to return! The clan *ĩHubo*, therefore, is, even still, sung only on certain solemn occasions, when the feeling of the hour would seem to fit the pathos of the song. It is always performed with much gravity of manner, generally with up-lifted shields, and unaccompanied by dance, and is said frequently to have brought tears to the older people's eyes. It is sung by the family assembled together in the home cattlefold just previous to the departure of 'a child of the house' going off to get married;

upon the arrival of the bridal-party at the kraal of the bridegroom; and at the funeral-hunt (*iHlambo*) following the decease of a family-head, the paterfamilias.

The regimental *amaHubo*, peculiar to each separate regiment, were more in the nature of march-songs (not dance-songs), and had nothing of the above sacredness of character about them. They may have been more recent inventions, perhaps during Shakan times.

Had railways existed in old Zululand, the regulation would have run, 'Babies on backs' instead of 'Infants in arms'. Whether carried by the nurse-girl or by its mother, the Zulu child was always borne straddled across the back, with its two legs passing round the waist and its body sitting enveloped within a skin sack (*iMbeleko*) or sheet, of whose four corners, the upper pair was passed over the mother's shoulders, the lower under her arms, each pair being then tied together in a knot over her chest. With this burden on her sturdy back, the hard-working mother often went forth and hoed her fields, when no nurse-girl was available.

This was the commonest, though not the universal, manner of child-carrying amongst the Bantu.⁹⁶ Bushwomen, however, carried "their little children on the left side over the hip, in a lying posture, the child's feet being towards the parent's back . . . supported in the skin of a springbok".⁹⁷ Some Bantu tribes also followed this custom of hip-carrying, for instance, those of Angola;⁹⁸ but there the child was given a straddled seat, not a lying posture.⁹⁹ Even Zulu women sometimes carry in this way.

Chiefs, too, as well as babes, were carried about in some parts of Bantuland; but they, as became their higher rank, always took the top seat, making their progress, alike in Uganda¹⁰⁰ and in Angola,¹⁰¹ mounted on the shoulders of a man. This never occurred among the Zulus.

The Zulu man's beast of burden was his wife. Oft might she be met, patiently trudging along behind her lord, bearing, perfectly balanced on her head, a huge bundle of sundries half as big as herself, and half as heavy. Water-pots, grain-baskets and all other such cumbersome parcels, were always carried

in this way on the head. The Zulus knew nothing of pack-oxen (*Z. iPakosi*), and learned nothing from the object-lesson of the early European pioneers, who frequently used their bullocks (wisely always of the hornless kind) for carrying purposes.¹⁰² For transporting to distant places grain, medicines and such-like, the Zulus used special sacks (*iNtlanti*) made of goat, sheep or buck skin, or woven of rushes or grass (*isOvu*). Like everything else, these too were carried on the head. The custom of some Bantu further north (e.g. those about Lake Kivu^{102a}) of carrying their parcels suspended on their backs by a strap passing in front of their foreheads, after the manner of New-haven fish-wives, was non-existent in Zululand.

Adoption was a common practice among the Zulus, foreign refugees and destitute children being freely accepted into a family or clan, and often given full rights and equal status with born members thereof. The kraal-heads too were particularly jealous of the sanctity of their homes, and the case and security of all who fled to them for protection was boldly and faithfully defended against all comers.¹⁰³ But this protection was mostly confined to males; to females, less or no such help could be extended, since they were always minors and rightful 'property' of their fathers or husbands, whose claims had to be respected. Blood-brotherhood had never been heard of.

The dignity of bearing and the polite manners of the 'raw' Zulu are immediately noticeable to all observers. They are proverbial; for he has ever been proclaimed throughout the world as 'Nature's gentleman'. Courteousness, consideration, honour and honesty permeated all their dealings and contacts with those about them; and their code of etiquette, in its general good-taste, could not be surpassed by any in our vaunted civilization. There was a proper way of entering and leaving a hut, a proper way of comporting oneself therein for males and another for females, a proper way of passing people and accosting them inside and outside of the hut, a proper place for each sex. There was a proper way of eating one's food, a proper way of resting the spoon against a food-dish, a proper way of handing a pot of beer, a proper way of cleaning one's hands before a meal and of cleansing one's mouth after it.

There were rules governing the use of the patch of yard around each hut, rules governing entrance into the cattle-fold, rules for marching in file along the path. Indeed, everything seemed to be ordered, and everybody religiously conformed.¹⁰⁴

Yet even among the Zulus there were social 'classes', and, further, there nobody objected to them, for they were regarded as an essential and natural part of human social organization. The bulk of the clan or tribe comprised the great middle class of 'ordinary' people. But there was also a distinctly lower class, where poverty led one to expect dirt and untidiness of kraal and uncouthness of behaviour; and even a strongly suspected criminal class. On the other hand, as one ascended the social ladder, the rules of conduct and deportment became ever more numerous and strict; so that by the time the mere commoner had reached to royalty, he found himself half reclining on his side and so shuffling along the floor resting on one thigh or buttock (*ukuLala ngeNcele*), in order to give or receive a word from his Majesty (the local 'bow', as it were). This procedure, of course, was confined to the Presence when inside his hut; not outside. Shaka seems to have been uncommonly fastidious about such royal decorum. "Coughing, spitting, belching, sneezing, blowing the nose, etc., while the king is eating," says Isaacs,¹⁰⁵ "are considered crimes, and are at times punished by death also; when, if he be master of a kraal, he will offer 'schlowoola' (a peace offering) by sending a young heifer to the king, when he may consider himself in favour again. Should anyone, however, involuntarily commit the slightest offence, or displease his majesty, it would be unsafe to appear in his presence without having previously sent his peace-offering".

In a simpler and more benevolent fashion, homage was demanded too by a family-head from his own children. Nobody dared to disobey his orders, neglect his wishes, fail to show him every deference and to recognize everywhere his supreme authority. Even the tiniest of his sons had this lesson impressed upon him. While herding the goats or cows all day long upon the veld, the boys spent a large part of their time hunting or trapping birds, at which they soon became expert. But none had the temerity to roast and eat his catch out of sight upon the veld, as they easily might have done. The whole bag was scrupulously brought home in the evening and laid before the

father's feet, who condescended to throw them their perquisite, the heads. So did it become said of a bad father, *ka-yiku-zi-Dla iziNyoni zabaNtabaké*, he-will-never-eat the-birds of-his-children, i.e. live to be respected by them.

It is a disposition of nature that, in the make-up of a gentleman, he will respect his person as he does also his behaviour; and so we find both these qualities conspicuous in the Zulu character. They were innately a cleanly and tidy people, and disorder and unsavouriness were distasteful to them. And yet, in actual fact, it must be owned, they often failed to reach even their own lowly standard. Why they failed has often been plaintively told to us: *si-y'-Ahluleka*, it-is-beyond-our-power. They were unable to improve their condition and to rid themselves of the dirt and untidiness amidst which they lived, owing to the complete absence among them of all those commodities and conveniences with which *we* have been able to supply ourselves—due, in their case, no doubt, to their innate lack of all inventive power. Absence of soap and other sanitary helps was sorely felt by them; though they never said so, being entirely ignorant that anything better than what they had, ever existed. This intellectual poverty has gone far to mislead Europeans, unfamiliar with their innermost thoughts and nature, into the false opinion that they are a dirty race, perfectly content with their squalid surroundings and possessing no desire to see them improved. In reality, the truth is that no people accepts more greedily the common benefits of civilisation, so soon as they are brought within its reach. A great part of the day, in former times, even up to 50 years ago, was spent by the young men and girls in dressing and decorating their persons, and it was a discomfort to them to miss their frequent bathe in the neighbouring stream, where such existed.

Why, there was even a 'proper way' of bathing in that stream. A well-bred man always commenced his bath by washing first his head, then following with the arms, and finally the upper and lower body. A woman likewise commenced with the head, but next proceeded to the body and legs, finishing up with the arms. For either of them to wash like the other sex, would have appeared, to Native eyes, improper, even ridiculous. When bathing, companions often assisted each other by washing

one another's backs (*ukuBuxunga*), in which process the leaves of the *iNkweza* tree (*Kraussia floribunda*) were frequently employed. Save in the washing of infants and the sick, they never used warm water, as do some other Negro peoples, e.g. "the Mangbettu women . . . wash themselves several times a day from head to foot, preferably with warm water . . . They paint their bodies with a stick dipped in the black juice of the gardenia fruit".¹⁰⁶ The sole cosmetic of Zulu men and women was the red-clay and *amaKá* perfume already mentioned. Paterfamilias, already well on in years, was often disinclined to walk down the hill to the stream and then trudge back again; so he had his washing-basin (*umCengezi*) brought into the cattle-fold and there, assisted by a boy or by his wife, took his bath.¹⁰⁷

Outside of the kraal, as we have already said, frequently stood a convenient bush or depression in the veld that served as a privy. A notoriously observant folk, the Zulus have special names for all the varieties of human excreta according to their nature (e.g. *uHudo*, *umGódo*, *iNgqatá*, *umPulu*, *umGámu*, etc.). But whatever the name, whenever his Majesty went forth to stool, an honoured menial always accompanied him (called an *isiSindabiso*), whose job it was to hide the excreta from profane eyes and above all from the reach of any evil-minded *umTákati*, who might take them home and, with appropriate magic, bring down grievous harm, even death, upon his Majesty.

Soap, we may assume, is a commodity essential to all civilization. Certainly it is to ours; and it was equally so to that of the Zulu—except that he had none! How, then, did he manage? First of all, he took care to clothe himself in garments that were unwashable—skins and the like: which, however, is not to say that they needed no washing! But when he removed his clothes, and came upon his body, he was up against another proposition. So, despite his inability to procure soap, he looked around and luckily discovered several more or less effective substitutes. When the wife afore-mentioned assisted her husband at his bath, after first well drenching the body with water, she then took a handful of fat white clay (presumably calcareous, and always collected and stored for the purpose) and rubbed him well down therewith, gathering up the surface dirt in the process. The hair, having its own refractory way of harbouring dust, demanded special measures.

The slimy sap of the leaves of several plants, like the *uDonqa* (*Sesamum Indicum*), the *iKlolo* (*Grewia occidentalis*) and the *isiPóndo* (*Thunbergia atriplicifolia*), well rubbed into the hair and then washed out, is said to have cleansed it thoroughly—that is to say, of all save certain living matter, which lurked and crawled about the undergrowth, unmoved by any quantity of sap. More drastic measures were needed here; so the lethal *iLozane* (*Tephrosia*) was called into service, and slaughtered all the vermin it touched. Body-ornaments, like cow-tail fringes and dancing-shields, also got disagreeably dirty with use and smoke. For these, the leaves of the *umTólo* (*Acacia*) and the bulb of the *iNgúduza*, when mixed up with water, formed a lather (*iGwébu*) that efficiently cleaned them. Indeed, a lump of the *iNgúduza* bulb, used like a cake of soap, is, in these present days, often used for washing cotton goods from the stores, proving a good cleanser, but irritating to the hands.

But the *iLozane* insecticide just mentioned does not grow everywhere. One consequently sometimes sees an eagle-eyed mother diligently searching about amongst her child's entangled mass of hair, and destroying the vermin with her nails. But some mothers are so insensitive to disgust, that they actually pick the lice out with their teeth, like other Bantu women on the Congo.¹⁰⁸

After the morning bath at the river, a mixture of fat and red clay or some fragrant herbs provided an agreeable pomatum. In the earlier times of which we write, the domestic pig was unknown among the Zulus, and consequently also the present supply of lard. In those days, butter (*iPéhlwa*) served the purpose as a body unction, the (to the Natives) disagreeable smell being diminished by a process of boiling and straining, the result being stored away in the special *umFuma* calabash. Butter and red-clay combined—the same mixture is in use also among the Kambas of Kenya¹⁰⁹—conferred on the yellow-black skin a ruddy gloss which was much admired. The Negroes of Guinea also used butter as a body unguent.¹¹⁰

The red-ochre and red-clay custom deserves more than passing notice. Its curious and universal use offers in itself a special mystery and subject for study for the anthropologists, coming down the ages, as it does, right from the prehistoric Neanderthal and Aurignacian peoples, perhaps 30,000 years

or more ago, and spread, as it still is, throughout the primitive world. Fragments of red-ochre, says Sollas,¹¹¹ were found along with the Neanderthaler of La Chapelle. "Several interments," says Munro,¹¹² "dating from the Magdalenian and Transition periods have come to light, which had the peculiarity of having the skeletons sprinkled over with a layer of ochre. This was the case with almost all the skeletons found in the Caves of Grimaldi and in the stations of Chancelade, Mas d'Azil, Brünn (Moravia) and Paviland (Gower Peninsula)".¹¹³ Until this day this red body and hair paint is still in use among the Bushmen¹¹⁴ and Australians,¹¹⁵ Andaman Islanders¹¹⁶ and Papuan Negritos,¹¹⁷ and throughout the whole of Bantuland.¹¹⁸ What does it all mean? Why red paint?—to which the Ancient Briton, with his preference for woad dark-blue, was a solitary exception.¹¹⁹ Elliot Smith says, because, having recognized that death followed the loss of blood (one of the earliest discoveries made by the hunting Cave Man), ancient man concluded that, by supplying the dead with a liberal sprinkling of this 'red earth', he might perchance enable them to come to life again—presumably in another world; for his second discovery must soon have followed his first, viz. that, in this case, the trick invariably failed!¹²⁰ All this, of course, is a mere guess. On the other hand, it is a curious fact that the Hebrews named their 'first man' *Adam*, blood-red, and *Adamah*, red-earth.

Our Zulus used two kinds of this mysterious 'red earth'—mysterious only in its usage; for the substance itself was everywhere and always the same, viz. ferruginous stone or earth, the red oxide of iron. First of all, there was the *isiBúda*, of a dark-red tint. This was not employed as a body-unction, but solely for hair-colouring. Prof. R. Jones speaks of "natural 'paint pots' in the Karoo sandstone of South Africa . . . The Bushmen frequently use them . . . when broken open . . . as pigments for body ornamentation, and anciently for painting the figures on the walls of caves, obtaining from them certain tints, such as the purple for the human form or for other objects".¹²¹ Those 'paint pots' were no doubt the same as the Zulu *isiBúda*. The stuff was hawked about the land by those who knew where to find it, and sold in hard stone-like lumps, that could be broken up and later powdered only by energetic hammering with a heavy pebble. After

purchase, the lump of red stone was stored away by being buried beneath the earth outside the hut, a fragment being knocked off and ground as required. Where the supplies came from is no longer remembered; but we suspect the *esiBúdeni* hill, near Nkandla Forest, of being, more likely than anywhere else, the source of the old time *isiBúda*.

The other kind of red iron oxide the Zulus used was of a much softer type and more ubiquitous. It was no longer a refractory stone, but a friable clay, of a light or brick-red tint, called *ĩBomvu*, and often noticed on the banks of cuttings. This was not, as a rule, used for hair-colouring, but solely for body-unction (mixed with fat) or body-smearing (mixed with water). Moistened with water, it was pressed into a ball, through which, while soft, a string was passed; after hardening in the sun, the ball was tied up to the wall at the back of the hut, till required for use. The *uQintsi* was a better, deeper-red variety of the *ĩBomvu* species.

For change, the Zulus sometimes preferred to paint the body white. But this taste was confined to the pythonesses of the oracle (*abaNgóma*), and (when circumcision was still in vogue) to the young initiates (*abaKwétá*.)

You have already heard that, at six or seven years of age, the little boys went out every morning with the calves or goats to the veld, and the big boys with the cattle. The main concern of these latter was to keep their herd from trespassing into the fields of irate neighbours. But in this, being often more intent on more congenial pursuits, they frequently dismally failed. The consequences, when they got back home, were always very painful; for Zulu fathers believed in the rod, and applied it unmercifully. So when this misfortune befell them, the boys, before going home, would search the veld for an *isaMuyisane* plant (*Spermacoce Natalensis*) and nibble at it as they went. This would ensure forgetfulness in the furious parent's mind, with consequent escape of punishment. On other occasions, the cows would 'refuse' to yield their milk (through the boys neglecting to bother much about their milking). As a sufficient explanation of this bovine refusal, the boys would report that the cows had passed over an *iNkomfe* plant (*Hypoxis*); and they escaped again.

Among the more congenial occupations that so often led the herdboys to neglect their cattle, was their inordinate propensity for fighting. Every now and then the lads of one *isiGódi* (valley) would unite and declare war on those of another near by, and all ancient grievances and grudges would be there and then finally settled by the arbitrament of sticks. When these pitched-battles were unprocurable, any belligerent boy would select one from the other group who looked an easy conquest, and shout at him the challenge, *iNtselele!* If the latter felt equally pugnacious, he would at once accept the challenge, and shout back, *Wo-z' u-yi-Táté* (come and-fetch-it). Whereupon the two would forthwith enter the lists. But should the prospect to the latter party appear forbidding, and the challenge be declined (i.e. remain unanswered), then the bully would have recourse to provocation, rapping the other defiantly on the head with his stick, saying, *Ngqo! ngqo!, mFana, ngi-ya-kw-Ahlula. Hamb' u-yo-ngiKélela amaNdzi lapó ku-nga-Káli Sele* (tap! tap!, my-boy, I-have-beaten-you. Go and-fetch-me some-water from-there-where no-frogs croak (meaning the sea). This insulting taunt invariably brought the most timid of boys to toe the line.

Among such highly respectable people as were our Zulus, it was always extremely improper for girls, or even adult females, to make a journey alone. Should such a hussy be met with, she would be rebuked by saying, *Kanti ka-w-Azi yini ukuti ubuCubu bu-Hamba nga-buBili na?* (do-you-not-know, then, that the-little-Ruddy-Waxbills always-go in-pairs?). From this, it must not be concluded that such solitary female travellers were commonly molested. Quite the contrary was the fact, such molestation being, in older times, practically unheard of. The practice of *ukuShikilela* was not held, either then or nowadays, to be a molestation, for the reason that the girls enjoy it as much as do the youths. A young man meeting a girl, or a pair of them, may, as an ordinary matter of camaraderie, request them to uncover and reveal to them the buttocks (i.e. *ukuSkikilela*), and they, as a matter of common courtesy, will, without demur, do so. Girls, also among themselves, had the same habit; the idea being that, when they got home, they would report to their brothers where attractive maidens might be found.

When travelling, the Zulus always walked in single file (one behind the other), a habit born and bred, no doubt, by the narrow grass-tracks along which they customarily moved. The highest in rank headed the line, and females followed males. When the mid-day heat was exceptionally intense, the elder men would carry a tiny shield (*umDlela*), a foot in length, which they held up against the sun, as a kind of parasol; while the younger men, on similar occasions, might wreath their heads with a circlet of cool *uPándosi* leaves, a charming sight, taking one right back to the poetry of the Roman Bacchanals. These young Zulus, too, had their own peculiar gaits,¹²² tripping and ambling and prancing along, with sticks and shield up-lifted, in many pretty ways. And they too, when going out courting, often sported still tinier shields (*iNgcayi*), not more than nine inches long, just sufficient to shield their knuckles, when battling, as often happened, with other cavaliers for a common lady's favours.

The rivers of Zululand, owing to their rocky beds and the general steepness of the terrain, were mostly in the nature of torrents; and in the rainy season, the larger ones became quite uncrossable on foot. It seems pretty certain that the Zulus, in their northern motherland, were not a riverine or lacustrine people, or, alternatively, that they migrated southwards before the canoe had become there known, for the reason that they always showed a strong aversion to fish, and that they never knew, down south, any other means of crossing an impassable river than by means of a float. It would perhaps be hardly safe to say that our deduction here is a positive certainty; because Rivers¹²³ tells us that there is "clear evidence that in two places in Oceania the canoe has once been present and has disappeared". In the Torres Islands only rude catamarans of bamboo now exist for getting from place to place. The canoe-makers, Codrington believed, had simply 'died out'. At the period when the Zulus departed from the north, Schoff¹²⁴ (on what evidence we do not know) tells us that in Azania (region about Zanzibar) sewn boats and canoes hollowed from single logs already existed and were used for fishing and catching tortoises. This Zanzibar coast was then, of course, under the domination of the Arabs from southwestern Arabia, and the Native knowledge of the canoe may

have been brought along by them. This supposition is supported by the fact that, among the eastern, central and northern Bantu, the knowledge of the canoe was practically confined to such tribes as had come under Arab (or, in later times, Portuguese) influence. That knowledge, by the beginning of last century, had already extended as far south as the Tongas about Delagoa Bay (where canoes made of planks sewn together with fibrous cord were employed on the Maputa river),¹²⁵ as well as to the baTawana¹²⁶ and baKowa¹²⁷ (who used dug-outs) on or about Lake Ngami.¹²⁸ Had the Zulu too, perchance, been once acquainted with this dug-out? He certainly seems to have had an inkling of the 'idea'; though he never placed it on the water. A 'dug-out-trough' with him was called an *umKumbi*, and, rather strangely, he has, in modern times, actually applied that name to the European 'ship'. As for the Nilotic Negroes, it seems most probable that they obtained their knowledge of the canoe at a date much earlier than that of the arrival of the Arabs on the East African coast; for the Nile Negroes were acquainted with the canoe even in Ancient Egyptian times.¹²⁹

Anyhow, it seems pretty certain that the raft preceded the canoe in human culture, and, secondly, that the Bantu were still in the Raft Age until comparatively recent (that is to say, our 'medieval') times. The Tasmanians got over the water on floats made of bundles of bark bound by thongs and rushes:¹³⁰ how they got to Tasmania, is another matter. Their neighbours in Australia used similar conveyances, but, in place of bark, straight branches of the mangrove tree were "lashed together in two places, with the larger ends one way, so as to form a broad part, and the smaller ends ran to a point, and towards the other end was a bundle of grass, on which the navigator sat."¹³¹ Grenfell and Johnston, accustomed to the canoes in the more sophisticated parts of Bantuland, were surprised to meet with Bantu actually still in the raft stage. Grenfell, says Johnston,¹³² in 1885 made the discovery that certain "Pygmy-like natives were living in an earlier stage of culture than that which produced the canoe . . . they did not employ canoes, but rafts or catamarans . . . Torday also brought to light the interesting fact that the Bakwese—one of the backward tribes—have no canoes, but use rafts instead".

Johnston might have been still more surprised, had he known that that was precisely the stage in which the Zulus also were; for the only river craft they know of, even today, is a thick reed-float (*isiHlenga*), navigated by river experts in various ways, of which that given by Colenso is one. He writes:¹³³ "It is merely a bundle of reeds, about four feet long, bound together in a conical form, the circular end being perhaps eight or ten inches across, and the whole tapering to a point. Near the broad end are stuck in two forked sticks, on which may be suspended clothes, parcels, etc., to be carried across. The swimmer supports his breast on this end, the other being, of course, tilted up so as to point into the air before him. Then, grasping with his hands the lower parts of the two sticks, he strikes out with his feet and so pushes himself across . . . In this way they will also carry a man across, or two, if the floater be long enough. He must sit astride, just where the two sticks would otherwise be inserted and clasp with his arms the upper part of the bundle, and then resigns himself to the Kafir, who will come behind, as before, and push him across". Sometimes the passenger, lying on his stomach upon the raft, caught hold of the two arms of a single forked stick thrust into the forward part of the float, and so helped to keep it better balanced.

We hear of no 'log' floats among the Zulus; but Shaw¹³⁴ met with them further south in the Cape. On the Orange river, in 1820, he says, each of his servants "had a piece of wood, two or three feet longer than himself, on which he lay down, taking hold of a peg with his left hand, while the right hand and feet were engaged in swimming".

The Zulus were as loose in their measurements as they were in their general thinking and speech.

Distance was calculated by the sun-time (or sun-movement) it would take to get there; or be compared with the distance of some well-known place (hill or river).

Length, breadth and height (as of string, cloth, persons, etc.) might be roughly indicated by some gesture, on the finger, palm or arm, or by height above the ground. A large number of words helped to supply the deficiency; thus, a tiny piece (as of string) would be called an *umuCu*; a fragment broken off

(as from a loaf), an *isiHlepú*; a dwarfish person, an *isiKisi-mbana*; a shortish person, an *isiDundulu*; one of medium height, an *isiQepú*; a tall person, an *iNdwadla*.

Quantities (as of beer in a pot or grain in a basket) would be described again by special words; thus, a mere heel-tap at the bottom of a pot would be called an *isiCibi*; a mere 'rattle' at the bottom of a grain-basket or snuff-box, an *iNkesheza*; a vessel about quarter-full, an *isiCeté*; if about half-full, an *isiQentu*; if three-quarters full, an *isiKópé*; if almost full, an *ũKópé*. A small number or quantity was an *iNgcosana*; a mere 'handful', an *uKwéshe* or *iBindza*; a fair or medium quantity, an *iTándzi*. A goodly number was an *umTámo*; a vast multitude, an *uBintsi*, and so on.

We said once before that there were no shops or bazaars in Zululand like those of Capetown or Cairo, nor any public markets like those of Nigeria and northern Bantuland. Was there, then, no trade? There were, of course, several craftsmen who made a 'comfortable living' out of their trade (of which in a later chapter). Further, there were occasional Tonga pedlars (*abaHwebi*) from Delagoa Bay way, hawking brass, skins, beads and other such. But among themselves the Zulus never 'bought' or 'sold' for money, indeed had no word for either the one or the other; they only bartered. In return for a goat one might receive a basketful of corn; one present of meat today brought back another tomorrow; a basket of grain obtained a smaller one of malt; in exchange for a large brass ring one might be given a daughter as wife. This they termed *ukwEnana* (to-give-one-thing-for-another).

Then came the *umLungu* (Whiteman), from 1500 A.D. onwards, first of all out of ships wrecked along the coast, later from 'malice prepense', and sold (or bartered with) them all manner of trifles at exorbitant prices. At the start, commerce had to be carried on by the ancient and world-famed method of 'silent' barter. Fa-Hien¹³⁵ says of Ceylon: "The country was originally occupied only by spirits . . . with which the merchants carried on the trade. When trafficking was taking place, the spirits did not show themselves. They simply set forth their precious things with labels of the prices attached to them; while the merchants made their purchases according to

price; and took the things away". Further west, somewhere about 400 B.C., Hanno, the Carthaginian, sailed down the west coast of Africa as far perhaps as Gambia. These Carthaginians, says Herodotus,¹³⁶ relate as follows: "There is a country in Libya, or nation, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which they are wont to visit, where they no sooner arrive but forthwith unload their wares, and, having disposed them after an orderly fashion along the beach, leave them, and, returning aboard their ships, raise a great smoke. The natives, when they see the smoke, come down to the shore and, laying out to view so much gold as they think the worth of the wares, withdraw to a distance. The Carthaginians upon this come back and look. If they think the gold enough, they take it and go their way; but if it does not seem to them sufficient, they go aboard ship once more and wait patiently. Then the others approach and add to their gold, till the Carthaginians are content. Neither party deals unfairly by the other; for they themselves never touch the gold till it comes up to the worth of their goods, nor do the natives ever carry off the goods till the gold is taken away". This kind of dealing must be a primitive instinct in man, for just so did the Zulus in the days of their first contact with the White traders.¹³⁷

Bartering of the preceding kind was the earliest form of trading. But it was a cumbersome and inconvenient method, and so soon as man became more intelligent, various forms of 'currency' were introduced. Even in Ancient Egypt, though already scientifically so advanced as to be able to construct the Great Pyramids (3,000 to 2,500 B.C.), had still no coined money, and did all their trade by simple bartering.¹³⁸ Nor had the Babylonians, even at the time when the wise Hammurabi was drawing up the earliest code of written human law; though, with their use of lumps of silver, they were gradually getting there.¹³⁹ Yet at 2,000 B.C. the Chinese were already trading with coined money.¹⁴⁰ In the West, before 600 B.C., the kings of Lydia (Asia Minor) had also conceived the idea of cutting up the Babylonian silver chunks into small stamped pieces,¹⁴¹ and soon the idea spread throughout the Persian Empire.¹⁴² Up to 400-300 B.C. the Romans, like the Zulus, paid their debts in living cattle; but at that period they found it more practical to stamp their ox on a block of copper and

hand it over in that way.¹⁴³ The Carthaginians then followed suit with stamped pieces of leather.¹⁴⁴

But we are here dealing with a civilization twice as old as that of Egypt, Babylon or Rome, and, in so far, doubly as interesting. Anything can be used as currency by common consent; and so it came about that in Negroland, before the Whiteman came, one paid one's way with almost everything, from strips of bark-cloth to lumps of human meat, though cowries (or other shells), beads and metal-ware were the commonest forms of 'money'.¹⁴⁵ There were cowry shells in Gandaland¹⁴⁶ and Guinea;¹⁴⁷ *jimbu* shells (the small spiral variety of the *Olivella nana*) in Angola; *Achatectonia* shells, but still called *tshibu*, in Fernando Po.¹⁴⁸ The *Olivella* shells, now called *zimbi*, were current on the Congo already in 1666, and possibly centuries before.¹⁴⁹ "It is quite possible," writes Elliot,¹⁵⁰ "that shells (especially the cowry) were the very first of all moneys". But the shell currency was no African invention, nor yet an Arabian, but came, we think, from the East by way of India; for in Uganda the cowry shell is even today called by its original Hindi name, *kauri*. Five thousand cowry-shells paid a Native's annual tax in French West Africa,¹⁵¹ while in Mbalaland, in the Congo, 100 *jimbu*s bought a fowl; 10,000, a male slave; 15,000, a female.¹⁵²

Beads were a favourite currency in Central Congo;¹⁵³ beads blue and white about Ujiji on Tanganyika Lake,¹⁵⁴ red and white among the Shilluks on the Nile.¹⁵⁵

The Hausa Negroes, a more sophisticated race, has struck the cute idea that a roll of narrow strips of cotton-cloth (one inch wide and in yard-long pieces) would provide a good local substitute for a roll of paper bank-notes.¹⁵⁶

Salt, made from the ashes of certain water-plants, was the feeble effort of the Congolese Mbalas.¹⁵⁷

Then came the Metal Age, not by any means after salt, and whether before or after the cowry were hard to determine. Spear-heads and spade-shaped hoes passed current on the Upper Nile;¹⁵⁸ copper and iron were acceptable payment among the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa;¹⁵⁹ the Himas, about Uganda, did their buying with weapons, hoes and cattle;¹⁶⁰ and small ingots of iron circulated in the Congo.¹⁶¹ In this latter land, we said, 100 *jimbu* shells had been worth a fowl; and now we hear¹⁶² that three fowls were worth one hoe.

With this long prelude, we come to Zululand, and shall find that now we can all the better understand and measure the position there. There was no generally accepted form of 'currency' whatever among the earlier Zulus—unless it was their stock (cows, goats, etc.), which was most commonly used. We have already said that the ordinary types of goods were circulated there by a process of barter. But somewhere about or before the beginning of last century, metal-ware (hoes, spear-heads and brass and copper rings) began to be used as a form of currency.

In the Zulu language, the term for 'metal' and the term for 'iron' was one, namely, *iNtsimbi*. This identity of nomenclature came about, no doubt, owing to the fact that, when that word came into use, iron was the only metal known, and the Zulus called the 'substance' (whatever precisely they have had in mind) *iNtsimbi*. Now, you will have noticed above how in Angola, the Congo and Fernando Po, the *Olivella* and other shells there current were everywhere termed *jimbu*, *tshibu*, or *zimbi*. Why? Were it not probable that in earliest Bantuland *Jimbu*, *Tshibu*, *Zimbi*, and *Ntshimbi*, were, all of them, expressive of but one same thought, one object? And was that thought significant of 'currency'; so that our Zulu *iNtsimbi* was originally equivalent to 'money'? Or was it perchance the contrary (as, indeed, we think most likely), namely, that the common original root meant, first of all, 'iron'; then 'metal' (after other forms of such iron-like substance had become known); then (much later still), 'currency' (or bartering-material), and so finally (in Angola and Congo) certain (not all) 'shells'?

The Zulus, then, had no special currency or 'money'. And yet they were not without their rich men. But their wealth was not in pounds, or metal, or shells, but in their 'stock'—their wives and marketable daughters, and the cows, and goats, and sheep, which these latter produced. A tradesman's wealth was his skill and his wares.

It probably did not take man long to discover that the fingers and toes were a convenient help to reckoning. Indeed, it is rather likely that these little digits first suggested to him the very idea of counting. Anyway, he started counting with

his fingers and toes ; for most primitive peoples do so, including the ancient Greeks themselves.¹⁶³

Among them, there are many different methods of using this Nature's abacus. Of Negro methods, we find that the Papuans count by using the fingers and thumbs, beginning always with the thumb of the right hand, and so along to ten. Proceeding to numbers above ten, they pass to their toes (as do also the Eskimos), but not now as single, additional units, that is, one or more toes added to the fingers, but all toes together, indicating simply a large and indeterminate number, apparently equivalent to our 'many'. Sometimes, says Wollaston,¹⁶⁴ they open and close the fingers of both hands two or three times, with this same meaning. The Papuan Pygmies, however, have not this custom of counting with their fingers and toes.¹⁶⁵ As for the African branch of the Negro family, Johnston¹⁶⁶ says that fingers and toes are used throughout all Bantuland for counting, though the method varies. The Congo baNgala, for instance, raise the index-finger for 1 ; index and next finger for 2 ; the three last fingers for 3 ; all fingers for 4 ; and these with the thumb for 5. Between 5 and 10, these same numerals are added appropriately together by the use of both hands, until for 10 both hands are clapped together, and clapped twice for 20.

The Zulus commence counting by raising the little finger, of either hand, for 1, and so forward till the thumb of the other hand becomes 6, and its little finger 10. Ten being completed, the two hands are held up, palms forward, and then, not clapped, but gently brought together. And should it be wished to continue beyond 10, say to 12, then, after having brought the two palms together, the little and third finger (of either hand) are held up to indicate the extra 2. Should it be wished to indicate two or more 'tens' (as for 20, 30, etc.), the two palms are brought together just so many times.

Johnston¹⁶⁷ thought that a decimal numeration was the original system of the Bantu, owing to the fact that "the root for ten—*Kumi*—is virtually common to more than nine-tenths of the Bantu languages." Our own opinion is that, although later the system became decimal, it was primordially quintuple. The root-terms for 'one' to 'four', and in a lesser degree to 'five', seem to be pretty universal throughout both Bantuland

and Negro Guinea. But beyond 'five' (i.e. from 'six' inclusive onwards), the root-terms for the various numbers differ in almost every language ; until they reach 10, when all of them unite again in the single term of *Kumi*, or something similar.

The Zulu root for 'one' is *Nye* (perhaps originally identical with *Nwe*, finger) ; for 'two', *Bili* ; for 'three', *Tátú* ; for 'four', *Ne* ; for 'five', *Hlanu*. It is only these first 'five' terms that are pure 'numeral adjectives'. From 'six' (inclusive) onwards, *nouns* are employed to meet the need ; thus, 'six' is expressed by *isiTúpá* (meaning simply 'the-thumb') ; 'seven' is *isiKómbisa* (the-index-finger). The two fingers that should indicate 'eight' and 'nine' possessing no appellations of their own, special compound terms, used as adjectives, have had to be invented to represent these numbers ; thus, *Tóba-minwe-mbili* (lower-two-fingers) for 'eight', and *Tóba-munwe-munye* (lower-one-finger) for 'nine'. 'Ten', again, at least in Zulu, is not a pure adjectival numeral, but a noun, *ĩShumi*. Incidentally, it may be remarked that this 'ten' often takes the place of our 'dozen' in Native trading transactions. 'Eleven' in Zulu becomes 'a-ten-and-one' (*ĩShumi-na-Nye*), 'twelve' becomes 'a-ten-and-two' (*ĩShumi-na-Mbili*), and so on to 'twenty', 'thirty' and the rest, which become 'two tens' (*amaShumi amaBili*) and 'three tens' (*amaShumi amaTátú*) respectively. With 'hundred' we get again a special term, viz. a noun, *ĩKúlu* (the-big-one—suggesting perhaps 'a-great-number' of tens). There was still another term, viz. *ĩNkulungwane*, also a noun. By Europeans, this has been regarded as the equivalent to our 'thousand' and so translated ; though we are pretty certain that the Zulu mind never made any pretension to such exact calculations of number. We believe it signified simply and vaguely 'a huge number', much greater than the *ĩKúlu*, and on a par with that other expression, *isiGidi* (an-unreckonable-multitude). Thus we see that the Zulus were, numerically speaking, a long way behind the Ancient Egyptians, who, so early as 4,800 B.C., had (or at least so it is said) already invented a special term for 1,000,000.¹⁶⁹

Europeans have, quite mistakenly, assumed that the Zulu term, *uNyaka* (or *umNyaka*), signifies 'year' (as we understand it), and they have already inculcated that erroneous

idea (through daily intercourse and contact) into the younger Native mind. But to the untutored Zulu mind, the word has quite another meaning. To find what that may be, let us get down to rock-bottom, and go away north, where the Zulus came from. There we shall find the Gandas, Swahilis and the rest dividing the annual time-cycle (which we call 'year') into two seasons—a lesser-rain-season (there roughly from October to December), which the Swahilis call *Mwaka* (Zulu, *uNyaka*), and a greater-rain-season (there roughly from March to August), which the Swahilis call *maSika*. Now, it will be noticed that the Zulus employ identically the same names (in other forms) for the same *periods* of the year; thus, *uNyaka* (in Zululand, roughly from September to February) and *ubuSika* (roughly from March to August). Of course, in the south of the continent, where the Zulus now reside, the climatic conditions are different from those in the north, and *two* rainy-seasons no longer exist. There, the rule is—one single rainy-season (the Zulu *uNyaka*), beginning about September and continuing until March, and one dry-season (the Zulu *ubuSika*), beginning with April and ending with August. Yet, even down there, in the Zulu country, the *heaviest* rain (called the *iMbozis 'amaHlanga*, the inundator-of-the-fallow-fields), is still inclined to come at the end of the wet-season (*uNyaka*), say, in March, or even in April.

From this it seems clear that, in the Bantu mind, the roots, *Mwaka* and *Nyaka*, indicated the portion of the annual cycle (our 'year') from about September to February, and the root, *Sika*, that from March to August. The Bantu, therefore, had no 'year', that is, any specific name covering the whole length of 'twelve months'. All the same, they recognized quite clearly that cosmic time went round in a cycle, and they called the beginning of that cycle the *ukuTwása koNyaka* (the-change-over-to, or the-coming-in-of, the-*Nyaka*), that is, the period of renewed vegetal activity, of the reviving rains. Now we can better understand Park¹⁷⁰ when he said of the Negroes of Guinea, "they calculate the *years* by the number of *rainy-seasons*"; and Roscoe¹⁷¹ when he says of the Ganda Bantu that their *Mwaka* (Z. *uNyaka*) consists of six moons (which cover and indicate the season of field-cultivation). That the Zulu never meant 'year' when he used the term, *uNyaka*, is clear from his common expression, viz. *Manje uNyaka*

u-y'Epúza ukuTwása, which cannot possibly mean that 'Nowadays the-year is-later in-coming-in' (since the 'year' remains always unaffected by the weather), but quite obviously signifies that 'Nowadays the *field-season* (the *rain-season*) is-later in-coming-in'. To the Zulu, the term, *uNyaka*, never could, nor can, include also the *ubuSika*. The two were entirely separate and distinct, the first term being more applicable to our 'summer' (the rainy and 'ploughing' season), and the second to our 'winter' (the dry and non-cultivating season).

This writer too is under the impression that, when he came to South Africa in 1883, the 'rain-season' really did occur earlier than it usually does in these present times. The agricultural expert, Fitzgerald,¹⁷² makes a similar observation in regard to Kenya Colony. "There seems to be some justification," he says, "for the opinion that the rainfall has become less and less with increasing cultivation" (see also the Report of E. G. Ravenstein, on *Meteorological Observations in British Africa for 1893*—G. Philip and Son, London, 1894). August or September normally saw the opening of the rain-season in Zululand and Natal in 1883, and that was everywhere the planting season. G. Thompson,¹⁷³ writing of the Xosas of the Cape in 1823 (and Shaw,¹⁷⁴ writing of the same soon after) says: "Their seed-time commences about the middle of August and terminates in November". The remark by Isaacs¹⁷⁵ that in Natal, about 1825, "no heavy rains visited it until the periodical seasons, which commence with the year and end in April", is not inconsistent with what we say, because, as we have stated above, the heaviest rain usually did occur in the earlier months of the new year, those before Christmas being gentler, and, owing to the then greater dryness of the soil, more immediately absorbed; whereas the later rains when the soil was already well soaked through, often gave rise to flooding.

The arrival of the Zulu *uNyaka*, the new rain or planting season, was, to them, announced by the appearance on the north-eastern horizon in the early mornings of August of the *isiLimela* (the-planting-sign), which was none other than that world-famed group of stars known to antiquity as the *Pleiades*. The Swahilis, about Zanzibar, call this star-cluster by a

similar name, *kiLimia*. South African Chwanas and Senegambian Buloms alike await the proper position of these Pleiades before commencing with their field-work.¹⁷⁶ "The Dyaks of Borneo regulate their agriculture," says Hewitt,¹⁷⁷ "by the movements of the Pleiades, cutting the jungle when they are low in the east before sunrise, burning what they have cut when the constellation approaches the zenith, planting when it sinks towards the west, and reaping their crops when it sets in the early evening". And so all round the earth, from Mexico, through Africa and Asia, to Polynesia, looms this star-cluster as the universal herald of the world's new year. Even Hesiod,¹⁷⁸ the early Greek poet, sings of it:—

But when beneath the skies on morning's brink
The Pleiades, Hyads and Orion sink,
Know then the ploughing and the seed-time near.

There was a saying with the Zulus, *ku-Káhlele uHlalwane* (Isoglossa Woodii), *kō-Ba yiNdlala* (the-uHlalwane has blossomed; so-there-will-be a-famine). This shrub, it was said, came out in flower only once in every ten or eleven years. This seems to suggest a cycle of some sort noticed by the Natives in local climatic conditions and the re-occurrence of drought. Livingstone,¹⁷⁹ writing of the country on the Central Plateau of South Africa, states that "a larger fall of rain than usual had occurred in 1852, which completed a cycle of eleven or twelve years, when the same phenomenon is reported to have happened on three occasions."

The rain-wind both in Zululand and Natal is predominantly that coming from the south-west (called the *iNingizimu*); though that from the south-east (*umZantsi*) may also occasionally bring rain. The north-east (*iNyakató*) is the fair-weather wind, sweeping away the clouds and bringing out the sunshine in a clear blue sky. The north-west (*umuNila*) is the hot, dry wind, coming presumably from the Kalahari desert, but apt to veer round ultimately to the south-west, and so bring rain. In Central Africa (e.g. in Lundaland), on the contrary, the heavy rain-wind comes from the north,¹⁸⁰ but away in Guinea, conditions are practically identical with those in Zululand. There mid-June until November is the rain-season, with the wind in the south-west. At the end of the

rain-season, the wind changes to the north-east, and the dry season sets in. During this latter season hot winds (harmattan) may occur, coming from the Sahara, and, strange to say, are much appreciated by local Europeans, as being much more salutary than the rain-winds, and enabling them to recover their health.¹⁸¹

The 'year', then, among the Zulus was divided into two seasons, the *uNyaka* (or summer) and the *ubuSika* (or winter); but without any word in their language, uniting (as does our 'year') the two seasons into one time-period. The Ancient Egyptians¹⁸² divided their year into three seasons (against our four)—the first, that of the Nile inundation, which began their year; then, that of sowing, or summer; finally, that of harvest, or winter.

The *uNyaka* (or field-work season) was, naturally, the period of greatest home activity and importance, and its successive stages were carefully noted and marked with distinguishing terms, roughly corresponding with its constituent six months. Thus:—

1. September. *Se-l'-Etwése iHlobo*, already the summer has come, i.e. the time of the first rains, when the new grass begins to cover the land.

2. December. *Se-ku-l-ūLibo*, or *Se-ku-y-isiKáti SōLibo*, it is now the time of the first fruits, when green pumpkins, gourds and the like are gathered.

3. January. *Se-ku-w-ukwIndla*, or *Se-ku-y-isiKáti sokwIndla*, it is now the time of the new food, when the new maize (not millet) is eaten fresh from the cob; when the millet is just commencing to produce ears and the birds to become troublesome.

4. February. *Se-ku-l-iHlobo eliKúlu*, or *Se-ku-pákáti kokwIndla*, it is now high-summer, it is now the middle of *ukwIndla* time, i.e. when the millet is in full ear and the maize ripening.

5. March. *Se-ku-Péle ukwIndla*, or *Se-ku-Péle iHlobo*, the *ukwIndla*, time is now at an end, the summer-season is now finished, i.e. when the millet and the maize are already ripe and drying on the stalk.

6. April. *Se-ku-y-isiKáti sokuVúna*, or *Se-ku-Ngéna ubuSika*, it is now harvesting time; the winter-season is already coming in.

The term, *iHlobo*, signified 'the new crop or new food season', rather than 'the summer season' (as Europeans are generally wont to render it).

The Zulus had no 'months', but only 'moons'; and these moons too had their 'comings-in' (*ukuTwása*) and their 'dyings-out' (*ukuFá*). The same term, *iNyanga*, was used both for such a 'moon-period' and for the 'moon' itself. The annual cycle comprised (as far as most Zulus knew) but twelve 'moons', each with its own distinguishing name. These were:—

1. *uNcwaba* (the new-grass-moon), July-August.
2. *uMandulo* (the first-fields-moon; comp. *ukwAndula*, to-start-cultivating), August-September.
3. *uMfumfu* (the sprouting-moon; comp. *ukuFúmfusa*, to-bud or sprout), September-October.
4. *uLwezi* (the frog-hopper-moon; comp. *ulwEzi*, frog-hopper-larva), or *uZibandela* (the overgrown-paths-moon; comp. *ukuZiba*, to cover-up, and *iNdlela*, path), October-November.

Livingstone,¹⁸³ away in Angola, in this very month of November, remarks on the frog-hopper larvæ there—"seven or eight of them cluster round a spot on one of the smaller branches and there keep up a constant distillation of a clear fluid. . . . If a vessel is placed under them, it will receive three or four pints of it in the course of a single night. . . . If a drop falls into the eyes, it causes inflammation." Neither orifice nor boring was ever visible on the tree itself. Where did so much liquid come from?

5. *uMasingana* (the searching-about-moon—when the women searched the gardens for the new pumpkins; from *ukuSinga*, and *ukuCinga*, to-look-for), November-December.

6. *uNtlolanja* (the dog-copulating-moon; from *ukuHlola*, to-inspect, *iNja*, dog), December-January.

7. *uNdasa* (the food-abundance-moon), January-February.

8. *uMbasá* (the fire-kindling-moon, ? signifying the approach of the winter-season; from *ukuBasa*, to-kindle-fire), February-March.

9. *uNgúla-zibuya* (the threshing-ground-preparing-moon; from *ukwEngula* to-remove-the-surface-scum, or soil, and *isiBuya*, a-threshing-ground), March-April.

10. *uNtlaba* (the aloe-flowering-moon; from *iNtlaba*, aloe-plant), April-May.

11. *uLutúdlana* (the little-dust-moon; from *uluTúli*, dust), or *uNtlangulana* (the little-rubbish-sweeping-moon; from *ukuHlangula*, to-sweep-off), May-June.

12. *uNtulikazi* (the big-dust-moon; from *uluTúli*, dust, -kazi, great), or *uMaquba* (the dust-raising-moon; from *ukuQuba*, to-raise-dust), June-July.

Naturally, we cannot make twelve moons fill a solar year (which has thirteen). Nor could the Zulu. Hence regularly once a year he became 'perplexed' (*ukuDida*); and this somehow usually occurred about April time; so that the 'moon' thereabouts (*uNgúla-zibuya*) became a source of constant contention among the older men, who accordingly nicknamed that confusing month the *uNdid'-amaDoda* (the men-puzzling-moon; from *ukuDida*, to-perplex, *amaDoda*, men). The Arabs of the East African coast seem to have been similarly puzzled, and to have solved the matter in a similar way; for, as Stigand¹⁸⁴ informs us, they have twelve lunar months in a 352-day lunar year; which must cause them more trouble than our own calendar-error, which is said to be only one day out in 3,866 years.

The Zulu month (or 'moon') was itself again divided up according to the several moon-phases. Thus:—

iNyanga i-ya-Twása, the-moon-is-just-appearing, as on the day of the new moon;

i-Twése, it-has-appeared, as a new moon during the first couple of days;

i-s'i-luCezu, it-is-already-a-fragment, as in the first quarter;

i-s'i-Hlangene, it-is-already-united, as when full-moon.

i-s'i-Hlepúkile, it-has-already-a-piece-chipped-off, as when towards the last quarter;

i-s'i-Fúlatéle ezantsi, it-has-now-turned-its-back towards-the-coast, as when far in its last quarter, with the crescent leaning downwards (not so vertically erect as before) ;

i-s'i-liBámuza, it-is-now-a-bubble, as when merely the outline is faintly visible ;

i-s'i-File, it-is-now-dead, completely vanished ;

ng' olu-Mnyama namhla, it-is-the-dark-day today, that is, the day immediately following the moon's disappearance, and with the Zulus a day of solemn inactivity, with abstinence from work and pleasure alike ;

ng'olu-Mhlopé namhla, it-is-a-clear-day today, that is, the second day following the disappearance of the moon, upon which the Zulus were free again to work.

i-s'i-ya-Twása, it-is-now-coming-in or reappearing.

i-s'i-Hlekwe yīNyoni, it-is-now-laughed-at by-the-birds, chattering at it just before sunrise.

The Zulus had no ' week ', and consequently no week-days and no Sundays. All days were one to them, for work or play. Then the Whiteman came and changed all that. He not only muddled the meaning of their *uNyaka* (or field-work season) and gave it the erroneous meaning of ' year ', but he further provided them with several more ' work-days ' than they knew of, euphemistically terming them ' week-days '. Monday soon became known to them as ' the-turning-out-to-work-day ' (*umSombuluko*) ; Tuesday as ' work-day-the-second ' (*umSombuluko wesiBili*) and so forward till Saturday, which became ' the-filling-up or completing-day ' (*umGqibelo*). And the Sunday crowned all as ' church-day ' (*īSonto*).

The ' day ' was, naturally, always known to them and was called by the same name as the ' sun ' (*īLanga*). It was also called an *ūSuku*. In very ancient times, this root, *Suku*, may have suggested something like ' a single budge or step in time ' (comp. *ukuTī suku* or *siki*, to budge), because the same root reappears also in the Zulu word for ' night ' (*ubuSuku*). The Swahili too has *Siku*, for ' day ', and *uSiku* for ' night ' ; while the Congo Mbala has (so we read) *maFuku*, day, and *oFuku*, night.

The different ' hours ' or stages of the day were also marked by suitable expressions ; thus :—

se-ku-luKwikwi, it-is-now-approaching-dawn, still darkish.

se-ku-Ntwela, it-is-now-just-beginning-to-dawn.

se-ku-ya-Sa, it-is-now-dawning, or becoming-clear or light.

se-ku-Sile, it-has-now-dawned, become-clear or light.

li-sa-Púma, it-is-just-now-rising, at-sunrise.

se-li-Púmile, it-has-already-risen, just-after-sunrise.

ekuSeni, in-the-morning.

se-li-liDala, it-(the sun)-is-already-old, well-up.

se-ku-s-eMina ya-Kusasa, it-is-now-the-daytime of-the-morning, the-forenoon.

se-ku-pákáti kweMini, it-is-now-the-middle of-the-day-time, noon.

se-li-maTámbama, it-is-now-early-afternoon.

se-ku-nTambama, it-is-now-afternoon.

se-li-baNtu-ba-Hle, it-is-now-when-people-look-nice, when all the land is clothed in a mellow golden sheen, late afternoon.

se-ku-ng'eleziMpsi, it-is-now-hyænas'-time, when the setting-sun casts shadows on the hill-slopes.

se-li-ya-Shona, it-is-now-setting, sunset.

se-li-Shonile, it-has-already-set, after sunset.

se-ku-Hlwile, it-is-now-dusk.

kusihlwa, in-the-evening (or early night-time).

se-ku-s-ebuSuku, it-is-now-night.

ebuSuku, in-the-night.

pákáti kobuSuku, in-the-depth-of-night.

pákáti kwamaBili, at-midnight, between the two days (*amaLanga*).

Even the highly cultured Ancient Assyrians, in the days of the great Hammurabi, " did not habitually date by any era ; they did not even reckon by the years of the king's reign. They recorded each year by the principal event which happened in it ".¹⁸⁵ So the Zulus were not so benighted after all ; for they did the same. If asked how old he is, that is to say, when he was born (for the Zulus take no account of ' years '), a man

might reply, *NgokuBuya kukaCetshwayo pésheya*, at-the-time-of-the-return-of-Cetshwayo from-England; or he might say, *NgeMpi yamaBúnu*, at-the-time-of-the-war of-the-Boers (the Boer War).

It may be remarked here that Native ages, especially those of the younger folk, are, to Europeans, very misleading. Bantu children grow and fill out so much more rapidly than children of the same age do with us; so that a Zulu boy of 16 may be already as well developed as an English boy of 18. Mecklenburg¹⁸⁶ noticed this in the Sudan. "Comparing them [Negro children] with European children," he says, "I always overshoot the mark, for the Negro child develops physically much faster than the European. A Negro girl of ten would pass with us for at least eighteen."

Knowing nothing about miles, if asked how far one place is from another, the Zulu will do as the Dyak of Borneo does, and give the distance in terms of travel. "If pressed to give some measure of the time it takes to traverse a certain distance," says Shelford,¹⁸⁷ "they [the Dyaks] will say that if they start at sunrise, they will arrive when the sun is at a certain height, which they will indicate by pointing to the sky." Exactly what the Zulu does.

1. Shooter, *K.N.*, 81.
- 1a. Roscoe, *B.*, 208.
2. *S.S.C.*, 46.
3. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 242.
4. *M.E.*, 252.
5. Maugham, *Z.*, 317.
6. Elliot, *P.M.*, 146-7; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 165, 184.
7. Darwin, *D.M.*, 145.
8. Haberlandt, *E.*, 48.
9. Backhouse, *A.*, 991; Thomas, *N.A.*, 246.
10. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 412-14.
11. Tylor, *P.C.*, 249, 250.
12. *ib.* 190, 242.
13. *ib.* 240-249.
14. Mason, *O.I.*
15. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 415.
16. Elliot, *P.M.*, 103.
17. Tylor, *P.C.*, 240.
18. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 150, 158.
19. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 317; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 150, 158.
20. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 234.

21. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 201, 202, 317.
22. Hobley, *B.B.*, 68.
23. See New, *L.E.A.*, 180; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 43; Migeod, *E.M.*, 62, 66, 67, 86, 87; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 276; Sollas, *A.H.*, 94; Haberlandt, *E.*, 47; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 386-397, 410-421; Tylor, *A.*, 261, 263; Baines, *E.*, 271.
- 23a. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 388.
24. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 238.
25. Shooter, *K.N.*, 35.
26. Roscoe, *B.*, 202.
27. Stow, *N.R.*, 44.
28. Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 509.
29. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 143.
30. See New, *L.E.A.*, 123; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 191; Roscoe, *B.*, 435, Barth, *T.N.A.*, 480; Frazer, *M.A.*, vol. 2, 216, 221; Allen, *E.I.G.*; 43, 128; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 177.
- 30a. Roscoe, *G.*
- 30b. Allen, *E.I.G.*, 128.
31. Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 13.
32. Tylor, *A.*, 201; see *Holyhead Stone* in British Museum.
33. Walters, *A.P.*, 5.
34. Park, *T.*, 216.
35. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
36. Kassner, *R.E.*, 34.
37. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 137; Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116.
38. *B.*, 409.
39. Also Migeod, *E.M.*, 75; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 192; Roscoe, *B.*, 413.
40. See Specimen in British Museum.
41. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 144; Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 42; Monteiro, *A.*, 284; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 142; Brit. Mus. *Ethnogr. Handbk.*, 218, 226.
42. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
43. *ib.* 33, 35, 47, 48.
44. *P.L.*, 200.
45. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 280.
46. Elmslie, *W.N.*, 111; Hall, *G.Z.*, 100; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79, 292; Patterson, *M.T.*, 237; Cotton, *U.A.*, 77, 173, 463; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 359; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 252.
47. Clodd, *T.T.T.*, 73; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79.
48. Hobley, *K.*, 61; also Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 262.
49. *M.E.*, 78.
- 49a. *L.Z.*, 231.
- 49b. Cotton, *U.A.*, 77, 173, 463.
- 49c. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 219.
- 49d. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 41.
- 49e. Kassner, *R.E.*, 74.
- 49f. *ib.* 56.
- 49g. *ib.* 117.
- 49h. *ib.* 101.

- 49i. Hall, G.Z., 100; Kassner, R.E., 24.
 49j. Maugham, Z., 304.
 49k. ib.
 50. T.E.A., vol. 2, 58.
 51. Schweinfurth, H.A., vol. 2, 40.
 52. V.C., 248.
 53. N.R., 150, 152 fn.
 54. J.Z.C., 168.
 55. Johnston, G.G.C., 356, 518; Tylor, E.H.M., 45.
 56. Hall, Z., 100.
 57. Anwyl, J.A.S., 16, p. 39; Simpson, L.P.K., 55.
 58. Shooter, K.N., 81.
 59. ib.
 60. Z.C., 118.
 61. J.Z.C., 63, 196.
 62. T.E.A., vol. 1, 308.
 63. V.M., 14.
 64. A.Z., 29.
 65. B., 61.
 66. Mecklenburg, C.N., vol. 2, 57; Decle, S.A., 77; Wollaston, P.P., 196.
 67. See Edwards, O.L.W., 13, 103, 131; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 310.
 68. M.E., 291.
 69. Tylor, E.H.M., 49, 50.
 70. Bryant, O.T., 162.
 71. See Tylor, E.H.M., 142, 147-150; MaxMüller, S.L., vol. 2, 37; Frazer, T., 15; Clodd, T.T.T., 53, 81, 114, 115, 122, 158-9; Roscoe, B., 370; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 274, 285; Tremearne, T.H.H., 196; Herodotus, 1, 76, 144, 155.
 72. Tylor, E.H.M., 144; Haberlandt, E., 24, 25.
 73. G.G.C., 607-9.
 74. T., 349.
 75. Sollas, A.H., 398; Stow, N.R., 52; Ellenberger, H.B., 9.
 76. Shelford, N.B., 257.
 77. See also Schulz, N.A., 201-2; Monteiro, A., vol. 2, 257; Cameron, A.A., vol. 1, 190; Capello, B.T.Y., vol. 1, 334; Cumming, F.S.A., 276; Mecklenburg, C.N., vol. 2, 28; Ward, V.C., 265; Brode, T.T., 71; Purvis, M.E., 336; Wissmann, J.E.A., 38, 69, 308; Simpson, L.P.K., 256; Theal, Y.D.P., 38; E.S.A., 51, 98; Oswald, S.S.C., 190; Keane, M.P.P., 114; Roscoe, B., 441; Samuelson, Z.C., 81; Wallace, M.A., 61; Chaillu, K.M., 81; Dorman, T.C., 88; Cumming, F.S.A., 276.
 78. G.G.C., 602.
 79. V.C., 619.
 80. Merolla, V.C., 696.
 81. Livingstone, T., 241; Cotton, U.A., 233; Speke, D.S.N., 253; Monteiro, D.B., 54, 81; Roscoe, B., 38, 434; Wollaston, P.P., 88, 162.
 82. T., 214.

83. Johnston, G.G.C., 609; Ward, V.C., 266; New, L.E.A., 125, 457; Fitzgerald, B.E.A., 335; Purvis, M.E., 70; Landor, A.W.A., vol. 2, 168; Livingstone, T., 36, 216; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 405; 37, p. 138; Park, T., 214; Stigand, L.Z., 215.
 84. Schweinfurth, H.A., vol. 1, 109, 118, 251, 283; Decle, S.A., 369, 389; Johnston, G.G.C., 121, 137, 167, 602, 609; Ward, V.C., 264, 266; Brode, T.T., 71; Fitzgerald, B.E.A., 235; Elmslie, W.N., 80; Landor, A.W.A., vol. 1, 209, 315; vol. 2, 170, 189; Simpson, L.P.K., 51, 93; Roosevelt, A.G.T., 438; Cotton, U.A., 404, 448; Stanley, T.D.C., 243; Park, T., 16, 214; Speke, D.S.N., 78; Oswald, S.S.C., 136, 190; Kassner, R.E., 33; Wollaston, P.P., 88, 202; Stigand, L.Z., 291; Patterson, M.T., 242; Barth, T.N.A., 312, 585, 592-3; Bird, A.N., vol. 1, 32, 47, 482; MacQueen, W.A., 264; Bergh, T.P., 25.
 85. New, L.E.A., 250; Cotton, U.A., 184; Barth, T.N.A., 172.
 86. C.K., 238.
 87. T., 40.
 88. M.A.N., 221, 249.
 89. C.A., 125.
 90. Baines, E., 433; Moffat, M.L., 91.
 91. Moodie, B.S.A., vol. 2, 362.
 92. Bergh, T.P., 28, 29, 35.
 93. Monteiro, A., vol. 1, 218.
 94. W.A., 179.
 95. T., 199.
 96. Roscoe, B., 60; Galton, T.S.A., 116.
 97. Stow, N.R., 50.
 98. Capello, B.T.Y., vol. 1, 35, 74, 198.
 99. See also Schweinfurth, H.A., vol. 1, 85; Mecklenburg, H.A., 201; Landor, A.W.A., vol. 1, 140, 234, 348; vol. 2, 178; Livingstone, T., 311; Merolla, V.C., 696; Tremearne, T.H.H., 239.
 100. Roscoe, B., 154.
 101. Capello, B.T.Y., vol. 1, 236.
 102. Isaacs, T.E.A., vol. 1, 81.
 102a. Kassner, R.E., 172.
 103. Krapf, T.E.A., 448.
 104. Tylor, E.H.M., 47, 48; Keane, M.P.P., 72.
 105. T.E.A., vol. 2, 299.
 106. Mecklenburg, C.N., vol. 2, 51.
 107. Callaway, R.S., 435.
 108. Frobenius, C.M., 25.
 109. Purvis, M.E., 39.
 110. Park, T., 46.
 111. A.H., 180.
 112. P.B., 182.
 113. Also Keith, A.M. (1), 59, 65.
 114. Sollas, A.H., 402; Shaw, M., 22; Stow, N.R., 274; Fleming, S.A., 162.
 115. ib. 87, 223.
 116. Hunter, H.I., 42.

117. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112.
 118. Stow, *N.R.*, 263, 274, 318; Monteiro, *D.B.*, 78; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 138; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 249; Purvis, *M.E.*, 39, 69, 73; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 324; New, *L.E.A.*, 333, 358, 275; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 142; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 144; Lubbock, *O.C.*, 46, 270; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 290, 509; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 273; vol. 2, 147; Patterson, *G.N.*, 182; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 109; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 182; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 166; Elliot, *P.M.*, 315, 349; Keith, *A.M.*(1), 58, 59, 65; Herodotus, 1, 86; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 113; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 169, 209; Tylor, *A.*, 282; Baines, *E.*, 130.
 119. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. 21, ch. 1.
 120. Perry, *O.M.R.*, 5.
 121. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 561.
 122. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 334.
 123. *P.E.*, 190.
 124. *P.E.*
 125. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 224.
 126. Hodson, *T.G.T.*, 151.
 127. Holden, *H.N.*, 425.
 128. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 780-786; Roscoe, *B.*, 383; Owen, *N.V.*, 1, 84.
 129. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 181; Breasted, *R.E.*, 1, 141, 146, 150, 152-3, 294.
 130. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 161.
 131. Thomas, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 69.
 132. *G.G.C.*, 785.
 133. *T.W.N.*, 172; Shaw, *M.*, 39.
 134. Also Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 283; Darwin, *D.M.*, 48, 180; Sollas, *A.H.*, 97, 98, 218; Tylor, *A.*, 252, 253, 256.
 135. *Travels*, ch. 38.
 136. *IV*, 196.
 137. Also Hoernes, *P.M.*, 19; Haberlandt, *E.*, 60; Richard, *G.C.*, 48, 112, 114.
 138. Breasted, *A.T.*, 66.
 139. *ib.* 134.
 140. Old, *S.K.*, 117.
 141. Breasted, *A.T.*, 299.
 142. *ib.* 186.
 143. *ib.* 501.
 144. *ib.* 526.
 145. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 122, 132, 138, 143, 790.
 146. Roscoe, *B.*, 456; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 792.
 147. Park, *T.*, 19.
 148. Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 51.
 149. Angelo, *V.C.*, 620.
 150. *P.M.*, 356.
 151. Hartland, *P.L.*, 118.
 152. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 408.
 153. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138.
 154. Declé, *S.A.*, 314.

155. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 24.
 156. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 90.
 157. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 403.
 158. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 80.
 159. *ib.* 239.
 160. Roscoe, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 98.
 161. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 405.
 162. *ib.*
 163. Herodotus, VI, 63.
 164. *P.P.*, 104.
 165. *ib.* 207.
 166. *G.G.C.*, 844.
 167. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 20.
 168. Fynn, in Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 80.
 169. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 7; also Elliot, *P.M.*, 305, 306; Park, *T.*, 258; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 117; Darwin, *D.M.*, 180; Sollas, *A.H.*, 281; Haberlandt, *E.*, 81; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 244-5; Tylor, *A.*, 310.
 170. *T.*, 208.
 171. *B.*, 37.
 172. *B.E.A.*, 510.
 173. *T.*, vol. 2, 359.
 174. *M.*, ch. V.
 175. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
 176. Moffat, *M.L.*, 88.
 177. *R.R.*, vol. 1, 123 sq.
 178. *Works and Days*, Georgic, 316.
 179. *T.*, 82.
 180. *ib.* 204.
 181. Park, *T.*, 198.
 182. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 26.
 183. *T.*, 281.
 184. *L.Z.*, 111.
 185. Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 10.
 186. *C.N.*, vol. 1, 131.
 187. *N.B.*, 285.

Chapter 7

The Food and Cookery of the Primitives

A peep into the kitchen and pantry of prehistoric man, and to see exactly what primitive mankind, say 3,000 or more years ago, cooked and ate, would not be without its interest to the curious. Well, here in older Zululand, we shall get pretty near it.

Mrs. Jomela was never at her wits' end what to cook for dinner—so long as the raw material was at her disposal ; which was not always. Indeed, at this very moment Mrs. Jomela the Third—who, you must know, is paterfamilias' *iNtandokazi* (or favourite wife), whose special duty it is to supply his table, he fondly fancying that viands prepared by her are always so much the sweeter, and safer—is actually on her knees in her hut, carefully turning various cobs of fresh green maize, toasting on the embers. These, when nicely browned, she will stand up, like so many bottles, in a pretty little basket and send to table in his private hut. Mrs. Jomela the First is no less concerned about a pot of sweet-potatoes, boiling in their jackets, as her own family's fare ; while Mrs. Jomela the Second is slicing a pumpkin into small chunks, for a similar purpose.

Plain and plenty : that was the Zulu's rule of diet—so long as it was at command. A well-filled bowl, with a wooden spoon resting against its brim, and all standing on a small eating-mat, was a table lordly bedecked for him. Of condiments he knew nought ; and of culinary fal-de-lals still less. All necessary salts were provided for him by the foodstuffs

themselves. Most of these latter were simply boiled ; with now and then a roast.

What Jomela and family above all liked, was meat and beer ; what they mostly got, was clotted milk and vegetables. Two meals a day was the normal regimen with them ; and at each they proved themselves efficient and capacious trenchermen. Diet with them was not prescribed by choice, but was rather enforced by harsh necessity.

The Zulu is an omnivorous animal, his food consisting, as said, almost equally of animal and vegetable products. This food-supply he provides entirely himself, from his cattle and his fields. Pre-eminent among his principal articles of diet stand milk, sorghum and maize, the first two being consumed in a fermented form, as sour clotted milk and beer. The Zulu adult lives, throughout his life, largely on fermented aliments.

Meat is partaken of only as a luxury, not as an ordinary and indispensable article of food. Hunts are not frequent, occurring not more than half-a-dozen times within the year in any given locality ; and when they do occur, it is only the favoured few who are blessed with a buck to bring home. Cattle are slaughtered only when weddings or other ceremonial occasions require, or when the exigencies of ancestral worship or medical treatment demand. An ordinary Native of Zululand—apart from the young men who were gathered together for service in the royal military-kraals, who were supplied (or rather were supposed to be) by royalty with meat alone—might not let flesh pass his lips more than a couple of dozen times in a whole year ; oftentimes less ; though among the wealthier aristocracy—meat slaughterings were, of course, more frequent. Animals that had died of disease were eaten (by the common folk) as readily as were the healthy. Even such noxious diseases as anthrax and quarter-evil are not sufficient to deter them from partaking of the flesh of the dead beasts, the meat having first been rendered harmless by boiling, sometimes along with such disinfecting or germicidal plants as the *umNungwane* (*Xanthopylon capense*) and the *ubuVimba* (*Withania somnifera*). These self-same disinfectants are used again in the case of meat already in an advanced stage of putrefaction, which, like our own 'high' venison, is by some regarded as so much the more delicious.

Save on one or two ceremonial occasions, the Zulu method of slaughtering cattle was as humane as one could reasonably expect from a primitive people. The herd having been gathered together in the cattle-fold, the selected beast was deeply stabbed with an assegai on the side, in the region of the heart, by an expert person. Every effort was made to ensure that a single thrust be effective; because any necessary repetition was regarded as a reflection on the man's skill. There was nothing (at least as far as cows were concerned) akin to the Kamba (near Mombasa) custom, by which "first the feet, then the mouth of the beast, were bound; the nostrils were stopped up, and so the poor animal was suffocated".¹ But when it came to slaughtering a sheep, then something similar to this Kamba practice did come into play; for no sheep was ever slaughtered among the Zulus without some strong man holding the animal's mouth so tightly closed (while another administered the stab) as to prevent any possibility of a cry. Should the sheep by some mishap succeed in uttering a cry, then some member of the family was thereby inevitably doomed to die!

Whenever a man slaughters a beast, be it in connection with a family marriage or death, or the *ukOmula* of a daughter, or in entertainment of a visitor, or as a simple thank-offering (*ukuBonga*) to the family spirits (but not when it is a propitiatory sacrifice to an irate ancestor, *ukuHebeza*, or *ukuLungisa*), there is always an open house to allsoever as care to come and partake of the feast. After the slaughter and chopping-up, there is no disorderly scrambling for the joints. These are immediately carried away on wicker-trays (*isiCayo*) into the hut of the oldest woman of the family, or are stored in one of the grain-cribs. From there they are distributed among the various members of the family according to the established rule; and each party sees to it that he receive his prescribed joint.

The head (*iNtloko*) of the cow, cut from the beast along with the back of the neck down to and including the hump (*isiXánti*), pertains to the men of the family, the elder men partaking of the hump as a roast in the privacy of their hut, while the younger men (and visitors) boil the remainder of the head outside in the cattle-fold. Of this latter, however, the under-lip (*uVókwane*), the chaps (*iMbóvu*) and the cheeks

(*imHlati*) are reserved for the elders to roast in the cattle-fold for themselves. Should one of the youths dare to eat of one or other of those parts, he will be punished by feeling himself most disagreeably cold—another of those cunning devices for scaring the young from doing wrong! The brains are not eaten, but thrown to the dogs; though Isaacs^{1a} says, to the boys. In all this, the Zulus are the reverse to the Egyptians, who, says Herodotus, never ate the head of a slaughtered beast, but, after heaping imprecations upon it, flung it into the Nile. Along with the head, the men assembled in the cattle-fold to receive as their further due one of the fore-legs (*umKóno*); while an extra *bonne bouche* for the kraal-head are the small-bowels (*amaTumbu aMhlopé*). The sirloin (*iNtsonyama*) is regarded as the prime part of the beast. One side thereof, the side of honour (viz. that sacred to the ancestral spirits, as bearing the wound of the sacrificial-assegai, and therefore called *eyeNxeba*) was, in olden times, sent to the clan-chief (as principal representative of the family or clan ancestors). And even today, if the district-headman happens to be of the same clan as the man who is slaughtering, it is still forwarded to him; but if he be of a different clan or ancestry, this sirloin (*eyeNxeba*) remains at home and goes to the principal hut of the family (*iNdlunkulu*). The sirloin of the unstabbed side (*eyeNdlelo*) is the rightful portion of the daughters of the family (who also receive the udder, *iBele*, for roasting); but should the superior joint have gone away to the clan or district chief, then the second sirloin is cut in two, the one half going to the principal hut, the other to the girls. Of the two flanks (*umHlubulo*) i.e. the ribs, the one side goes to the family *iKohlo* (or left-side heir); the other to the wives (collectively), together with the chest (*isiFúba*), the liver (*isiBindi*), the kidneys (*iziNtso*), the large bowels (*amaTumbu aMnyama*), and one hind-leg (*umLendze*). The other hind-leg, along with the remaining fore-leg, are kept for the purpose of making *ubuBende* (see below). The paunch (*uSu*), the hoofs (*amaNqina*) and lower part of legs, and the *amaGúma* (inside the chest), are boiled for general consumption; but the manyplies (*iTwáne*) and the reed (*iNandzi*), whose contents are held to be 'dangerous' (being employed by *abaTákati* for poisoning purposes) are carefully handed over to the oldest woman in the establishment, as one already too far gone to be capable of

doing further harm. This lady, as proof of such belief, proceeds forthwith to gobble up the meat uncooked! The heart (*iNtliziyo*) and the lungs (*amaPápu*) of the slaughtered animal are the perquisites of the herdboys; and the spleen (*ūBende*), that of him who minds the calves.

The commonest method of cooking meat is simply to boil it (*ukuPéka*) in large chunks. But the most tasty method is that of broiling or roasting (*ukOsa*).² In this latter case, a thick lump of flesh (*isOso*) is cut from the joint and, after having been slit up so as to form one long continuous zigzag strip (*umBengo*), is laid across the embers to roast. When roasted, the strip is picked up with the fingers, one end of it caught up by the mouth, which retains hold of a small piece, while the remainder is cut free with a knife; this remainder being then passed on to the next individual, and so forward until the whole strip has been consumed. Stigand³ thought this practice was peculiar to the Masai and other Nilotics; but it is also the universal Zulu custom.

On the occasion of such meat-feasts as those mentioned above, the cooking, being on a large scale, is always carried on in the yard outside the huts, or in the central cattle-fold. When the meat is thoroughly boiled, and the guests have already arrived and seated themselves inside the huts, or outside in the cattle-fold, the meat is conveyed to them on large wicker-trays, or, more properly, on large carved wooden dishes or trenchers (*ūGgoko*). Upon reaching the guests, one of the young men of the family cuts up the large boiled lumps into smaller pieces (*ūCezu*), sufficient for one large mouthful. These smaller pieces are laid upon small grass-woven eating-mats (*isiTébe*), one of which is set before every three or four of the seated men, who pick up the pieces with their fingers and convey them to their mouths. In one minute the mat is cleared for more. Meanwhile, the women are enjoying their own joints privately, away from the men, in one or other of the huts.

Besides the two principal methods of preparing meat mentioned above viz. by simple boiling and broiling, there are quite a number of made-up dishes for the private delectation of the family epicures. For instance the *iNkulungu* or *isi-Tafutafu* is a crack dish for the more dainty kraal-head. It

consists in the boiling down of small lumps of fat-meat, the fatty broth, together with its particles of fat, being subsequently thickened into lumps by the addition of maize or sorghum meal, forming a species of fatty dumpling. Another choice dish is the *iMvimba*. Now, the *iMvimba* is nothing more or less than the excised rectum of the slaughtered ox, which, after being stuffed with small lumps of fat-meat and bound up at each end, is boiled and eaten as a huge sausage. At other times, pieces of fat and lean meat may be minced and boiled, forming a kind of collops (*amaKá*); the clots of congealed blood are then taken from the slaughtered animal, boiled in the gravy or liquid remaining in the pot after the removal of the collops, and so long until they become hard, when they are ground to powder on the stone and mixed into the collops to form *ubuBende*. Sometimes the gravy or watery portion of this *ubuBende* is poured off, and either drunk alone while still warm, or allowed to stand, and then eaten when already coagulated into a firm jelly, constituting, in Zulu parlance, *iNtiki* or *ūVili*. Another dish is made by boiling *umCaba* (crushed boiled maize-grains) in meat-water or broth (*umHluzi*), until it forms a thick porridge, the whole being called simply *umBáqanga womHluzi*. A mess esteemed as particularly delicious (and hence called *uBilebile*) is composed of minced meat, largely fat, boiled together with beans or other vegetables, so as to produce a rich fatty mass. Although not exactly a set dish, meat (fat or lean), when boiled down so as to become a mass of sodden shreds and fat, is called *ūVini*.

The Zulus, it may be added, never eat meat in the raw state (save the case mentioned above), as some of the Natal Lala tribes did.⁴

When, at a meat-feast such as has been described above, nothing further remains to eat or drink (for no feast is complete without its generous supply of beer), the guests, all by this time feeling supremely comfortable and merry, assemble outside the kraal-head's door and shout at him all his personal laudations (*iziBongo*) their fuddled heads are capable of remembering. Having thus conveyed their thanks, they disperse for their homes, generally before sundown.

But should a man thus slaughter a beast, and none of his neighbours turn up to honour his board with their presence, he is usually perspicacious enough to read the portent aright, and

take an early opportunity of removing to pastures new; lest worse succeed.

But while the average Zulu indulges rarely in actual flesh-meat, the milk of his cows furnishes him with one of his commonest and most nourishing articles of food. This is the well-known *amaSi* (sour clotted milk). If prepared in a new, previously unused, gourd, the Zulu procedure is as follows:—While still warm from the cow (the milking generally taking place in the forenoon), the milk is poured into the new gourd, which is called an *iGula*. The latter is thereupon loosely stoppered and placed aside within the hut—in the winter season, outside in the mid-day sun. On the following day, after about twenty-four hours, the first curdling (*amaNgqanga*) of the milk has set in. On the next day, after another twenty-four hours, clotting has commenced, although the *amaSi* at this stage is not considered as yet sufficiently 'rich' or 'ripe' for eating.

The process now (with the new gourd) is precisely that followed every day with the old, already 'ripened' gourds. The whey (*umLaza*), which (in the new gourd) has by now wholly separated from the curds, is allowed to run off through a small hole, hitherto securely plugged, situated in the bottom of the gourd. This having been done, the space left empty by the withdrawal of the whey, is re-filled with new milk fresh from the cow, in sufficient quantity to fill the gourd to within an inch or so of the narrow mouth at the top. Fermentation again sets in within two or three hours, and froth is expelled from the mouth. If necessary, an ounce or two of the milk may be removed to allow for expansion and the firm insertion of the stopper, usually the core of a maize-cob. By this same evening, or more customarily on the following morning, the *amaSi* is ripe for eating. The whey is removed for the second time, leaving the curds as a congealed mass in the gourd. The gourd is opened, and briskly shaken, in order to break up the mass into clots, and so facilitate its passage through the mouth at the top, when it is poured out in snow-white 'dollops' (*isaNgqondo*).

The milk-gourds are cleaned out (*ukuGéqa*), about once a week or fortnight, by a repeated process of pouring in a quantity of boiling water, together with a handful of small

rough stones. The whole is then vigorously shaken, re-filled and re-shaken, until every remnant of stale *amaSi* has been removed; whereupon the vessel, after draining, is ready for use again. Should it be desired to hasten the process of fermentation, a pint of whey is poured into the freshly-washed gourd previous to re-filling; and upon this the new milk is poured. This course occurs only with the gourds of the babies, who are unable to wait a lengthy period for their food.

In pre-Shakan times, the people of the Zulu clan-proper kept their *amaSi* in skin-sacks (*iNilanti*), not in gourds, which was a practice introduced by Shaka himself upon his return from Mtetwaland, on the coast, where gourds had always been used. These milk-sacks were made of cow-hide, sewn together so as to form a bag or small sack, about a foot high and seven inches wide (when filled out), and having a small aperture or mouth at the top. Thus sewn together, the sack was dampened, and, while still wet and supple, stuffed out with a mixture of earth and cow-dung, and so left to dry hard.

The Zulus never drank milk fresh from the cow (save the boy-recruits in the older days), as do the Himas of Ankoleland and some other Bantu tribes.⁵

"Sour milk," says Richard,⁶ "formed an important part of the diet of the [ancient German] people." But whether they possessed any knowledge of the art of turning their milk into an intoxicating beverage (as did the ancient Scythians,^{6a} and as still do the Kalmucks of Asia, and, nearer home, the Hamitic baHima of eNkole^{6b}), we know not. Certainly our Zulus had none. With them, milk (in its sour clotted state) was solely a foodstuff; and, as such, it will be found to extend from north to south of the African continent.⁷

We shall now turn to the vegetable foodstuffs of the Zulus, and to their preparation.

(a) *Cereals*. The oldest of these were the millets, coming down the ages from the very earliest Bantu times.

Sorghum (locally by Europeans called Kafir-corn, and by the Zulus *amaBele*—Sorghum vulgare) was the original Zulu 'corn', and is widely spread throughout Negroland. Of it, there were the following varieties—the *iTshagála* (spreading

tuft, light-brown grain), *uNukane* (light-brown), *iHlosa* (blackened husk), *umSwanikazi* (dark-brown), *uGábane* (short-stalked), *uJiba* (bitter, astringent), and *uNozilwa-zinyoni* (? ditto).

Spiked-millet (*Z. uNyawoti*, *Pennisetum typhoideum*); raggee (*uPóko*, *Eleusine coracana*); and the sesame or gingelly (*uDonqa*, *Sesamum indicum*), were also cultivated for food purposes; while the shaloo or sweet-sorghum (*iMfe*, *Sorghum saccharatum*) was grown, not for its grain, but as a sweet stalk for chewing.

Later in the course of time came Maize (*umMbila*, *Zea mays*) in several varieties:—the *uLwandlekazana* (yellow-grained), *uTúbini* or *umTúbi* (yellow), *iMome* (reddish), *uGádigádi* or *uNgázana* (crimson), and *iNgqwanga* (?)—all which had reached the Zulus prior to the advent of the British; while the *uHlezane* (Hickory king), *iHuma* (Horse-tooth) and *iGcaki* (common Natal white) came with them.

(b) *Vegetables.* Pumpkins (*iTánga*) were of divers sorts. There was the older Zulu *iPúzi* (large, light-yellow); and others, like the *iMpondo*, *isiKutwane*, and *iHobosha* (all mottled green), later got from Europeans.

Of gourds (*iSelwa*), we note the *iSelwa* proper, and the varieties, *uMatútúvana* or *uSinoni* (wart-shelled), and several kinds of *iMfolozi* or *uSololo*.

Two kinds of melons, the *iKabe* and *iBece*, were planted, both being varieties of the *Citrullus*. The *Tsamma* of the Kalahari, that vegetable water-tank so providentially strewn about the desert for thirsty man and beast, belongs to the same species.

The Colocasia was represented by the *iDumbi* (*C. antiquorum*) in its varieties, the *uZaza*, *uQomo*, *uNyawo-lweNkuku*, and in modern times (from India perhaps) the *uDumbedumbe*.

Of *Plectranthus*, there was the *umBondwe* (*P. esculentus*) and the *umHlaza-lutí*.

A kind of yam, sparsely cultivated, was known as the *uManga* or *iBóqongwana*, the former being the name by which the same vegetable goes also among the Rotsees on the upper Zambezi. Among the Nikas, far away near Mombasa, it is called *Fiasi-manga*.

The *iZambane* (*Coleus esculentus*) furnished small tubers of agreeable flavour and texture, and would merit improving by Europeans. Being itself now rarely cultivated by the Natives, the name, *iZambane*, has been transferred by them to the commoner European potato.

The sweet-potato (*umHlaza*: not a potato at all, but the tuber of *Ipomœa batatas*), probably obtained, through the Tongas, from the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, was in a large number of varieties:—the *iNyeza* (the oldest kind), *uTshuza*, *iDlebedudu*, *iGóde*, *uMpuqwane*, *uSomndengase*, *uSombombose*, *uSombungane*, each with a differing foliage, and shape and texture of tuber.

Of beans, we find only a tiny black variety called *uDumba* or *iMbumba*. The modern *uBónjisi* (Kidney-bean) was evidently obtained from the Dutch.

The Common Ground or Monkey-nut (*iNtongomane*, *Arachis hypogœa*) came down from Delagoa Bay in comparatively recent times. The Bambarra Ground-nut (*iNdlubu*, *Voandzeia subterranea*), on the contrary, was probably cultivated in much older days.

The Tomato (*uTametisi*), Chilli plant (*uPelepele*), and the Shallot (*uShaladi*), are all quite recent importations.

(c) *Wild Herbs.* Of such, there were naturally, after so many centuries of experimentation, a large number of edible kinds. Among them, the commoner were:—the *isaNkuntshane* (*Ophioglossum*), *iMbuya* (*Amaranthus Thunbergii*), *isiHlala-kuhle*, *uMaguqa*, *uNquntane*, *uGwaba*, *umSobo* (*Solanum nigrum*), *uHloza*, *iNkazane*, *iKokwane* (*Alipedeia*), *umKombe*, *iNkombo*, *isiKwá* (? *Monsonia obovata*), *isiKwáli* (*Vigna*), *amaLenjane*, *uMahogó*, *iHabehebe*, *iNongwe*, *uPólile*, *uQadolo* (*Bidens pilosa*), *umShwili* (*Vigna marginata*), *iNtebe* (*Richardia Africana*, *Arum Lily*), *uXápózi* (the non-medicinal kind), *iNtlashane* (yellow variety, *Peucedanum capense*), *iShongwe* (*Gomphocarpus albens*), *iNtshungu* (*Momordica foetida*) and others.

We shall now see what the Zulu cooks (usually the wives of the family) could do with all this material; the various dishes, and even delicatessen, they were able to create.

I. Cereals

(a) *amaBele* (Sorghum vulgare—Kafir-corn)

uTshwala (beer).—First and foremost comes—beer. In older times, the Zulus brewed their beer mainly from *uNyawoti* (Pennisetum) and *ūPóko* (Eleusine)—see below. At that period, sorghum was used solely as a food-stuff. But with the advent of the Portuguese and the subsequent introduction of maize, two or three centuries ago, through Delagoa Bay, that cereal came gradually to displace sorghum on the table. This latter, in turn, was found to produce a quite passable kind of beer; and since the sorghum-plant yielded, in the southern climate, a much larger crop than did either the pennisetum or the elusine, it soon ousted these latter entirely from the beer-field, the pennisetum and eleusine being henceforth but sparsely cultivated, mainly for the purpose of improving or strengthening the sorghum brew.

The Zulu beer is therefore nowadays made of sorghum only. This gives the best and most appreciated variety of the beverage; though where and when that grain is scarce or lacking, then maize may be partly or wholly substituted. The same remark applies also to *uNyawoti* and *ūPóko*, both of which grains may be used, wholly or in part, in the making of *uTshwala*.

The first step in this beer-making is the preparation of the malt (*imTómbo*). Any quantity of sorghum-grain is sewn in a rush-sack and allowed to 'soak' (*ukuCwilisa*) in the neighbouring stream. This softens the grain for subsequent sprouting. Sorghum, if it be in the summer season, may be placed in the water in the early morning and removed in the evening; but maize, if put in at the same hour, should not be taken out until the afternoon of the morrow. Should it be the winter season, the sorghum may be left to soak until well on in the second day, and maize the fourth day. It may here be remarked that the length of time required for sprouting, as also for fermenting, varies considerably according to the locality, the season, the day-heat at the particular time, and the quality of the grain. The grain having been thus well soaked, it is removed from the water and placed, covered up, in a large earthen pot or *iMbiza* (or it may be allowed to remain in the original sack), and left to stand in a warm hut. In about

two days' time, if it be summer, the sorghum will be found to have sprouted, with shoots about three-quarters of an inch long; but if winter, in about three days' time. Maize, in the summer, will require for sprouting scarcely a longer time than sorghum, although its shoots will be shorter (not more than half an inch in length); whereas in winter it may require four or five days. The malt is now dried by being spread upon a mat in the sun, or upon the floor within the hut. After two or three days it is ready for grinding; or it may be stored away in pots or sacks for future use, keeping good for a considerable time. Many nowadays do not dry their malt at all, but proceed with their grinding immediately after sprouting.

The next step is the brewing. This is done, like all the other cooking, by the females, the wives and their daughters. But should any of these, by some inadvertence, have chanced to indulge in intercourse with husband or lover on the preceding night, then to all such beer-brewing would be tabu, lest the beer thereby be rendered flat or insipid. But supposing all to be serene, then, take any quantity (say, one *īQoma*, or large-sized Native basket) of unsprouted sorghum grain; or better, if the stock of malt permit and a higher quality of beer be desired, take one half-*īQoma* of dry malt and one-half-*īQoma* of unsprouted grain mixed together—and steep in cold water in an *iMbiza* (large earthen vessel) for one day; then remove, and crush on the grind-stone while still wet, repeating the operation twice to obtain fineness. This will supply the 'dough' (*iNlama*). The grinding having been completed in the morning, in the afternoon put the whole of the dough into a large earthen pot, pour on boiling water, sufficient to cover the surface, and finally add so much cold water as will reduce the mixture to a temperature of medium warmth. On the following morning, half fill the cooking cauldrons (in older times, earthen pots) with cold water, subsequently filling up with the water yesterday poured upon the dough, the latter being left remaining alone at the bottom of the earthen vessel. For one average *īQoma* of grain originally crushed into dough, it will require now two large 18-gallon cauldrons filled with cold water. This water is next made to boil. Meanwhile the dough is taken from the earthen vessel and mixed into the boiling water, in such quantity as will reduce it to the consistency of thin porridge, in order to prevent subsequent

lumping. This dough-porridge is now equally divided, one half being gradually stirred into the second pot of boiling water. Any excess of water in either pot (*iNtibelo*) is ladled out from time to time and poured into still other brewing pots. If the grain be sorghum, twenty minutes of boiling will suffice; if maize, from thirty to forty minutes. We shall now have the worts (*umNcindo*), which should be of the consistency of thickish porridge, too stiff to be able to flow easily from the spoon. Immediately after boiling, the pots of worts are set to cool in the coldest possible place in the kraal, generally some shaded, breezy spot. A small dishful of these worts is taken, and, after rapid cooling, mixed with an equal volume of dry ground malt and set apart to ferment, forming what is called the *isiXubo* for future use.

We have now reached the final stage, viz. that of fermentation. During the afternoon following the boiling of the worts (in the morning), a quantity of malt, slightly exceeding that of the grain in the worts (thus, if one *iQoma* had been measured for the worts, one and a quarter might go to the ferment or *iMvubelo*) is ground on the stone. At sunrise tomorrow, this ground malt is mixed into the already cooled worts; and, to accelerate fermentation, the *isiXubo* (above mentioned), already fermenting, is also thrown in. An hour later, general fermentation should have set in; and towards midday (in summer), or afternoon (in winter), the worts should be covered with a layer of large bubbles. This is the time for clearing the beer of dregs by straining it through grass straining-bags (*Hiluzo*) into other vessels, the dregs being put aside for future brewing of 'small beer'. All the beer having been strained, it is allowed to stand, and fermentation re-commences. The following morning the beer is at its best for drinking, and will remain good (if made of sorghum) for twenty-four hours, but only for about fifteen (if made of maize); after which times it becomes acid or sour (*ukuHlosana*).

This native beer, though a wholesome and (to the Natives) palatable beverage, does not appeal 'strongly' to most Europeans; which is understandable, seeing that the normal alcoholic content can hardly be more than 2 per cent.; though the modern more sophisticated Native has learned from Europeans many tricks for increasing that percentage, mainly by the addition of some form of sugar. The beer is a pinkish

liquid, heavily charged with much of the flour and husk of the grain, and, to the European, it has the flavour of highly diluted ale mixed with sorghum meal.

Beer-feasts were much more common among the Zulus than were meat-feasts, for the reason that sorghum was so much more plentiful than cows. In those earlier times, when the population was much smaller than now, but the crop-yield just the same, every kraal held such a beer-feast several times during the winter (or off-work) season. To those feasts there was a standing invitation to all who cared to come. It was regarded as discourteous to start the drinking before the local headman had arrived, even though a large body of the public had already assembled. After his arrival, the beer was ladled, by means of a deep gourd ladle (*iNdebe*), into the serving-pots (*uKamba*), and these were carried by the family girls to the huts where the company was assembled. One such large pot was set down before every three or four men. Having first removed from the surface any scum or chaff with a spoon-like skimmer (*isiKétó*), loosely made of palm-leaf strips, the girl would then take up the pot (which being very heavy, was always grasped between both palms) and, in the presence of the company, take herself a deep drink of its contents. This was always done (as also among the Nigerian Negroes⁸) in order to assure the company that there was nothing harmful in the beer; because it was commonly believed that poison was usually administered through this medium.⁹ On these occasions, the women always enjoyed themselves alone in a separate hut, away from the men. The kraal-head, too, had his own special pot (*umHlolo*), which was taken to his private quarters already in the morning, without waiting for the arrival of his guests or headman.

We have already said that the original Zulu beer (and perhaps that of the Bantu in general) was mostly brewed of *pennisetum* and *panicum* millet and of raggee eleusine;¹⁰ but the present-day sorghum beer too must be pretty ancient. Even the Ancient Egyptians had their beer;¹¹ though there it was made of barley. All the same, the strainers they used (see specimen in the British Museum) were plaited in exactly the same herring-bone fashion and were of exactly the same shape as some of the strainers (*iHluzo*) still made by the Zulus.¹² Though it were by no means unlikely that the Negroes got their

first idea of beer-making from the region of the Nile, we do not think that the Bantu got their recipe for sorghum-beer from that direction. We notice that the Hindi name for sorghum vulgare (formerly known as holcus sorghum) is *jowari*, and that from this *jowari*, as well as from the eleusine (Hindi, *murwa*; Z. *ũPóko*) the Indians had the habit, even in ancient times, of brewing beer.¹³ Now, the selfsame sorghum-beer in Bantuland is called, by the Zulus, *Tshwala*, by the Transvaal Chwanas *Jalwa*, by the Sutus *Yalwa*, in Angola *Walwa*, by some of the Congo tribes *Gwalo*, and by the Nyamwezi of Tanganyika Colony *Bwalwa*. Were perchance all these Bantu names and that of the Indian *Jowari* mutually related? It certainly looks very much like it. We say 'related', not 'derived', because it were equally conceivable that the plant and the beer went from Africa to India, as from India to Africa. Indeed, it is facts like this, which are constantly cropping up, that lead many people to postulate the existence at some ancient period of a direct land connection (Lemuria) between Africa, India and Malaysia. An exception to this Indo-Bantu theory of the origin of sorghum-beer is, however, found in Mashonaland, in Southern Rhodesia (or 'Zimbabwe'), where the sorghum-beer is called, not by the universal Bantu name of *Tshwala* (or something similar, see above), but *Doro*, a word quite obviously derived from the name, *Dhurah*, given by the Arabs to the selfsame sorghum-plant from which the beer is made.

Such beer, then, is to be met with throughout the whole of Bantuland. Or perhaps we might better say, throughout the whole of Negroland; for Barth^{13a} tells us that the Sudanese Negroes of Tasawa "indulge in their *giya*, made of sorghum, just enough to make them merry and enjoy life with more light-heartedness,"; while those of Bornu indulge in their "*komil*, made of guinea-corn—nothing better than muddy beer". Park,¹⁴ on the other hand, writes quite eulogistically of the sorghum-beer of the Guinea Negroes—"better I never tasted in Great Britain".¹⁵ In parts of the Sudan, "millet beer, which is called *pipi*, flows freely";¹⁶ but in French Equatorial Africa, maize seems to have ousted the millets; so that the Natives there make merry on a "highly intoxicating maize-beer".¹⁷ In modern Uganda, the national drink, like the national food, has gone over to the plantain fruit;¹⁸ but

the fact that to the plantain-wine millet-flour is still always added, would seem to suggest that in earlier times the drink may have been wholly made of millet. Such plantain and millet mixtures are met with also elsewhere in north-eastern Bantuland, e.g. among the Chagas¹⁹ and the Tavetas.²⁰ The Kambas,²¹ however, also of those parts, prepare their 'strong drink' from sugar-cane. It must therefore resemble, not the usual Bantu sorghum-beer (or *Tshwala*), but that much more inebriating beverage recently invented by the Native tipplers of Natal, called *isiShimeyana*, and made of molasses.

Already in 1505-6, the Portuguese Joao dos Santos mentions what appears to be sorghum-beer as drunk by the Bantu about Mozambique. On the opposite side of the continent, about the Congo mouth, Merolla²² tells us that, about 1682, where palms do not grow, there "the People have artificial ways of producing it [wine]. For this end they let Indian wheat [maize] soak in water for some time. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and pressed it [Merolla was probably acquainted only with wine-making, and not that of beer], they put the Liquor into a Pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a good deal of pleasure. This Liquor they call by the name of *Guallo*." Nowadays, all over Zambezia²³ and southern Congo²⁴ sorghum-beer is a common beverage. Of the ma-Kololo Sutus on the upper Zambezi Livingstone²⁵ says, they "drink large quantities of *boyaloo* . . . the *buza* of the Arabs [comp. Zulu, *Púza*, drink], which, being made of holcus sorghum . . . is very nutritious." The Bushmen, it may be added, having no cultivated fields, had no sorghum. Yet the universal instinct for alcohol did not fail them, and they found it, as did the old Anglo-Saxons and the modern Bantu on the Kenya coast,²⁶ in the honey of the bees. With this they prepared an equally stimulating mead.²⁷

It is rather surprising that the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape, who separated from the Zulus somewhere about 1600 A.D., even so recently as 1833, appear to have had no knowledge of sorghum-beer; though they found a good substitute for it (probably borrowed from the Bushmen) in fermented honey, which they "sometimes drank to excess".^{27a} Certain is it that the Zulu army of Shaka (1820-1828) regularly regaled itself, as did that of Xenophon in Armenia, with copious "bowls of

barley-wine, in which the grains are floating", albeit the 'barley-wine' of the Zulus was made of millet, and in it likewise much of the grain was floating. To us, all this seems to suggest that at 1600 A.D., when the Zulu-Xosa Ngunis were still in the Transvaal, they were then making their beer of eleusine (*ũPóko*) and pennisetum (*uNyawotí*)—which possibly did not thrive in the more southern climate of the Cape—and that the Zulus commenced to make it of sorghum only after their separation from the Xosas and their arrival in Zululand.^{27b}

ĩGwéle (mild beer). This is a kind of such mild ale as no Zulu man would look at; but which is sometimes prepared by the women for their own consumption, when anything better is lacking. It is made by pouring boiling water on a mixture of crushed sorghum or maize and any kind of malt, and then simply allowing it to stand until fermentation sets in; when it is strained and drunk. It is very often, and with much better results, prepared entirely of malt.

umGānu wine.—This is made by fermenting the juice of the plum-like fruit of the *umGānu* tree (*Sclerocarya caffra*). This liquor, said to resemble cider, is probably the same as the *buKanye* of Portuguese East Africa—a drink with "scarcely any colour, but sweet and pleasant taste", made from a fruit said to resemble the guava, of which the juice is squeezed out, warmed and left to ferment. It is, however, not so strong as the locally-brewed maize-beer.²⁸ The "clear, tartish kind of drink" made by the Rotsees on the upper Zambezi of the fruit of the *marula* tree, may also be identical.²⁹

ĩLala (or Palm) wine.—Along the Zululand coast, where the *ĩLala* palm (*Hyphæne crinita*) luxuriates, its juice (*ũMpe*) was, and still is, collected in gourds placed below an incision made in the tree's trunk, and either so drunk in the sweet state, or, mixed with wood-ashes, allowed to ferment and produce the milky intoxicating drink known as *ukuSula* (or *ubuSula*), somewhat resembling our ginger-beer. Here again we find ourselves taken off to India; for there, strange to relate, we find that the ancient Sanskrit *sura* was the local 'intoxicating drink of men'.^{29a} Then, crossing from India back to Africa, we find that the Kilimane (Portuguese East

Africa) 'palm-wine' is also called *Sura* (comp. Bondei, Tanganyika Colony, *uSula*, juice; Masaba, in Uganda, *buSerā*, millet-beer). Can all this be mere coincidence?

As a foodstuff, sorghum is still slightly in daily use; for instance, *iNcumbe* is a thin porridge or gruel made of finely-ground sorghum, and given only to infants.

ĩYambazi is simply porridge, made in the usual way, of sorghum grains crushed, dampened, on the stone (not dry-ground meal). It is nowadays also sometimes made of maize similarly treated; in which case it becomes the nearest approach to the European porridge of mill-ground maize-meal.

uMunyuza is fermented *ĩYambazi*, and may be prepared by simply mixing a small quantity of malt into the latter, and then allowing it to stand to ferment; or, more generally, by mixing a small quantity of water with unboiled sorghum or maize meal, and then allowing the dough thus made to stand for about twelve hours till fermentation sets in; whereafter it is boiled in the usual way, as porridge.

umXubéni is *uMunyuza* still more fermented.

isiBébe, see Maize, below.

umXuku, see Maize, below.

isiKúpa, see *iNdlubu*, below.

isiHrya, see Pumpkin, below.

isiGwámbe, see Herbs, below.

(b) *uNyawotí* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*).

ĩGqiza.—The small pennisetum grains are first coarsely crushed on the stone, so as to break away the husks, which are then easily blown away by the mouth. This cleared grain is now sprinkled with water and ground into a very fine paste, which is so eaten (without cooking).

iNcimbi differs from the preceding only in that the crushed grain is mixed with more water, so as to form a thin, uncooked, gruel or soup, in which state it is eaten.

As already said, this grain was formerly used for making beer, which is said to be much stronger than that made from sorghum, and also to keep much longer. Even nowadays, a quantity of this cereal is sometimes added to the worts of the latter, in order to strengthen it.

(c) *ūPóko* (Eleusine coracana).

* *īGqiza* and *iNcimbi* are prepared with this tiny grain in exactly the same way as with *uNyawoti*, above.

Beer, formerly made of this grain, is said to be very strong and agreeable;^{29b} though hardly so strong as that made of *uNyawoti*. Like the latter, it is still sometimes used to strengthen sorghum-beer.

Like the African Bantu, the Kols of Chota Nagpore (Dravidian aborigines of Southern India) had also become possessed of this eleusine grain plant; and, not only that, but they had further discovered that its tiny grain produced a very agreeable intoxicating liquor.^{29c} It were hard to suppose that so ancient and rude a people as these Kols could have acquired anything imported from Africa.

(d) *umMbila* (Zea mays—Maize).

While sorghum, pennisetum and eleusine furnished the Zulu with an agreeable and nourishing drink, maize, during perhaps the last two centuries, has supplied him with his principal cereal food.

iziNkobe.—This is simply maize-grains boiled in water until softened. They are thus eaten, without further flavouring, and constitute the staple article, the 'bread', of the Zulu dietary.

ūTshwele.—Maize-grains roasted (*ukuGázinga*) on a pot-lid or on a dry pot-bottom, are called by this name.

umNyelankobe.—This is *iziNkobe* (above) boiled beneath, and therefore flavoured by, lumps of meat laid on the top.

īFútó.—Young green maize, boiled in the cob while still wrapped in the spathes, is so called. When such cobs, with the spathes removed, are roasted on the embers (*ukOsa*), they have no special name.

isiNkwa.—Maize-grains having been crushed or, sprinkled with water, ground, on the stone, the moist dough so formed is wrapped up, as a large lump, within maize-spathes and so boiled in water for about three hours, then cut into slices and eaten.

umBáqanga.—Maize-grains having been ground, as above, on the stone, the dough is mixed into a very small quantity

of water already boiling in the pot, and so allowed to cook, with occasional stirring, over a slow fire, so as to prevent burning. The result is a heavy, consistent mass, resembling very thick porridge, and constitutes a principal food of the herdboys.

isiShwala.—This is the same thing, but cooked to a still greater consistency, and eaten in a friable and almost dry state, especially by men going out for a hunt.

īFúsazana.—Have a pot of water boiling. Grind maize-grains on the stone, with a constant sprinkling of water, so as to produce a moist kind of meal. Roll or press portions of this meal between the hands so as to form 'dumplings', and drop into the boiling water. Cook for half an hour and eat. Occasionally the meal-dumplings are re-mashed, in a reduced quantity of water, and so made into *umBáqanga*, as above.

isiHíya.—See Pumpkin and Sweet-potato, below.

uHlelenjwayo.—The stalks of *iMfe* (*Sorghum saccharatum*) having been pounded on the stone and boiled to extract their sweetness—the only 'sugar' the Zulus knew—the dough made by crushing tender young maize-grains on the stone is then mixed into the sweet water and boiled, forming a kind of sweet and tasty porridge.

isiTúbi.—This is another agreeable dish, consisting of a porridge of finely crushed maize (preferably young) or sorghum, cooked in fresh milk.

umXuku or *umBántshi*.—Maize-grains having been boiled, they are crushed on the stone, and the coarse dough (*umCaba*) is thrown into an earthen pot, into which the sour liquid squeezed from strained beer-dregs (see *uTshwala*) has been poured. The mixture, after having been left to stand some hours till slightly fermented (or, if made in the evening, left till the following morning), is then so eaten cold.

isiGwámbe.—See Herbs, below.

umBúqwa.—Maize-grains having been well boiled, they are thoroughly crushed to a fine paste (*umCaba*) on the stone. Sesamum-seeds (*ūDonqa*, see below), or even pumpkin-seeds, are then roasted on a pot-lid over the fire, and subsequently ground very finely. The whole is then mixed together, or even re-ground together on the stone, and so eaten.

isiBébe.—Ground maize having been cooked as a thin porridge, a quantity of sorghum malt is mixed in, and the whole put by to ferment; after which it is eaten cold, as a thick 'soup' or a thin porridge.

isiKúpa.—See *iNdlubu*, below.

amaHewu, *uPutu*, and *īPalishi* are quite modern concoctions, altogether unknown to the older folk.

(e) *ūDonqa* (*Sesamum indicum*—Sesame).

See *umBuqa* above—*Maize*.

Also see *Sweet-potato*, below.

(f) *iMfe* (*Sorghum saccharatum*—Sweet sorghum).

This sorghum, though it bore a seed-tuft like the *amaBele* (Kafir-corn, above), was cultivated solely for its sweet stalk, which was either simply chewed in the mouth, or more rarely boiled with the food—see *Maize* above (*uHlelenjwayo*).

II. Vegetables.

(a) *iNdlubu* (*Voandzeia subterranea*—Bambarra Ground-nut).

isiPúpútó.—When these nuts are simply boiled in water, so as to break down into a semi-dry mash, they are called by this name. The boiling should be for about three hours.

isiKúpa.—First boil the nuts as above. Then, when done, spread above them in the pot an equal quantity of dough made by crushing on the stone maize, sorghum, pennisetum or eleusine grain, previously dampened. Allow the whole to boil for twenty minutes, then mix and mash together for eating.

(b) *iziNdumba* (Beans).

isiPúpútó, prepared as with *iziNdlubu*, above.

isiKúpa, prepared as with *iziNdlubu*, above.

uBilebile, see under *Meat*, above.

(c) *amaTánga* (Pumpkins).

iNqeke.—This is pumpkin simply boiled in large slices, and eaten off the eating-mat.

isiHīya.—The pumpkin, chopped into small pieces, is first boiled alone. An equal quantity of dough, composed of dampened maize, sorghum, pennisetum or eleusine grain crushed on the stone, is spread over the top of the boiled pumpkin, and the boiling allowed to proceed for a further twenty minutes; when all is mashed together, and so eaten.

(d) *umHlaza* (Sweet-potato).

isiHīya.—The sweet-potatoes are peeled and chopped up into small pieces, then boiled in water and mashed. An equal quantity of dough (prepared as above and of the same grains) is mixed with water into a thin 'porridge', and so gradually poured into the potato mash, stirring all the time. After a further boiling, with constant stirring, for about twenty minutes, the food is ready for eating.

uTiti.—This is sweet-potato simply boiled and thinly mashed without any further addition.

Or such *uTiti* may be flavoured by the addition of any wild-herbs (*imFino*, see below); or sesamum seeds (*ūDonqa*, above) may be roasted on a pot-lid, ground, and mixed into the already cooked potato-mash.

Sweet-potatoes are mostly simply boiled in their jackets and so eaten, after peeling.

Or they may be baked in their jackets beneath the hot ashes of the fire.

Of the vegetables still remaining in the afore-mentioned list, the *Colocasia* (*īDumbi*), the *Coleus* (*īZambane*), the yam (*uManga*), and all kinds of *imBondwe* (*Plectranthus*), are simply boiled in their skins, and so eaten, after peeling. Both the *īZambane* and the *imBondwe* are really excellent vegetables, and well worth examining with a view to scientific improvement. The skin of the *imBondwe* contains a large amount of tannin, and should therefore always be scraped off before cooking. The varieties of gourd (*īSelwa*) are prepared after the manner of the pumpkins. Of the melons, the *īKábe* is eaten raw, but the *īBéce* is generally boiled, though also sometimes eaten raw. The monkey-nuts (*amaNtongomane*) are prepared by roasting on a pot-lid over the fire. Of the

Colocasia (*ĩDumbi*), the tubers are simply boiled in their skins, afterwards peeled off; while the large heart-shaped leaves and stalks, when young, are occasionally used as 'greens' or spinach.

III. Wild Herbs (*imFino*).

The portion of these wild plants used as food varies. Sometimes, as with the *umShwili*, it is the pea (*iNtsololo*); sometimes, as with the *ũHloza* and *iNgótsha*, it is the seed-pods (those of the latter called *amaBelebele*); sometimes, as with the *ĩShongwe* and *ĩHabehabe*, the flowers (those of the latter called *isiKábá*); sometimes, as with the *ĩGéla*, *isiKóndwe*, *isiKwáli*, *iNongwe*, *uPólile*, *iNqoba*, and *iNtondo*, the roots; but most generally it is the leaves, as in the case of all other plants mentioned. The *isaNkuntshana* is said to furnish the most agreeable kind of spinach; but the young tender shoots and leaves (*iziNtanga*) of the pumpkin plant come very near it. Sweet-potato leaves, often used as spinach by Europeans, are unknown for this purpose, and unliked, by the Natives. Some of the plants, like the very bitter *iNtshungu*, are used rather as a medicine than as a food, being said to act as effective alteratives or tonics to the system, especially about the time of the seasonal change from winter to summer.

Generally speaking, the herbs are plainly boiled in a little water, until they form a kind of green pasty mash. Sometimes, as is the case with the *ĩHabehabe* flowers and others, they are boiled along with other material, such as maize-grains.

isiGwámbe.—First boil the herbs; then mix therewith, while still in the pot, any quantity of finely-ground maize or sorghum meal, and continue boiling until the green-coloured 'porridge' is done.

The primitive Zulu child made the acquaintance of artificially prepared food long before it did that provided for it by Nature. The baby was no sooner born and washed, than spoonful of *amaSi* (sour clotted milk), thin sorghum gruel (*iNcumbe*), or mashed sweet-potato, were thrust into its capacious mouth and so into its still more capacious belly. Only after the remnant of the navel-cord had dried and fallen off, was the infant permitted to approach the mother's breast.

From about the third year onwards, the *amaSi* was taken in a thickened and more substantial form called *umVúbo*. This was *amaSi* mixed together with a liberal quantity of crushed boiled maize-grains (*umCaba*), and the eating of such food was termed *ukuVuba*.

There were, as already said, only two meals a day, one in the morning at about 11 or 12 o'clock, the other in the evening before retiring to rest, say, at about 7 o'clock. The *amaSi* or *umVubo* meal was usually that in the morning; though other of the above dishes might also be provided. But these latter were most commonly served in the evening; and when they were not forthcoming, *iziNkobe* (soft-boiled maize-grains) were the universal substitute.

Such was the dietetic routine in vogue throughout the whole of Zululand up to the year 1897, when the calamitous cattle-plague of rinderpest came down like a whole pack of wolves on the fold, leaving hardly anything behind. This resulted in a complete and in many respects deplorable change in the feeding and life-habits of these Zulu people. From that time onwards, for the next ten years, *amaSi* ceased entirely to be a regular food in the land; so that all children born during that decade grew up, knowing nothing about it, and lost all taste for it. These had perforce to be reared on sweet-potato pap and porridge made of finely ground sorghum and maize. It would be interesting to know whether this alteration in the early diet of those children wrought any significant change in their constitution or stamina.

The natural rotation of the seasons gave rise to a consequent regular variation of the Natives' diet, even in the old normal days. The spring-time (August and September) had scarcely arrived before all felt a spontaneous craving for fresh green food, after the long spell of dry grain fare throughout the winter. Women and children wandered about the veld in search of wild herbs (*imFino*). In each successive week throughout the spring period, and even later, each individual managed to get perhaps three or four feeds of such fresh green stuff. Mothers in Europe had the habit of administering to their children at that same period of the year doses of brimstone and treacle. The Zulus too had the custom, at the same time, of bracing themselves by liberal dosings of certain herbal tonics

and alteratives, technically termed *uDoloqina* (a knee-strengthenener); of which the roots of the *uZankleni* marsh-plant and the leaves of the *iNtshungu* (*Momordica foetida*) provided a chief ingredient. With the progress of spring, the new pumpkin plants provided a further supply of green food, in the shape of their tender young shoots and leaves.

At about Christmas time, the annual Rite of the First Fruits (*ukwEshwama*) was performed by the Zulu king. Prior to that event it had not been lawful for anybody to gather the new fruits of the season (apart from the mere pumpkin leaves and shoots just mentioned). After the Rite, however, new maize could be indulged in and the pumpkins plucked; and for the next quarter of the year at any rate the whole population revelled in an abundance of toothsome food-stuffs.

With the ripening of the grain in the fields, all the freshness and greenness had gone out from it, and (for the adults at any rate) the season of the wassail-bowl entered in. After the harvesting of the crops (about April and May), began the good-time for the beer-drinking men, and ended the good-time for the younger folk. Of these latter, the time of feasting had been that of the pumpkins and young maize, the dumbis and the mbondwes. But those, alas! are now at an end; and now begins the season of winter diet, on *iziNkobe* and *isiNkwa*, on *umBaqanga* and *iYambazi*.

In older Zululand, young people of both sexes, until well beyond 20 years of age, were not permitted to indulge in beer-drinking, nor to take part in the public beer-feasts. This rule applied equally to married women, who, although they might partake to satiety in the privacy of their own homes, were never allowed to wander abroad into strange kraals for the purpose of drinking. That they do it now is one of the consequences of the looser family discipline following European rule. Prior thereto, such a habit was the sole and jealously guarded prerogative of the *amaDoda* (or mature men).

During the months from May to August, then, of each successive year, while the sorghum supply was still abundant in the kraals, these men would live to a large extent—and in the case of heavy tipplers (confirmed drunkards were practically unknown in older Zululand) almost solely—on beer. Generally, however, the beer-drinking was supplemented by

at least one solid meal daily of *iziNkobe* or other of the preparations mentioned above. Thus, while the younger half of the population was receiving half its daily fare from fermented milk (*amaSi*), the elder half, during a quarter of the year, was substituting therefor, or super-adding thereto, copious draughts of fermented sorghum in the form of Kafir-beer. It is, of course, an error to assume, as many Europeans do, that this Kafir-beer is simply and solely an intoxicating drink. It is, in reality, a nutritious, and perhaps even necessary, form of food; and Governments are wise in aiming rather to prevent its abuse than its use.

Thriftlessness was ever one of the innate defects in the Zulu character. He has inherited little or nothing of the saving instinct. No sooner are the fruits of the new season's fields mature and their free consumption permitted by the king, than a wholesale attack upon them is immediately initiated. This habit so considerably diminishes the amount left over in the fields for final harvesting, that, after a few months, the whole year's store of food is at an end. In perhaps half the kraals in the land there is a regular annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the early summer months of August, September and October, and even later. During the whole of that period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have to be usually content with but one meal a day, namely that taken in the evening time. Exceptionally, in years of drought and consequence famine, there are whole districts where the children get not even that, and deaths from hunger are not unknown. That is the period when they place all their hope in Mother Nature, who usually has up her sleeve a cornucopia of *amaTébe* fruit (arum-lily), of *iShongwe* flowers (*Gomphocarpus albens*), of *umShwili* peas (*Vigna marginata*), of *iNgótsha* pods (*Sarcostemma viminalis*), and of *iNkwa* (*Dioscorea rupicola*), *uBógo* (*Ipomoea ovata*), *iNkombo*, *iNongwe*, and *iNdawo* (*Cyperus esculentus*) roots. The last-named was known to and eaten by the Ancient Egyptians so long ago as 4,000 B.C.³⁰ Then there were the fruit of the *amaQate*, the figs of the *umKiwane* (*Ficus*), the plums of the *umTúngulu* (*Carissa grandiflora*) and *umTúnduluka* (*Ximenia caffra*), and the berries of the *umDoni* (*Eugenia cordata*), the *umKlele* (*Ehretia Hottentotica*) and the *umTóngwane* (*Chrysophyllum natalense*).

Besides the above vegetable products, there were also many curious edibles from the animal kingdom, that from time to time adorned the Zulu table. The children, for instance, were rather partial to roasted caterpillar, selecting a huge fat and hairless specimen, which they called *iCimbi*, and which is the larva of several kinds of moth, according as it is found on the *umuNgá*, the *umGánu*, or other trees.³¹ White-ants or termites, in season, that is, when emerging from the ground in the flying stage during their breeding season, are greedily gathered up by the Zulu children and, stripped of their wings, fried, as a great delicacy, on a pot-lid, they being called *iNtlwabusi* and *iHlwabusi*.³² In former times, in periods of famine, roasted locust (*iziNkumbi*) was a godsend to all, and said by Europeans, who ventured to taste them, to possess the flavour of shrimps.^{32a} Indeed, they seem to have been really nourishing. Says Sparrman:³³ The Hottentots welcome and thrive on them, "eating them in such quantities as, in the space of a few days, to get visibly fatter and in a better condition." By them, the godsend was attributed to "some great master-conjuror, at a considerable distance to the northward, having removed a stone from the mouth of a certain deep pit, out of which he had let loose these animals, in order to be food for them".³⁴ Fowls and pigs, in those earlier times, were not regarded by any Zulu as fit for human fare; while monkeys,^{34a} snakes,^{34b} dogs,³⁵ and all fish,³⁶ though highly esteemed by many other Bantu peoples, were to them positively repulsive.

The only salt the Zulu ever took with his food was that naturally contained within it; and for him it seemed amply sufficient. Yet, unlike his neighbours, the Mpondos,³⁷ the Hereros of South West Africa,³⁸ and the Hottentots,³⁹ who actually disliked salt, he loved it as a child loves sugar—that is, whenever, in these days, he can get hold of it. There were large natural salt-pans in the Cape (between Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, and elsewhere), which provided the European colonists of those parts in the dry season with a layer "from one to four inches in depth" of "good coarse salt";⁴⁰ but those places were much too far south to have come within the ken of the early Bantu (Zulu-Xosas). What, chemically, this 'good coarse salt' really was, we cannot say; but if, instead of sodium chloride, it was potassium nitrate, then both Zulus

and Xosas already knew all about it; for this latter mineral was occasionally found in certain nullahs, banks and pools in Zululand⁴¹ and south Natal, and presumably also in Kaffraria; and the Natives of those vicinities occasionally, though hardly habitually, cooked certain of their foodstuffs in water salted with the chemical. The Zulus, like the medieval European, called it simply *iTshe eliMunyu*, 'salt-petre', or 'the-salty, sour or acid-stone' (called in South Natal, *uVóyizane*). How it came about that the Nguni Bantu remained in total ignorance of salt, is not clear, seeing that most of the Bantu tribes further north know how to obtain it from the potash contained in many marsh-grasses and rushes.⁴² Possibly that knowledge may have been obtained from the Arabs, after the Zulus had already departed for the south.

Similarly, the only sugar the Zulu knew was that he obtained by chewing or boiling the stalks of his sweet-cane (*iMfe*).

One would hardly have thought that Mother Earth herself could ever become an article for human consumption. And yet many Bantu tribes, to say nothing of Brazilian Indians, find earth a quite acceptable 'eat', presumably as a kind of medicine. The Kikuyu women,⁴³ for instance, have a strong weakness for "edible earths and for ashes"; and these edible earths, upon analysis, prove to be very rich in iron. "The earth eaten [by the Mbalas, Yanzis and Huanas of western Congo]," write Torday and Joyce,⁴⁴ "is said to be a cure for stomach-ache; it has an astringent taste, and if the hand is buried in it for some time, it becomes quite wrinkled." Our Zulus, however, were entirely ignorant of any such medical knowledge or practice. Yet it must be confessed that Zulu infants, as if by instinct, frequently gobble up small portions of earth, as though they like it. Their mothers tell us that such a habit is an infallible sign of worms.

Johnston⁴⁵ refers to certain Congo Pygmies who actually eat fire! The Zulu, on the contrary, owing to his frequent experience of kraal-destruction by grass-fires, regards fire as a super-dreaded 'wild-beast'.

Much more abhorrent than eating Mother Earth is the practice of eating Brother Man. We are glad to be able to

report that the Zulus are not among the cannibals. But they were near relatives to some of them; and had they been the conquered, in Shakan times, instead of the conquerors, we fear they too might have succumbed to this African frailty. Just over their southern borders, some of their brother Ngunis, the Lalas of Natal, hunted by Shaka from their homes, with their food and kraals destroyed, were driven, in many parts, presumably by hunger, to eat each other!⁴⁶ Not even their own sleek chiefs, it is said, were always secure against the pot. Report relates, too, that the cannibal gourmet's choice was the *pudenda feminea*, beaten tender with a stick. Another prime cut was the other fellow's feet; of which the most toothsome morsel was the heel, preferably that of a child.

Still further south, other Zulu relatives, the Xosas of the Cape, were in hardly less dire straits; and that, moreover, as recently as 1851. About that time, a certain pythoness, Nongqawutye by name, promulgated orders from the ancestral gods, that all corn and cattle be forthwith destroyed, in order that they be replaced by something better and more abundant. Result: obedience, and universal starvation. For, says Colenso,⁴⁷ while all with eager eyes were awaiting what would happen, the children of one poor family started crying to their father with hunger. The latter, moved with pity, took a knife and cut the throats of his children. At another time, there came to Somtsewu (Theophilus Shepstone) people from Xosaland who told him of two men who took their own children, whom they disliked eating, and sold them for others, whom they could eat. On still another occasion, there went a servant of Somtsewu on a visit to Xosaland. Thinking to adopt a starving child, he came across a man and said, 'Have you a child?' The man replied that he had not, but that 'if you go over to that hut, maybe you will find a child still living'. The traveller entered the hut and found a boy bound to the hut-post, emaciated and scarcely breathing, not having eaten for several days; for his mother had abandoned him, going off with those children who could still walk and with the infants they could carry; but this child was already too big for carrying, and yet not big enough for a long journey. They had bound him up, thinking he was already dying, lest he follow them and trouble them with crying.

Over the Zulu inland border, lived the Sutu Bantu, in a similar plight; so that among them too cannibalism was rampant.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Vendas in the Transvaal are said to have preserved their anthropophagous propensities until "finally subjugated by the Government of the South African Republic at the recent date of 1898".⁴⁹

No doubt it was hard times such as those just mentioned that was the original cause of all cannibalism; until it gradually grew into a confirmed habit. "It is interesting to notice," say Torday and Joyce,⁵⁰ "that . . . those tribes [the Yanzi, Mbala, Huana, Pindi, Bunda and other, all in western Congo] which inhabited the districts where food, both animal and vegetable, is most abundant, are most addicted to the practice [of cannibalism]. This fact seems to prove that, for this region of Africa, cannibalism cannot be attributed to a scarcity of provisions." Equally anthropophagous were the Congo baSongo,⁵¹ and maNywema,⁵² as well as the Zambezians of Tete⁵³ and the baGishu of Uganda.⁵⁴ Many Sudanese Negroes too were conformed cannibals;⁵⁵ and among the Nyamnyam⁵⁶ "human fat is universally sold. When eaten in considerable quantity, this fat is presumed to have an intoxicating effect."

But there! why cast mud at the African, when our own kith and kin were not one whit the better? Not only were the aborigines of southern India cannibalistically disgraced even in Herodotus' time,⁵⁷ but, much nearer home, we are told by Strabo⁵⁸ that the inhabitants of Ireland "deemed it honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents." In 617, Ethelfrith was king in Northumbria, and, having, it was said, a personal weakness for human diet, he encouraged a Welshman, Gwrgi, at his court, to slaughter a male and female daily, and two of each on Saturday, 'lest he desecrate the Sabbath' (Sunday). We said that the Negro Nyamnyams were public vendors of human fat; in which they differed from our neighbours, the Scotchmen, only in that the latter did not sell the human fat, but took it home, and manufactured therefrom tallow-candles. But this, mind you! only after he had first eaten the beef and drunk the blood; unless, as sometimes happened, he had boiled his brother whole (and at times, alive), and drunk the broth.⁵⁹

It seems, then, this White Pot is in no position to cast aspersions at that Black Kettle.

Anyway, from such crude beginnings as those described in this chapter as still in vogue among the Zulus, did our own culinary art gradually work up to the height of its present Ritz and Savoy elegancies.

1. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 332.
- 1a. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 237.
2. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 214.
3. *ib.* 205.
4. See New, *L.E.A.*, 457; Harris, *W.S.*, 170; Park, *T.*, 114; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 245; Herodotus, 1, 109; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 275.
5. Roscoe, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 100.
6. *G.C.*, 43.
- 6a. Herodotus, 1, 287.
- 6b. Roscoe, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 100.
7. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 33, 281, 527; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 243; Park, *T.*, 46, 148; Herodotus, 1, 287; Dugmore, *C.A.*, 137; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 35, 189; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 177; Peters, *N.L.*, 226; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 220; Roscoe, *B.*, 418; Fleming, *S.A.*, 142; Moffat, *M.L.*, 39; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 97; Shaw, *M.*, 23; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 2, 255.
8. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 66; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 130.
9. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 42.
10. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58.
11. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 217, 262; Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 30.
12. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 133.
13. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 440.
- 13a. *T.N.A.*, 254, 416.
14. 31, 148.
15. *ib.* 89.
16. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 111.
16. *ib.* 32.
18. Roscoe, *B.*, 440.
19. New, *L.E.A.*, 397.
20. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 180.
21. Grogan, *C.C.*, 79.
22. *V.C.*, 698.
23. Maugham, *Z.*, 185.
24. Kassner, *R.E.*, 51.
25. *T.*, 127.
26. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 335.
27. Shaw, *M.*, 254.
- 27a. Kay, *T.C.*, 123, 234, 371.

- 27b. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58; also Herodotus, 1, 144; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 254, 416; Park, *T.*, 31, 89, 148; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 32; Rankin, *Z.B.*, 241; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 180; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 223, 283; vol. 2, 199; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 70, 95, 233, 277; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 133; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 244; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 34; Bent, *R.C.M.*, 57; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 130, 184, 330.
28. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 118.
29. Mohr, *V.F.*, 181.
- 29a. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 205.
- 29b. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 281.
- 29c. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 440.
30. Elliot, *P.M.*, 218.
31. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143; Hall, *G.Z.*, 92; Bent, *R.C.M.*, 53.
32. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 492.
- 32a. Bent, *R.C.M.*, 83.
33. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 367.
34. Bryant, *O.T.*, 210.
- 34a. Cotton, *U.A.*, 241; Elliot, *P.M.*, 28.
- 34b. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 167.
35. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 234, 242.
36. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 141; Stow, *N.R.*, 93; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 84, 139.
37. Steedman, *W.A.*, 263.
38. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 110.
39. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 184.
40. Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 115.
41. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 160.
42. Roscoe, *B.*, 439; Johnston, *G.G.C.*; Kassner, *R.E.*, 157.
43. Orr and Gilks, *Studies of Nutrition*, Brit. Med. Assn. Rept.
44. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 403.
45. *G.G.C.*, 332.
46. Bryant, *O.T.*, 58, 248, 348, 377, 410, 504, 552.
47. *I.Z.*, 86.
48. Casalis, *B.*, 19; Martin, *B.*, 71; Stow, *N.R.*, 510, 555.
49. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 95.
50. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 134.
51. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 45, 54, 203.
52. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 312.
53. dos Santos, *Hist. of Port. Sovereignty in Mozambique Channel*, bk. 2, chap. 4.
54. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 316.
55. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 181, 197.
56. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 285.
57. III, 99; IV, 106.
58. Bk. IV, ch. V, sec. 4.
59. Gomme, *E.F.*, 135, 144, 146, 147, 148.

Chapter 8

The Zulu Corn-mother : Her Fields and Crops

As we proceed, it will become ever more and more apparent that the African Bantu (certainly those of Southern Africa) were already a perfectly civilized lot of 'savages'—in many respects, we might even say, cultured—at the time when, about the year 1500 A.D., the White race of Europe first came to know them. They had not been civilized by us; many might say, we have wrought the reverse. And their civilization was not ours. It was the civilization of our forefathers, five or six thousand years ago, when mankind was still making its earliest laborious efforts to raise itself from a state of semi-brutedom to the higher status of fuller and truer manhood, mentally and spiritually.

Our South African Bantu stood and stand, culturally, at the point where the Late Stone or Neolithic Age had just merged that of Metal. They were therefore many milleniums behind us. The primeval instincts of ancient hunting days had all but disappeared within them; and the nomadic or migratory habits of the succeeding pastoral life had already also, in a large part, died a natural death with their attainment to the more settled agricultural state, necessitating, as it does, a fixed abode and an ordered social system.

On this glorious march of human progress, the humble female has ever led the race. She was not only the discoverer of that which is of all else the best in all men's lives, religion, but she also blazed the trail to agricultural settlement and, its consequence, social order. Pastoral man had at long last been

compelled by agricultural woman to settle down, and, in so doing, she had prepared the way, not only to his greater gastronomic bliss, but also for his mental advancement to the industrial arts and scientific thought; for, as Elliot Smith¹ has observed, "the practice of agriculture is the foundation of civilization". That agriculture was the invention and, after her children, the earliest concern, of womankind, is attested by the fact that the field-deities² of all nations are practically everywhere of the female sex, whereas corn-gods are rare; although the Egyptian Osiris was as famous as any corn-goddess. Fertility in all its aspects was ever regarded as a peculiarly 'female' quality.

In all this, the Zulu people were not behind their times. You may be surprised to hear that they too had more than one Corn-Mother. There was, as you shall hear in a later chapter, Nomkubulwana, the Sky Princess, who first taught them how to cultivate the fields and brew good beer.^{3a} But she was a myth. The Corn-Mother who was a real fact, who actually wrought the miracle and made the former barren earth to bear fruit, and filled the granaries with corn and the home with charming babes, was that robust and laborious drudge, the Zulu housewife.

In the Zulu social dispensation, agriculture and pastoralism reigned in equal state, the former the real, of the female sex, the latter that of the male.^{3b} This primordial division of labour was moreover a perfectly natural one. It was not due to any conspiracy on the part of the males that to the weaker sex should be relegated the more laborious task. It was Nature's own plan that, so soon as mankind had left its cave, and wandered on to the grassy steppes, it should find itself at once among the ruminating beasts and among the seed-bearing grasses, and, by the sweat of its brow, it should henceforth find its living in both. From the fact that on the female had devolved the lot of bearing and rearing the offspring, of being "anchored by babies", as Myres³ has said, "to one spot of ground," there followed the corollary that she, at any rate, could no longer wander at large, but must perforce settle where she was. So soon as the suckling season was passed, she would, by natural impulse, go out and fossick around for something for herself and bairns to eat. Her especial domain was thus the vegetable world; and among the seeds of surrounding

grasses and the roots of surrounding herbs, by slow, and sometimes painful, experiment, she gradually discovered much that was 'good' to eat. For, you must recollect, that, after all, the millet and maize, the barley and wheat and rice, on which the primitives thrived, were all but common grasses, and the potatoes and beans but products of the wilds. So, by selecting and cultivating the best of what she found, woman became the foundress of the agricultural industry, the real Corn-Goddess.

In so far as the Jomela household was concerned, this Corn-Mother was Mrs. J. herself; and the weapon with which she conquered the stubborn soil, was the hoe (*ĩGéjá* or *ĩLémbe*). For the hoe, from the beginning of time, had been the only 'plough' the Zulu ever knew. Yet the hoe that Mrs. Jomela used, was very different from that used by her ancestors a couple of centuries before. It is declared that then the women dug their fields with an *isiPánga* (shoulder-blade). And it is said that this actually was the shoulder-blade of a cow, and that it was still in use among the poorer folk so recently as the beginning of the last century, what time iron hoes could be purchased only by the wealthy. But was there nothing precedent to this shoulder-blade?

At that same period (c. 1815), their Xosa brethren (or, should we say, their sisters) at the Cape (who separated from the Zulus about 1600 A.D.) were down on their knees digging up the soil (the iron implement not yet having reached them) with a stout stick about two feet long, the lower end of which had been broadened and thinned so as to form a sort of triangular or oar-shaped spade (a specimen was to be seen in the Capetown Museum).⁴ This implement was manufactured by the men of *nies-hout* wood. The method of cultivation was primitive in the extreme—the seed being simply scattered among the grass and weeds (after the rains), whereafter both grass and seed were all dug up (to the depth of three or four inches) and mixed about together without further ado. In due course the grass and weeds dried, or were collected and burned, and the seed came up.

Now, we think it probable that, at the time of the Zulu-Xosa separation, the Zulus also must have been in possession of some such implement, and we think it possible too that that implement, from its triangular shape, may even have been

called an *isiPánga* (or shoulder-blade). With the introduction of the iron hoe, the wooden one would naturally cease to be longer manufactured, and so the poorer women be driven to adopt the cow-bone as an expedient substitute.

Somewhen between 1700 and 1800 A.D., the iron hoe first made its appearance in Zululand. It may have been imported ready-made by those Tembe-Tonga hawkers who also brought the brass *umDaka* rings, the Tongas at that time being noted as expert smiths.^{4a} Or it may have been manufactured on the spot, after the procurement of native iron, by the Zulu smiths, and shaped by them after the fashion of the older wooden hoe. For the earlier Zulu hoes of iron were also always of the same triangular shape as were the wooden. They were crude and very heavy wares, eight inches about in length, with a straight lower cutting edge some seven or eight inches wide, the blade gradually tapering until it met the tang at the upper end, the latter itself about nine inches long. This tang was thrust through a hole made in the knobby end of a stout stick about two feet long. One such iron hoe-blade cost one whole cow; so only the rich could afford them.⁵ The Zulus called this new iron implement an *ĩLémbe*—the present name of *ĩGéjá* being apparently more recent, and, since we cannot trace the root elsewhere, wholly local.

The name, *ĩLémbe*, on the contrary, extends right through the Bantu field, in divers variations. The East African Swahilis and the Nyoros and Kavirondos call the iron hoe a *Jembe*; in Nyamweziland (Tanganyika Colony) it is known as *ĩGembe*; among the middle Zambezi Tokas, as *ĩJamba*; among the Congo baManga, as *Yembe*; in Mbalaland (western Congo), as *Dembo*. Whether the Zulus came down with the name, *ĩLémbe*, from the north, as the original appellation of their digging-stick, cannot now be discovered. More probably, we think, they got the name along with the iron implement from some foreign Bantu people bordering them on the north.

The shape of these iron hoes was not everywhere alike. While those of the Congo Mbalas⁶ and middle Zambezi Tokas⁷ were triangular, like those of the Zulus, those of the Sutus (with their stronger East African relationships) seem to have been heart-shaped.⁸

Thus digging on their knees month-long year by year, one may well expect the Zulu women to have known something about the soil (*iNtlabati*). So they learned to distinguish between all the several varieties of arable land in their own country, and to each they gave a special name. There was the *īBóje* or swampy ground, where the crops were liable to rot; the *īFénya*, excessively moist, like some meadows below hill-sides, particularly those with a southern aspect; the *īTshetshe*, of a very light, dust-like, washed-out nature, of little use for cultivation; the *īDudusi*, also light and sandy, yet moderately fertile; the *uGáde*, a good medium loam; the *uGádendzima*, a heavy more clayey loam, of dark colour; the *uNđindikazana*, like the preceding, but reddish or brownish in colour; the *isiDaka*, very black and clayey, with a moist subsoil, as at the bottom of some valleys by river-sides; the *isiBomvu*, a red loam; the *iMvundumvundu*, soft and crumbly, very rich in humus, as old kraal-sites and in some woods; and the *ūGédle*, a shaley or stony soil.

Darwin believed that the presence of earth-worms enriched the soil, rendering it more arable and fertile. What strikes the observant European in Africa, is the rarity of these useful creatures. And yet it seems that arability or fertility are not appreciably affected thereby. The earth-worms (*umSundu*) are there, of course, though fewer in number, and seemingly longer and thicker than those usually met with in Europe. "In the earth mould of the [Kikuyu] forest," says Stigand,⁹ "is one of the very few places in which I have noticed the occurrence of earthworms in Africa."

The appearance of the Pleiades (*isiLimela*) in the eastern morning sky warned the Zulu women that their term of hard labour was nigh. So when the first rains had fallen and soaked the parched-up soil, out they marched to their fields. The primitive method of sowing the seed in the grass, has already been referred to above. But with the advent of the heavier, sharper and more effective iron hoe, the women grew more interested in their job, and vastly improved their methods. They now got into the way of first dealing with the grass and weeds alone. They prepared the ground before they sowed—first cutting up the veld-soil (*ukuLima*) into clods; then, when dry and friable, breaking up the clods (*ukuDuba*) into loose

earth; and finally sowing the seed, either by scattering it broadcast (*ukuHwaya*), or by planting it in rows of holes (*ukuGába*), or by simply throwing it with the fingers beneath the ground (*ukuTúkuza*). They knew nothing of irrigation or of the deliberate fertilization of their fields. Though all were familiar enough with cow-dung, they had no idea of manure. But this they did know—that old deserted kraal-sites (with their abundance of well-dunged and urinated soil) proved extraordinarily prolific fields. So they started a system whereby, every few years, they shifted their kraals to other spots near by, and then ploughed up the old site as a field. Their habit, too, after hoeing up the land, of gathering together the dry grass and weeds into heaps and burning them on the spot, also helped (though they were unaware of it) to retain much of the potash supply in the soil.

But that is not to say that they possessed no methods of their own of enriching the soil and increasing their crops. For they were great 'magicians', of a sort; and the local medical practitioner, who was the repository of most of the magic, made a handsome income every year by supplying his clients with a mixture (*umSukulo*) of corn-grains ground with certain animal products, which was to be planted with the seed, and later followed by another gruesome mixture of human and lion fat, which was to be burned in the field when the crop was still green and the north-east or south-west wind was blowing! They must have learned this latter trick in a very ancient school, because we meet with it also in West Africa. There, the local "queen used to sacrifice a man and woman in the month of March. They were killed with spades and hoes, and their bodies buried in the middle of the field, which had just been tilled".^{9a} The same kind of 'manure' was favoured also by the aborigines of India. "In these Khond sacrifices," says Frazer,^{9b} "the Meriahs are represented by our authorities as victims offered to propitiate the Earth Goddess. But from the treatment of the victims both before and after death, it appears that the custom cannot be explained as merely a propitiatory sacrifice. A part of the flesh certainly was offered to the Earth Goddess, but the rest of the flesh was buried by each householder in his fields, and the ashes of the other parts of the body were scattered over the fields, laid as paste on the granaries, or mixed with the new corn."

The fields were hoed of weeds only once, generally when the plants were already some 18 inches to 2 feet high (*ĩKábe*). Abnormally abundant rain, resulting in an abnormal growth of weeds, occasionally necessitated a second weeding. When the ears of grain were already full-grown and ripening, but still soft, flocks of birds, particularly finches and doves, were very destructive and a persistent pest, especially in the millet fields. Consequently, from this time onward, until the grain had grown too hard, the women and children were compelled to spend the whole of every day, from sunrise to sunset, in their fields scaring (*ukuHebeza*) the birds away. To serve as look-outs, and at the same time shelter them from sun and rain, tiny bee-hive grass-huts (*isaKámukánya*) just like the normal living-huts at home, but now standing on a platform raised on posts and about three feet above the ground. From this point of vantage, the whole field could be easily and continuously surveyed. When already quite ripe and too hard for the birds, the grain was left unguarded in the fields, until, after the lapse of several weeks, it became thoroughly dry and ready for gathering.

The sorghum harvest reaped, the ears were bound in bundles (*ĩQinqa*) a foot in thickness and stacked (with the bundles, one above the other, lying on their sides) in a heap on the field. Thence they were later removed to another prepared spot (*isiBuya*), flat and freshly smeared with cowdung, sometimes in the field, sometimes just outside the kraal, where the millet was threshed (*ukuBúla*). This work was done by the adult girls along with their mothers with stout sticks and commonly at night-time, as cooler. For this threshing was, not only a hot, but also a disagreeable, job; because the millet gave off myriads of tiny prickly particles, which, adhering to the sweating naked bodies, caused an intense itching. Finally, the grain was winnowed (*ukwEla*) by holding the grain, contained in a large flattish basket, high in the air, and allowing it to fall gently into another basket on the ground, the wind carrying away the chaff as the grain fell. Sometimes, if the quantity was small, the grain was cleaned by being passed through water (*ukOvuya*), or it was shaken in a basket (*ukuHlunga*) till the chaff collected on the top, for removal. Maize, of course, needed no winnowing. After the cobs had been stripped (*ukuHluba*) of their spathes there on the field, they were carried home, and 'shelled' of their grain (*ukuGúmuza*)

inside the hut, by a process of rubbing it off with the ball of the palm, or by the help of another cob held in the hand.

Some of the sorghum ears, intended to supply next year's seed, were not immediately threshed, but, still on the stalk, thrust into the thatch forming the ceiling of the hut, where the smoke preserved them from the weevils.

The grain being ready, it was stored in a pit (*umGódi*) dug in the cattle-fold, and shaped like a huge calabash, some four feet in diameter. Over the small mouth (a foot or more in width) a large flat stone was laid, sunk beneath the fold's surface and plastered down with cow-dung, then covered over with soil. The grain was thus preserved free from weevils, but was in danger of injury by the damp; so that the grain frequently became sour, in which state they called in *isaNgcobe*, and some even preferred it so—it suggested beer, for which this sorghum grain was largely used. At other times, the grain at the bottom and sides became mouldy (then called *ũPata*); which again was unminded, since it did not seem to affect the 'strength' of the beer! The Lala Ngunis of Natal (who in their migration to the coast had come under Tonga or East African contact) called their grain-pit, not an *umGódi* (like the Zulus), but an *umLindi*, a name re-appearing in far-away Nyamweziland (in Tanganyika Colony), where the local grain-basket was also called *kiLindo* or *kiRindo*. This identity of name between the Bantu grain-pit and grain-basket is significant.

For, as you know, the Natives of Zululand, Natal and the Cape formed together one selfsame 'Nguni' group of Bantu. Now, the Ngunis then resident in what is now Zululand were divided into two sections, that along the coast being distinguished as *abaZantsi*, and that domiciled further inland as *abaNtungwa*. And it was these *abaNtungwa* (of whom the Zulu clan-proper formed a part), who had a habit (which the coastal section had not) of storing their grain, not only in pits, but also in huge grain-baskets (called *isiLulu*). These baskets were made of coarse plaited grass, and had an almost globular or rather calabash-like shape, generally about three feet in diameter. This basket was placed outside of the hut on a raised wooden platform, and the small mouth at the top was covered by a grass basket-like lid, plastered round with cow-dung.

When questioned as to the origin of these grain-baskets (which the other Nguni sections had not), they always pointed to the Chwana-Sutus of the Transvaal, who had been their neighbours prior to their migration into Zululand. Says Arbousset,¹⁰ writing of these Chwanas at the beginning of last century: they store their grain in what they call *siSiwu*, "large straw baskets, which the Caffres [or Cape Ngunis] know not how to make." This fact, that the Nguni Bantu knew nothing of these *basket-granaries*, almost suggests that, at the time of their migration from the Nyanza (Uganda) region, such basket-ware had not yet been in vogue amongst them. Perhaps the Zulu grain-pit or *umGódi* is the last survival of the *older* practice; for in these present days, not the pit, but the basket (or something resembling it) is the universal Negro form of granary. The Sutus of Basutoland, brothers of the aforesaid Chwanas, had the same custom as they, namely, of storing their grain in "huge, globular, almost air-tight, grass-baskets [called by them *liSiwu*] . . . the small mouths of which are covered with a flat stone carefully plastered round with clay."¹¹ The baNgwaketse, of Bechuanaland, had "enormous jars . . . built of earthenware," capable of holding 200 gallons.¹² The maKololo Sutus, on the upper Zambezi, used baskets of bark, shaped like a calabash (like the Zulu grain-pit, as well as like their *isiLulu* baskets).¹³ In the Southern Congo, they had "round barns, with floor and walls of clay, placed a few feet above the ground and fitted with a conical roof";¹⁴ while the Huanas, in Western Congo, stored their grain in "enormous baskets".¹⁵ The Yawos, of Nyasaland, made "huge round baskets, woven of split bamboo, seven or eight feet high . . . raised from the ground on a low platform . . . and covered with a conical roof".¹⁶ The Chagas, of Kilimanjaro, as do also the Taitas, "preserve their grain in large wicker-work baskets, covered with thatch";¹⁷ while the Kambas, in the neighbouring Kenya Colony, use for the same purpose "gigantic wicker bottles"¹⁸ or "baskets",¹⁹ shaped like a calabash, and called *Keinga*. The Nilotic Kavirondos on the Victoria Nyanza,²⁰ and the Teso Bantu in Northern Uganda,²¹ have large "grain-baskets", raised from the ground on a platform and covered by a roof of thatch. The Hamitic Galas use "cylindrical store-houses of basket-work", 7 feet high by 5 feet broad, carrying conical thatched roofs.²² Throughout the Negro

Sudan, we find the same. Away in Western Sudan, the Songhai Negroes store their grain in large clay jars.²³ On the Shari River, the granaries are round matted structures, raised above the ground and having the usual conical roof;²⁴ or, in other neighbourhoods, they are large earthen urns (*dabango*).²⁵ But with the Gabri²⁶ of Lake Chad, the Bongo²⁷ and the Belanda²⁸ of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the "grain-baskets" reappear, and, what is more, almost identical with those of the South African Sutus and Zulus, except that, in the north, the plaiting runs from the bottom upwards, instead of horizontally, as with the latter.

What the earliest Negroes, or Proto-Negroes, ate 8,000 years ago, we do not know; but they must have eaten something. Probably, at that period, they were still in the hunting stage, and lived largely or mainly on wild-animal diet. But in course of time, they evidently got to millet. Herodotus,²⁹ already 2,500 years ago, informs us that "the grain on which they [the Ethiopians] and their next neighbours feed is the same as that used by the Calentian Indians"; while Strabo³⁰ definitely names millet as that grain: they, the Ethiopians, "live on millet and barley, from which also a drink is made". The alimentary tract of Ancient Egyptians of 6,000 years ago having been carefully examined, it was found, says Elliot Smith,³¹ that, "in about ten per cent., husks of millet could be indentified with certainty". The early presence of millet in Africa as a food-stuff is, then, beyond dispute. But was the plant indigenous or imported?

Schweinfurth says it was imported; and he was a learned botanist, who specialized in African flora. After describing the splendours of the flora of the Tropical forests, he proceeds to explain³² its general uniformity throughout the many parts of the continent by reason of its isolation. But then he adds: "In the direction towards Arabia there is, as it were, a bridge into the regions of India, and indeed, the Indian flora has a great share in the characteristics of its [Africa's] vegetation." "The greater number of the African cultivated plants, as well as nearly all their associated weeds, have been, beyond a doubt, derived from India—a conjecture, equivalent to a prophecy, which Rob. Brown had formed at a time when little was known of the vegetation of Central Africa." It seems to us that

Schweinfurth is here making the mistake into which so many are apt to fall, namely, of assuming that that which comes to our knowledge later must be derived from that which we had learned before; that, he having been long familiar with the food-plants of India, therefore, it being now discovered by him that those of Africa were the same, those African food-plants must, 'beyond any doubt', have come from India! The only grounds Schweinfurth seems to have had for this belief, was that the African plants "correspond so accurately with the weeds of other cultivated countries", and consequently must have been imported from those countries. "The preponderating Indian origin of all these plants is very observable, and a better acquaintance with the geographical facts connected with them would probably be as trustworthy an indication of the various migrations of an uncivilized people who have no history, as either their dialect or physical development"—by this presumably suggesting a migration of the Negro people, along with their plants, out of India. But might not an Indian Schweinfurth, with equal plausibility, reverse the argument, and, discovering that Indian food-plants and weeds existed also in Africa, draw the conclusion therefrom that, consequently and 'beyond a doubt', the Indian people, together with their food-plants, migrated out of Africa? Or should we be warranted in arguing that, because the acacia happens to be one of Africa's commonest trees, therefore the Australian black-wattle (*Acacia mollissima*) travelled there from here; or that America received its cotton-plant (*Gossypium barbadense*) from the wild-cotton plants (*Gossypium punctatum*) indigenous to North and Central Africa; or that the Negro people in Africa migrated from the Negro peoples in the Pacific?

Schweinfurth's view may, of course, be correct; though some solid evidence, stronger than mere supposition, were desirable. The Dravidian aborigines of India were not only an agricultural people, but also a sea-faring. Still, we doubt whether they ever roamed as far as Africa. Nor do we know of any permanent colonization of Eastern Africa by the medieval Indians, such as might account for the universal distribution throughout Africa of so-called 'Indian' food-plants. On the other hand, the medieval Arabs, who did have

many permanent settlements in East Africa, might have been the responsible agents. Yet the very earliest of their great African historians, Masudi, found that *dhurah* (sorghum) was the staple food-plant of the East African Bantu already in his time (900 A.D.), and he makes no suggestion that it had been brought there by his countrymen. Equally as acceptable as Schweinfurth's theory were that of Schoff,³⁴ who says, that both sorghum and pennisetum, "both important crops in India . . . were probably brought from Africa more recently than the date of the *periplus* [c. 200 A.D.], and, being native in Somaliland, would not be probable articles of import there". Elliot Smith,³⁵ too, states that millet probably grew wild in the Nile valley. Hewitt,³⁶ likewise, who made a special study of early Indian history, says that the Dravidians, the aboriginal inhabitants of India, were an agricultural, rather than a pastoral people, and, among other things, that they cultivated both millet and eleusine (both common Bantu food-stuffs). But, he adds, "it was they who are known in Indian history as the Maghadas, who introduced the growth of millets into India as upland crops—these, according to the Song of Lingal, preceded the growth of barley". So, according to him, even into India the millet plant was 'introduced', and, in his opinion, apparently either from Phrygia (Asia Minor)³⁷ or from the East.³⁸ Johnston³⁹ asserts that "numerous wild millets are indigenous to West and East Africa, some growing to a height of fifteen feet." Notwithstanding which, he states elsewhere—though this was in an earlier publication—that the sorghum plant probably came from Asia.⁴⁰ To our mind, this problem of vegetal identities in Africa and India is on a par with that other problem of racial identities in Africa and the Pacific, and both equally are best explained by assuming an earlier, now-submerged, land-causeway (known as *Lemuria*) between all those regions.

We have already said above that the Ancient Egyptians, or some people living among them (4,000 B.C.), fed on millet, and that Masudi found *dhurah* (millet) the staple East African Bantu food in 900 A.D. . . . Since those ancient days, the various types of millet have become—or should we say, were already long before?—distributed throughout the whole of Negroland—the Guinea,⁴¹ in the Sudan,⁴² among the Nilotic Negroes⁴³ (Baris, Shilluks, Acholis and others along the Nile),

in the Congo,⁴⁴ throughout East Africa and Zambezia,⁴⁵ and finally among the Sutus and Ngunis of the South.⁴⁶ In 1593, the survivors of the *Saint Albert* met with 'millet cakes' in Natal.⁴⁷ Unfortunately they did not tell us what the Natives called the grain. Nowadays, the Xosa (of Cape) branch of the Nguni family call sorghum (Kafir-corn) *amaZimba* (which name the Zulus apply only to the 'ears of the *iMfe* or sweet-sorghum'); while the northern or Zulu branch call it *amaBele*. Both these roots are traceable also in other Bantu languages; thus, as similarities to the Xosa '*Zimba*', we find the Tembe (Delagoa Bay) *amaTumba*, maize; the Yawo (Nyasaland) *maPemba*, sorghum; the Bondei (Tanganyika Colony) *uHemba*, sorghum; the Ganda *mWembe*, millet; and the Angola *maSambala*, sorghum. The Zulu root, '*Bele*', is somewhat more frequent, not only among the Bantu, but also in the Sudan; thus, Chwana-Sutu *maBali*, sorghum; Kuwa (Portuguese East Africa) *Mele*, sorghum, and *maHele*, pennisetum millet; Rega (Lutu Nzige) *meBele*, maize; Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Colony) and several other East African languages, *maPira*, sorghum. In and about the Sudan, the Fula Libyans call sorghum, *Bairi* (which strongly reminds one of the Hindi name, *Bajri*, for pennisetum millet); the Bornu Negroes call it *Ngaberi*; the Adamawa Negroes call it *Maiwari* (suggestive, once again, of the Hindi name, *Wari*, for panicum millet), a name which re-appears still more strikingly in the Nika Bantu (north of Mombasa) *maWele*, likewise signifying panicum millet. The Kavirondo Bantu (North Uganda), although they name the sorghum plant *mTama*, call 'a man rich in sorghum grain', an *oBele*. We have an idea that these roots, *Bairi*, *Bele*, *Wari*, *Wele*, etc., may possibly be the still surviving representatives of the ancient parent Negro name for 'grain', or for 'millet', in general.

So far as we can discover, it would seem that these millets (sorghum, pennisetum and panicum) were the very earliest grain-foods of African and Indian man.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Zulus give us an account of exactly how and when the discovery of this food-plant came about. It was in the very ancient days of Nkulunkulu himself (the 'first man'), creator of all Zulus, their cattle, and their wives (of whom he had provided himself with a couple). Now, when one of these latter found herself one day encumbered with a most unwelcome brat, she forth-

with looked around for the most poisonous-looking grass, and fed the babe upon it. Whereupon it grew only the fatter and greater nuisance. And it was by that happy (or unhappy) mistake, that the food value of sorghum was discovered!⁴⁹ If there be anything at all at the bottom of this legend, it points rather to a local discovery, than to a foreign importation of the plant.

Since those far-off times, the millets have become diversified in many ways. The varieties of the sorghum plant (Kafir-corn) still cultivated by the Zulus, have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. A Zulu tradition states that the earliest form of sorghum known to them was that now called *uJiba*. They do not appreciate this variety at all highly; nor do the birds (which are especially partial to the millet-grains, but everywhere fight shy of the *uJiba*). Although recognized as a sorghum, the Zulus have their doubts whether this outcast of the species is really an '*amaBele*' (sorghum vulgare) plant at all, and is not merely an 'unsweetened' variety—actually, it is rather bitter—of *iMfe* (sweet-sorghum, sorghum saccharatum), which latter it strongly resembles in appearance. Of none of the *iMfe* varieties is the grain eaten by the Zulus as food; only the stalk being chewed for its sugar. But the *uJiba* is still sparingly cultivated as an *amaBele* or edible sorghum, on account of its bird-repellent qualities, it being used for making an inferior brand of beer. Very likely this was the grain referred to by Speke⁵⁰ when he wrote, of the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza: "In the whole of Karagwe the birds were so numerous, the people, to save themselves from starvation, were obliged to grow a bitter corn, which the birds disliked."^{50a}

The shaloo or sweet-sorghum (called *iMfe*, and just referred to) was sown in the field amidst the *amaBele* (or Kafir-corn). It was cultivated mainly for its stalk, which was either chewed for its sweet juice, or boiled with other food-stuffs to sweeten them. The grain itself, though never going into the kitchen, yet occasionally went into the brewery.

This cane is likewise well distributed throughout Negroland, and treated in the same way as with the Zulus, from the Sudan⁵¹ in the north to Lake Ngami⁵² in the south. Johnston⁵³ surmises that it was spread abroad from the Zanzibar coast,

whither it came from India—a surmise on a par with that concerning the other millets in general. Certainly the plant was cultivated in ancient times both in India⁵⁴ and in China.

As with Kafir-corn, so too are there several varieties of *iMfe*—the *iNyakató* and *umBedlane* (both with irregular straggling panicles); the *uManyobeni* and *uNtlokonde* (both with erect ears, and the latter with an exceptionally sweet stalk); and the *isiDomba* and *̄Yengantombi* (both with drooping ears, and the former with a very tall stem). Though all their stalks are sweet for chewing, not every kind (mixed with Kafir-corn) is used for brewing purposes; for instance, the *isiDomba*, despite its tallness, cannot attain to that honour.

A single patch of true sugar-cane (*uMōba*) existed on the Zululand coast even in Shaka's time, either salvaged from some local wreck, or, more probably, brought down by Tonga hawkers from Delagoa Bay, whither it had been brought either by the Portuguese or by the Arabs. "The sugar-cane is wild," wrote Isaacs⁵⁵ at the time, "and, I suppose, an indigenous plant. They do not cultivate it, though the soil seems adapted for its growth, as it runs to a prodigious height, and the cane is of large dimensions." Isaacs calls it 'Moaba'; more correctly *uMōba*. But he was right when he said 'the soil is adapted for its growth'; for today, 100 years later, that selfsame country, now despoiled of its original Native inhabitants, is covered with the sugar-cane fields of selfish land-grabbing Whites. The name, *uMōba*, probably came down with the cane from Tongaland—the East Coast Swahilis and Nikas call it *Mua*. This sugar-cane is now spread through all the African continent, from the Mangbetu⁵⁶ under the Equator to the Rotses and Shukulumbwes of Zambezia.⁵⁷

Spiked millet (*pennisetum typhoideum*), called by the Zulus *uNyawoti*, one of the oldest cultivated millets of both India and Africa, was formerly largely grown by the coastal Zulus; but during the last century it has become almost entirely displaced by the, presumably more prolific, *amaBele* (*sorghum vulgare*). Its supersession by this latter among the more inland Zulus and Sutus, was no doubt due to the fact that, while it thrived well enough in the central African regions as far south as Rhodesia, by the time it reached the Transvaal, the climate had already grown too cold for it; so the more

hardy sorghum took its place, notwithstanding that it provided a much more agreeable type of beer. It is still much grown in those parts of Negroland where the climate suits—among the Hausas⁵⁸ of Nigeria, in Equatorial Africa,⁵⁹ on the East Coast,⁶⁰ in Mashonaland, in South West Africa⁶¹ and elsewhere.⁶² *UNyawoti* was never threshed, the seed being simply shaken out on to a prepared spot. The same course was followed also when sowing—preferably on an old kraal site, since this plant demanded a rich soil.

Raggee (*Eleusine coracana*), named by the Zulus *ūPóko*, is in precisely the same case as the preceding, both as to its history and its fate. It too, was numbered among the ancient 'Indian', or rather 'East-Indian', food-plants,⁶³ and, like the *pennisetum*, it too has, during the last century,⁶⁴ become almost entirely discarded by the Zulus in favour of sorghum. In two different varieties, it too produced a better beer than this latter; but its grain was so extraordinarily tiny, that a large field, with correspondingly much labour, returned only a basketful of seed against the sackfuls produced by the sorghum. Nevertheless, among the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa, the Abyssinians, and the Kalangas of Mashonaland, it still maintains its hold as one of the staple food-plants.⁶⁵ However, seeing that both eleusine and millet were cultivated 6,000 years ago by the Ancient Egyptians,⁶⁶ it would seem almost time that they went out of fashion. Once upon a time, they were the great beer-brewing grains of the Zulus, and sorghum the great food-stuff. Then sorghum became the great beer-brewing grain, and the great food-stuff maize.

Maize (*Z. umMbila*; Xosa, *umBona*), like sorghum, had a romantic origin; only more so. Christened *Mahiz* in Haiti (West Indies), maize was really born on the mainland. It was the fertilizing properties of Mondamin's corpse, who, when slain by Hiawatha and planted in the ground, sent up, to his eternal memory, the first beautiful patch of Indian corn.

Thus it is that maize became, as is generally held, a comparatively recent importation into Africa from America. Howard Pim, however, in his Presidential Address to the *Native Affairs Society* of the Transvaal (March, 1910), has suggested that, on the contrary, instead of having been brought

along by the Portuguese in the 16th century, maize was more likely to have been introduced into East Africa long before that time by the Arab merchants there domiciled, who carried on a considerable trade with the East Indies, and, indirectly, perhaps even with Western America. In support of this view, he cited certain historical evidence from early Portuguese records, in which the word, 'maize', is applied to a certain grain or grain-plant found by them upon their arrival already in cultivation by the local Bantu. If this theory be correct, the grain, apparently, must have been introduced later than the 10th century and prior to the 16th; because the great Arab historian, Masudi, writing c. 900 A.D., specifically names the several food-plants of the East African Bantu at his time, and, as far as cereals are concerned, he mentions only *dhurah*. Now, this happens, very unfortunately for us, to be a most confusing name. It is the Arabic generic term for all those plants which they regard as 'millets'; therefore, sorghum, pennisetum, panicum and the rest, divers adjectives being attached to distinguish the various kinds. As it happens, the maize-plant, when seen growing in the field, though by no means, botanically, a 'millet', is as indistinguishable from sorghum as is one pea from another. So the Arabs named (and, we think, still name) it too a *dhurah*. But what did Masudi intend by the term? European readers of him have universally understood what we call 'millet'. But who can with certainty aver that, under the name, he did not (as his countrymen since have done) include also 'maize'? On the other hand, again, precisely the same mistake may possibly have been made by the Portuguese writer of the records referred to above. Himself, familiar enough with maize, but not with sorghum, upon coming across a field of the latter in East Africa, he might easily, indeed most certainly would, have mistaken it for the former, and so have written in his record 'maize'. Ourselves, we hardly think that maize could have been introduced into East Africa *before* the Portuguese arrival, first, because its dispersal among the remoter Bantu seems to have followed that event, and secondly, because among the food-plants mentioned in the Ancient Babylonian,⁶⁷ Ancient Indian,⁶⁸ Ancient Chinese,⁶⁹ and other Oriental histories, maize never has a place.

Into Nguniland (the Zulu-Xosa domain), maize entered by two separate routes, one (from the north) into Zululand and

Natal; the other (from the south) into Xosaland (or the Cape).

In the year 1686, about 250 years ago, the Dutch ship, *Stavenisse*, went on the rocks to the south of Natal, and the survivors, who sojourned for more than a year among the Natives thereabouts, found them cultivating no maize, but only sorghum.⁷⁰ A few years later, but prior to 1718, Capt. W. Rogers⁷¹ visited Durban port (in Natal), and found again among the natives there a potent drink made from "guinea-corn" (i.e. sorghum), "purposely to make merry with"; but found no maize. The Zulus, therefore, we think, must have received their first maize somewhere about 1750, and have received it from the direction of Delagoa Bay, or, alternatively, from shipwrecked sailors on their coast.

The name for maize among the Zulus is *umMbila*. This is obviously of the same derivation as the common East African *maPira* (an *r* elsewhere, always becoming an *l* in Zulu, and a *p* frequently a *b*), a name applied there, sometimes to maize (e.h. in Senga, on the Zambezi), sometimes to sorghum (e.g. in Nyamwezi, in Tanganyika Col., and other tongues). This it is that makes us believe that the maize-plant, along with the maize name, came down to the Zulus from an East African direction.

The variety of maize first to reach them was the short-stalked, small-cobbed, yellow-grained and quickly ripening kind. Owing to the fact that it was first grown about the *oNgóye* hills (a forest-covered hill-range between the lower Mhlatuze and Mlalazi Rivers), and thence spread away along the coast (*ulwAndle*, sea), they called it, indifferently, either *uNgóye* (after the hills) or *uLwandlekazana* (the-little-sea-side-thing). In course of time, many other varieties (mentioned in last chapter) appeared. When the first English settlers reached Natal in 1824, maize was already so well established, that two and even three, crops of it were reaped (at least, so Isaacs⁷² avers) in a single season; though we can hardly believe on the same ground. It therefore seems that even then maize was already ousting sorghum as the staple food-plant.

As for the Xosas of the Cape, theirs is a different tale. The maize (plant and grain) is there called by an entirely different name, *umBona*, which proves an entirely different derivation for the grain. The first shipload of maize was brought into Capetown in 1658, along with a shipload of slaves, from the

West African Guinea coast by the good (or bad) ship, *Hasselt*, flying Dutch colours.⁷³ And from that source was it, we imagine, that the Xosas later on first derived their seed.

The South African Boers (never renowned as botanists) called the new grain, in their ignorance, simply 'mealies' (or something similar). Herein they made the same mistake as did the Arabs, and confused 'millet' and 'mealies' (maize). The Holland Dutch, we understand, called the millets (including sorghum or Kafircorn) *milie*; and, in their slave-trading ventures, coming across maize (to their undiscerning eye, a kind of sorghum) in Western Africa, they named it, as Schweinfurth⁷⁴ tells us, 'Moorish-mille', a name which accompanied it to Capetown.

The staple grain-plant of the Cape Xosas at the commencement of the 18th century, was, according to Kolben⁷⁵ (c. 1712), "a sort of Turkish corn [probably sorghum], and a brew from it"; which information was supplied him by Capt. Gerbrantz van der Schelling. Paterson,⁷⁶ in 1778, mentions "Guinea Corn" as the food-stuff of the Natives about the Kei—but was this maize, or was it sorghum? For by 1790, says Kay,⁷⁷ maize was already in the Transkei, and Shaw⁷⁸ that it was there in 1815. Thompson,⁷⁹ towards 1827, states that it was already a 'common' food-plant among the Xosas.

Unhappily, in the Xosa records of this period, there was much confusion as to nomenclature. While the 'Turkish corn' seems most likely to have been 'millet' or sorghum, and the 'Guinea corn' either sorghum or maize, what precisely other writers meant by 'Indian corn' we cannot divine. Thus, Moodie⁸⁰ speaks only of 'Indian corn' as at that time grown in Xosaland; while Steedman,⁸¹ about the same time, tells of beer among the Mpondos "made from Indian or Caffer corn". But while 'Indian corn' is nowadays usually understood as signifying 'maize', and 'Indian millet' sometimes as 'sorghum', 'Kafir-corn' is and always was only the latter. Shaw⁸² cites, as Xosa food plants, all three, 'millet', 'maize', and 'Indian corn', in the same paragraph!

As regards the Central South African Plateau, Ellenberger⁸³ states that a Sehoya woman "said that the Bataung and Lihoya had never seen mealies (maize), until they met the Batlokoa during the Lifaqane" (c. 1820). The Tongas, about Delagoa Bay, certainly had maize at that time (1820)—and

probably long before—because Owen⁸⁴ tells us so. But it hardly looks as if these Tlokwas got their seed from there, seeing that the Pedi Sutus (who were much nearer the Tongas than they) did not know of maize until about 1838.⁸⁵ Most probably Moffat⁸⁶ was right, when he said that maize was first brought to the inland Chwanas by the Zulu raiders under Mzilikazi (c. 1824-35). Livingstone⁸⁷ came across maize among the Kalangas of Mashonaland in 1840.

But not only from the east did this new maize-plant penetrate into Africa. Merolla⁸⁸ was on the Congo mouth in 1682, and found maize already in cultivation there, and called *Mampunni* (a name suggesting some relationship with the Xosa *umBona*). In 1860, Schweinfurth⁸⁹ found it slightly grown in Nyamnyam and Mangbetu lands, in Equatorial Africa; while along the Shire River (by Nyasaland), Maugham⁹⁰ says (comparatively recently) that maize is also there closely competing with sorghum as the staple cereal.⁹¹

Although wheat and barley were the main grain-crops of the Ancient Egyptians⁹² so long ago as 3,400 to 4,000 B.C.,⁹³ these grains never entered Negroland, because, no doubt, it lay beyond their clime. So, consequently, they never reached the Bantu, or the Zulus.

The same may be said of rice; although among the Tongas (to the north of Zululand) it was in cultivation in 1820.⁹⁴

Even the Ancient Babylonians found the grain of the sesame plant (*Sesamum indicum*) very useful as a provider of oil,⁹⁵ and it was they, no doubt, who passed on the plant and the knowledge to the later Persians.⁹⁶ Now, there were a goodly number of Persian immigrants into East Africa (as well as Arabs) during the medieval period, and it were quite likely that they brought the sesamum along with them for its oil supply.

Since then, the plant has become dispersed throughout Bantuland. Unlike many other of the East African Bantu tribes, who have already learned how to extract its oil,⁹⁷ with both Gandas⁹⁸ and Zulus (the latter called it *ūDonqa*) the grain was used solely as a food-stuff. When planting, the seed being very small, the Zulus first mixed it with earth (as they

did also the tiny eleusine or *ũPóko* seed), then scattered the mixture over already prepared soil. When ripened, the plants were pulled up by the roots and stacked against any convenient tree or hedge to dry; thoroughly dry, the seed was simply shaken out into a basket, without any threshing.

The gourd-plant (*ĩSelwa*), common throughout the Sudan and Bantuland, must be reckoned, we think, among the aboriginal Negro vegetables.⁹⁹ The various kinds cultivated by the Zulus have already been mentioned in the last chapter. When planting, their pips were either scattered broadcast along with the sorghum or maize, or else thrust into the earth on some old kraal-site. The largest kind of gourd, the *ĩSelwa* proper, was used as food by the Zulus only when young. More generally, it was left to mature; whereupon, the dried internal pulp having been removed, the smooth woody shells, sometimes a foot in diameter, provided the people with light and cool milk (*ĩGũla*) and water (*isiGũbũ*) vessels.

Pumpkins (*ĩTánga*), again, were probably among the earliest of Negro vegetables.¹⁰⁰ They have already been mentioned in the last chapter. The method of planting was that of the gourds (above).

Similar remarks may be made also of the melons (*ĩKábe*; *ĩBéce*).¹⁰¹

Of leguminous plants, the *iziNdumba* or *iziMbumba* bean, a tiny, generally black, variety, not more than one-third of an inch in length, but of fine flavour, was cultivated long before the Whiteman came, and must probably be placed among the early Bantu vegetables; for it is grown at both ends of the Bantu field, by the Kavirondos in the north,¹⁰² and by the Zulus and the Chwanas in the south.¹⁰³ Merolla¹⁰⁴ noted it on the Congo in 1682, and called it *Ncasse*. The shipwrecked mariners of the *Stavenisse* in 1687 in Natal mention it also there.¹⁰⁵ There was no large-sized bean comparable with the European varieties, at any rate among the Zulus. The report left us by the survivors of the wrecked *Saint Albert*, so early as 1593,¹⁰⁶ that in Natal they found "a vegetable called *jugo*" of the size of a small bean, probably refers, not to a bean, but to some other vegetable. The name itself perhaps gives us the

clue. For in Swahililand (on the Zanzibar coast) we meet with a vegetable called *njugu*; but there this *njugu* turns out to be, not a bean, but the Bambarra ground-nut (*Voandzeia*), and the Natal *jugo* was most likely the same. Another report, left us by other shipwrecked mariners in 1689,¹⁰⁷ was that they found in Natal "beans much resembling European brown beans". Certainly the tiny Native *iziNdumba* beans resemble European beans in shape, but never in size. Moffat,¹⁰⁸ again, speaks of "kidney beans" as among the vegetables of the early Chwanas. There is evidently some mystery here.

The *iziNdumba* beans were sown along with the sorghum or maize, up whose long stalks they climbed.

The Bambarra ground-nut (*Voandzeia subterranea*) was called by the Zulus *iNdlubu*. It, too, was probably an ancient Bantu vegetable; for, as we have just seen, it was recorded by the survivors of the *Saint Albert* as the *jugo*, cultivated in Natal as early as 1593; while Merolla¹⁰⁹ mentions it, under the name of 'Incumbe', as on the Congo in 1682. Moffat¹¹⁰ does not mention it among the Chwana food-stuffs at the middle of last century; but Johnston¹¹¹ says it was pretty generally cultivated along the Congo. Fitzgerald¹¹² speaks of it too on the Kenya coast. Johnston¹¹³ remarks that it is "said to be of Madagascar origin"; but the botanist, Schweinfurth¹¹⁴ writes of its as "dispersed now everywhere over the tropics; the proper home of these [Bambarra ground-nuts] is in Africa."

These ground-nuts are sown by the Zulus broadcast on prepared soil; or else simply thrust into it with the fingers.

Its relative, the monkey-nut or pea-nut (*Arachis hypogæa*)—though the name, 'pea-nut', were much more appropriate to the preceding Bambarra ground-nut—is called by the Zulus *ĩNtongomane*. It was, and is, not nearly as universally cultivated among the Zulus as is the preceding *iNdlubu*, owing perhaps to the unsuitability of climate away from the coast; or else because it is a comparatively recent importation into Zululand from Tongaland, as its name suggests, and since we find no mention of it in the earliest records. Johnston¹¹⁶ thought it was introduced into Africa by the Portuguese; but Reeve¹¹⁷ believes it to have been brought to Sierra Leone by repatriated slaves. Anyway, it is now everywhere, from the

Nilotic Negroes,¹¹⁸ the Equatorial Nangbetu,¹¹⁹ the Gandas,¹²⁰ and well over the Congo,¹²¹ to the Zulus in the extreme south.

Of tuberous food-plants, there were many. The oldest of them, we think, must have been the aroid Kafir-potato (*Colocasia antiquorum*), called by the Zulus *iDumbi*. This plant was cultivated in Egypt, as Masudi tells us, in 900 A.D., and it is now common from north to south of Africa.¹²² It is equally common in India and the Further East. It is sometimes called the Egyptian arum, and, again, is said to be identical with the *taro* of Polynesia. It is a vegetable everywhere cultivated by the Zulus, and is by them much liked. But the older local varieties have in recent times become largely displaced by the *uDumbedumbe*, a variety imported by the Natal Indians from their homeland.

The long, narrow tubers of the *Plectranthus esculentus* were known to the Zulus to be agreeably 'esculent' long before the Whiteman named them as such. The Zulu names them *ũJwangu* (or *imBondwe*) and *umHlazaluti* (or *ũJilo*); for he knows them in two varieties. With their soft, white, delicate flesh, of less mealy texture and less earthy flavour than the *Colocasia* (above), they provide a really good vegetable, apparently unknown to Europeans—they were not known, even by report, to the Natal Government Agricultural College some years ago, when we enquired there about them! We read nothing at all about this food-plant in other tribal records; but we can hardly believe that the Zulus themselves discovered it.

A Zulu vegetable of equally good eating, and somewhat resembling young or spring potatoes, is the *iZambane* (*Coleus esculentus*)—a name, owing to their similarity, nowadays applied by the Zulus to the common European potato. Unless the soil is appropriate, the tubers are wont to become disagreeably small; hence the Zulu women, owing to the small return, have nowadays largely allowed the vegetable to drop entirely out of their menu.

In older days, prior to the dispersal of the sweet-potato (below), the yam (*Dioscorea*), with tubers somewhat

resembling those of the latter, was commonly grown by the Zulus,¹²³ who call it *uManga*. This is certainly an indigenous African plant, and it occurs, with the old name still preserved, from top to bottom of Bantuland, as well as in the Sudan, Guinea, and even Papua.¹²⁴ Thus, the Zambezi Rotsis call it *Manga*, and the Kenya Colony Nikas *Fiasi-manga*. The Kamba neighbours of the latter strangely give the name, *Manga*, to manioc. There is a wild yam (*Dioscorea rupicola*) growing in Zululand, called the *iNkwa*, whose tubers are said to be poisonous when eaten raw; though after boiling, they provide one of the regular stand-bys in famine-time. The Kikuyus of Kenya Colony apply this name, *kiKwa*, to the yam cultivated there.

Then came the sweet-potato (*Batatas edulis*), more prolific and more tasty, and the yam was dethroned, at least among the Zulus. Johnston¹²⁵ calls it "a South American convolvulus", and says it is a good deal cultivated in Western Congo and in the Mubangi-Wele basin. Merolla¹²⁶ found it already thriving at the Congo mouth in 1682, brought, no doubt, by the Portuguese from Brazil or thereabouts. Today, it is a hardy and prolific food-plant everywhere throughout Negro and Bantulands,¹²⁷ as well as in Melanesia¹²⁸ and Polynesia.¹²⁹

The Zulus, before the Whiteman came, called the sweet-potato *umHlaza* (also *iNyeza*). The same root appears in the Giriyama (north of Mombasa) *kiRazi*, and the Swahili (Zanzibar coast) *kiAzi*, both signifying sweet potato. This is evidently the original East African name for the plant, after its introduction by the Portuguese. Since the spread of Europeans in their country, the Zulus have dropped their own name, and, following the custom of the Whiteman, now call the sweet-potato simply *uBátata* (which is 'potato'). It is here curious to note how primitive names, adopted, and then deformed, by Europeans, return again to other primitives and there regain their primordial form; thus, the old Haitian name for sweet-potato, *Batata*, which became *Patata* in the mouth of Spaniards and *Potato* in that of English, is now brought back by these latter to the Zulus, and in their mouth again becomes *uBátata*.

There are nowadays quite a multitude of different varieties of the sweet-potato cultivated in Zululand, the

commonest of which have already been mentioned in the last chapter.

Manioc or Cassava was entirely unknown to the Zulus; but within the last half-century Tonga immigrants from the East Coast have introduced a few stray plants into Natal, where it is called *umDumbula*.

Six thousand years ago, the roots of the nut-rush (*Cyperus esculentus*) were a favourite food-stuff of the Ancient Egyptians, having been found "both in the intestinal contents and in pots placed in the graves alongside the bodies".¹³⁰ Thence the habit—we do not say, the plant—trickled down the continent through the ages, till it reached the Zulus (unless they came down with it from their motherland), who, though they never cultivated the plant (which they called *iNdawo*), found it very acceptable in days of famine.

The Zulus cultivated no fruits, save that those living along the coast sometimes planted the pips of the wild *iTobó* a spreading plant, bearing a red smooth-skinned fruit, resembling the tomato), which was eaten raw.

The plantain was known; but that was all. There was just one solitary clump of plants along the coast of Zululand north of the Mhlatuze mouth, placed there none knew by whom. But Shaka, when a boy in Mtetwaland, had heard of them; and when later he became a king, he took good care to proclaim the clump a royal preserve. "We arrived at last," writes Isaacs¹³¹ at the time, "at a delightful valley, or rather a ravine, near the side of the bay, where we discovered the banana-tree growing spontaneously and in a state of luxuriant vegetation." The local Zulus called the plant *uKóvá*. Where they got the name from, we cannot say; but it slightly resembles the Angola name, *riKohjo*, for the same plant. Most likely both name and plant came down with Tonga hawkers from the East Coast. The early Arab historian, Masudi (writing as early as 900 A.D.), tells us that, even at that time, the banana was an East African Bantu food-stuff (see Bryant, *Bantu Origins*). Then the Portuguese, somewhen prior to 1666,¹³² brought over other musaceous plants from Brazil to the Congo.

We said just now that the Zulus were unaware of the presence of oil in the sesame seeds, as well as in the monkey-nuts. With their indigenous castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*), which they called *umHlakuva*, it was otherwise. This grew as a weed about their kraals, and the presence therein of oil had not escaped them. Their method of extraction was simple. The ordinary grind-stone having been heated by the fire, the castor-oil berries were crushed to paste upon it, the inherent oil becoming somewhat liquified by the heat. The oily paste was then taken up by the hand, and the lady rubbed it well into her leathern kilt (when become stiffened by rain) as an emollient. This was as much of the oil as the Zulus ever got out of the plant, and this was its only use. They know nothing about its purgative properties.

The stones of the *umTúnduluka* plum (*Ximenia caffra*) were also broken open, and the oily nut inside similarly treated and used.

Every Zulu kraal had a few hemp-plants (*Cannabis sativa*) growing inside its outer fence for smoking purposes. It was known as *iNtsangu*.

Many kraals, too, had a small patch (whenever possible, on an old kraal-site), whereon they grew a few tobacco-plants, for use as snuff. This plant most probably came down to them from Delago Bay. That their name, *uGwáyi*, came with the plant, is to be presumed; although it has a suspicious resemblance to the Hottentot *Ogai*, to-smoke-tobacco. The Hereros of South West Africa, who are immediate neighbours of the Hottentots, have a similar name, *omaKaya*, tobacco. All which is a little puzzling.

Cotton was a pretty old-world plant, in the ancient times growing wild in India, as Herodotus¹³³ had heard, and there used for making cloth. Wild cottons are said also to be scattered about northern and central Africa, and even to be cultivated on the Mubangi.¹³⁴ But our Zulus were outside the cotton pale, and made their only acquaintance with it in the form of Manchester goods.

In the course of their millenniums of experience, the Zulus had become familiar with many plant-diseases. They

were acquainted with a couple of 'smuts' of sorghum or Kafircorn, which they termed the *iNgúmane* (grain-smut) and the *isiWumba* (head-smut) respectively; with the maize-grub (*Sesamia fusca*) or stalk-borer, which they call *isiHlava*; with the *umSwenya* (either wire-worm, or cut-worm); with the *uDumbukana* (or eel-worm); with the *isOna* weed (*Striga coccinea* or *hirsuta*), so destructive of their grain-crops; and with the *isiTákati*, a maize disease, in which the leaves turn white (perhaps through deficiency of nitrogenous food).

1. *H.H.*, 197.
2. Harrison, *M.G.R.*, 72.
- 2a. Elliot, *P.M.*, 215.
- 2b. Myres, *D.H.*, 16, 23; Haberlandt, *E.*, 13, 18.
3. *ib.* 25.
4. Kay, *T.C.*, 143; Shaw, *M.*, 38 (1st ed., 58); Brownlee, in Thompson, *T.*, vol. 2, 359.
- 4a. Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 165.
5. comp. Baldwin, *A.H.*, 10.
6. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 405.
7. Livingstone, *T.*, 135.
8. Casalis, *B.*, 143; see also Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1, 285.
9. *L.Z.*, 268.
- 9a. Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. 2, 239.
- 9b. *ib.* 245.
10. *N.E.T.*, 124; also Baines, *E.*, 429.
11. Widdicombe, *L.*, 59.
12. Stow, *N.R.*, 532.
13. MacCabe, in Holden, *H.N.*, 434.
14. Kassner, *R.E.*, 50.
15. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 282.
16. Werner, *B.C.A.*, 100.
17. New, *L.E.A.*, 457, 336.
18. Hobley, *K.*, 37.
19. Dugmore, *C.A.*, 44.
20. Johnston, *U.P.*, 722 sq.
21. Purvis, *M.E.*, 252.
22. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 156.
23. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 228.
24. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 194.
25. *ib.* 203.
26. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 180.
27. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 122, 83.
28. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 233.
29. III, 97.
30. XVII, ch. 2.
31. *A.E.*; also Elliot, *P.M.*, 218.
32. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 90.
33. *ib.* 163.
34. *Periplus*.
35. *A.E.*
36. *R.R.*, 60.
37. *ib.*
38. *ib.* 440.
39. *G.G.C.*, 143, 606.
40. *U.P.*, 737.
41. Reeve, *G.*, 190; Park, *T.*, 138; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 78, 241.
42. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 44, 103, 206, 225; vol. 2, 38, 130, 154; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 110, 210, 309, 340, 384, 412, 437, 457, 459, 470, 481, 515, 531; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 21; vol. 2, 188, 194, 203.
43. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 313; also Schweinfurth, as preceding.
44. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 600, 605, 606; Kassner, *R.E.*, 515.
45. Roscoe, *B.*, 434; Maugham, *Z.*, 185; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 164; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 35; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 59; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 278; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 119; Livingstone, *T.*, 102, 135; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, 278; Kassner, *R.E.*, 118; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 256.
46. Stow, *N.R.*, 418; Moffat, *M.L.*, 146; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 35, 58; Baines, *E.*, 423; Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 137; Shaw, *M.*, 38, 48.
47. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
48. Hunter, *H.I.*, 27; Hewitt, *R.R.*, 47, 52, 60, 202, 440; Herodotus, III, 97; Strabo, XVII, ch. 2.
49. See also Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 217.
50. *D.S.N.*, 164.
- 50a. See also Old, *S.K.*, 59; Herodotus, I, 99; Elliot, *P.M.*, 218; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 160, 168, 172; Haddon, *W.P.*, 52; Hoernes, *P.M.*, 35.
51. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 103; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 558.
52. Baines, *E.*, 424.
53. *G.G.C.*, 602 in.
54. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 60, 284.
55. *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 370; Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 159.
56. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 38.
57. Livingstone, *T.*, 151, 373.
58. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241, 243.
59. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 104; vol. 2, 38.
60. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 59.
61. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 125-6.
62. See also Dugmore, *C.A.*, 44; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 239, 247, 309, 338, 384, 486; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 384.
63. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 42, 52, 440.
64. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 181.
65. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 104, 281.
66. Elliot, *P.M.*, 218.
67. Herodotus, I, 193.
68. Hewitt, *R.R.*
69. Old, *S.K.*

70. Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 1, 29.
 71. *C.V.*; also Dampier, *V.A.*
 72. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 32, 35; vol. 2, 152, 157; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 267.
 73. Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 2, 522.
 74. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 103; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 49.
 75. *C.G.H.*
 76. *F.J.*, 92.
 77. *T.C.*, 359, 123.
 78. *M.*, 38.
 79. *T.*, vol. 2, 353, 359.
 80. *T.Y.*, vol. 2, 249.
 81. *W.A.*, vol. 1, 242, 254.
 82. *M.*, 38.
 83. *H.B.*, 54.
 84. *N.V.*, vol. 1, 85, 100, 137.
 85. Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 172.
 86. *M.L.*, 146; also Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 1, 29, 59.
 87. *T.*, 135.
 88. *V.C.*, 697.
 89. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 281; vol. 2, 38, 154.
 90. *Z.*, 185.
 91. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 602; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 119; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 234, 287, 313; vol. 2, 181; Livingstone, *T.*, 102, 151, 364; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 232; Stow, *N.R.*, 132; Cotton, *U.A.*, 300; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 612; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 210; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 238, 457, 527; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58, 267; Kassner, *R.E.*, 74, 96, 105, 135, 211; Maugham, *Z.*, 320; Roscoe, *B.*, 432; Baines, *E.*, 423; Mohr, *V.F.*, 186, 265; Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 344; vol. 8, 205.
 92. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 161.
 93. Elliot Smith, *A.E.*
 94. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 137.
 95. Herodotus, I, 193.
 96. *ib.* III, 117.
 97. Cotton, *U.A.*, 517; Maugham, *Z.*, 186; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 60, 548; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 251; vol. 2, 38; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131.
 98. Roscoe, *B.*, 433.
 99. Elliot, *P.M.*, 331; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 108; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
 100. Elliot, *P.M.*, 222, 331; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Stow, *N.R.*, 418; Moodie, *T.Y.*, vol. 2, 249; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131; Wallace, *T.A.*, 333.
 101. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Stow, *N.R.*, 418.
 102. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131.
 103. Stow, *N.R.*, 418.
 104. *V.C.*, 697.
 105. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 32.
 106. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317.
 107. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
 108. *M.L.*, 146.
 109. *V.C.*, 697.

110. *M.L.*, 146.
 111. *G.G.C.*, 606; also Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 138, 281.
 112. *B.E.A.*, 543.
 113. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 606.
 114. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 105, 251; vol. 2, 38.
 115. See also Barth, *T.N.A.*, 382; Cotton, *U.A.*, 300; Junker, *T.A.*, 420; Holden, *H.N.*, 434.
 116. *G.G.C.*, 78.
 117. *G.*, 96.
 118. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 105.
 119. *ib.* vol. 2, 38.
 120. Roscoe, *B.*, 433.
 121. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 606.
 122. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 211, 213, 251, 282; vol. 2, 38, 63; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 261; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 55; Livingstone, *T.*, 151; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 133; *E.S.A.*, 172.
 123. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 242.
 124. See Barth, *T.N.A.*, 281, 309, 384, 470; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 251, 263, 282; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 55; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 83, 241; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 600, 672, 908, 958; Rankin, *Z.B.N.*, 239; Purvis, *M.E.*, 69; Hore, *T.*, 60; Wissman, *J.E.A.*, 54; Lloyd, *I.D.L.*, 82, 123; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 238; Roscoe, *B.*, 433; Haberlandt, *E.*, 146; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 143, 154; *Man*, XXI, 188.
 125. *G.G.C.*, 607.
 126. *V.C.*, 697.
 127. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 281, 309, 384, 438; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 183, 213, 251, 263, 282; vol. 2, 38, 63; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 78; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 119, 226; Maugham, *Z.*, 186, 320; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 278; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 232; Patterson, *M.T.*, 242; Cotton, *U.A.*, 283; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 219, 273; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 163, 384; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 482.
 128. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 143.
 129. *ib.* 553.
 130. Elliot Smith, *A.E.*
 131. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 229.
 132. Angelo, *V.C.*, 617; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 88; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 132, 137, 612; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 74, 213, 251, 282; vol. 2, 38, 133; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 97, 242, 477; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 133; Elliot, *P.M.*, 220; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 470, 471; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 384; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241; Kassner, *R.E.*, 71, 184, 195; Haddon, *W.P.*, 52.
 133. III, 106.
 134. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 129.

home, or been taken there by him, and was straightway adopted into the family, and the pair henceforth became mutual chums and associates in the chase. This age-long acquaintance between the two is the explanation of the dog's present extraordinary attachment to man: it understands us best, because it has known us longest.

This admirable creature is thought to have been originally a species of jackal, or a cross between jackal and wolf.¹ Its first appearance, historically, was with the Solutrean race (of Late Palæolithic stone-age man), which, as Sollas thinks, migrated into Western Europe, along with the horse, 20,000 years ago, hailing from the West-central steppe-lands of Asia, where presumably both dog and horse were first domesticated. During the 1st Dynasty of Ancient Egypt (4700-4500 B.C.), jackals are known to have been kept in captivity;² and on the stele of Antef IV (of the 11th Dynasty, c. 2900 B.C.) hounds, called *uher*, are specifically mentioned.³ There is no direction more likely than this of Ancient Egypt, whence the Negroes on the Nile may have obtained their earliest dogs. From there, they would naturally spread abroad into the Sudan and Bantuland.

The commonest Bantu name for 'dog' is *iMbwa*, of which the Zulu form is *iNja*. Most of the Bantu dogs, and of the Zulu too, are of the jackal-pariah type. But besides this, the Zulus possessed another entirely different breed, which they called *isi Qá*. This was more suggestive of a small hyæna than a jackal, smallish in size, but stout of build, with shorter, squarer muzzle, short light-brown hair, fierce in temperament, and carrying a slight mane along the neck and spine. Though occasionally met with in the Zulu kraals towards the end of last century, it seems since to have disappeared—no great loss indeed; for it was a disagreeable creature, with no loveliness or affection about it. The Zulus were fond of dogs, not only by reason of their helpfulness in the chase (especially those of the *isi Qá* breed), but also as night-time watch-dogs at home when they were allowed to run loose. The Zulu king, Dingane, possessed a certain large kind of dog, called an *ĩGóvu*, perhaps a Boer hound, and therefore quite modern. The same may be said of another breed, of the greyhound type, found mainly in the Cape, and known as an *ĩBántsa*.

Chapter 9

The Zulu Pastoral Man : His Animals, Domestic and Wild

The Ancient Hunters were long extinct; but their blood ran weakly still in their descendants, the Pastoral Primitives. As the female had at last conceived the idea of bringing the wild grasses from the veld and planting them at home, so now her stronger partner followed suit by bringing home the wild beasts and rearing them there. A sure and regular food-supply was thus assured right at the door. For this purpose, of all the beasts he knew, none appealed to him so much as certain ruminants, roaming the plains in herds, less fierce by nature, tenderer of meat and prolific of milk. So he started operations with—the useful cow.

Direct decendants of those pastoral Primitives were Jomela and his sons. On them had devolved the birthright and duty of tending the family herd of cows and flocks of sheep and goats, which their forefathers in long ages past had brought home and tamed for them. Daily the boys led the cattle to their pastures, and with them, as of yore, went their inseparable companion, the dog.

For even prior to the taming of the cow, this most sagacious of the wolf-and-jackal tribe, had associated itself inseparably with man. Roaming those selfsame plains in search of food, it had accustomed itself to cling to hunting man, as the hyæna to the lion; and, urged by its greater intelligence and gentler disposition, it had ere long actually followed him

None would have been more amused than the Zulu to hear that his brothers in the Congo^{3a} and on the Zambezi^{3b} possessed dogs that were unable to bark and too timid to bite; for the Zulu to bark and to bite was the only *raison d'être* of a dog's existence. But then, *he* was never a dog-gourmand; and this particular brand of non-barking dog is, as its owners declare, uncommonly good eating; only second to brother-man himself! The Mitu Sudanese,^{3c} it must be granted, are in absolute agreement with this epicurean sentiment of the Congolese. It is remarkable, too, that the Negro's most distant relative across the ocean in Papua is also possessed of a dog that never barks. But here the defect is more than compensated by a power of howling (especially in moon-lit nights), which no amount of "stone-throwing or beating with sticks freely administered by their masters, had the smallest effect" in stilling.^{3d}

The bitch, when giving birth to pups, is said by the Zulus to *Nyelezela*; never to *Zala*, which is the term used for human beings and most other animals.

With the help of this useful friend, the dog, prehistoric man rounded up the wild oxen, not only of the Asiatic steppes, but also of many other parts of the Old World, drove them into his stockade (the *isiBaya* of the Zulus), and ever since has reared them there. Owing to their diverse origins and to intercrossing, the offspring of these ancient wild cattle nowadays appear in Africa and elsewhere in all sorts of varieties, long-horned and short-horned, humpless and humped.

One of those earliest types, the urus or aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), was perhaps the first to be tamed by Neolithic man, some 8,000 to 10,000 years ago, in the neighbourhood, as some think,⁴ of Turkestan in Asia. Apparently this same great ox was encountered by Caesar during his rambles in Gaul, and is described by him as having large, spreading horns. But nearly 5,000 years before Caesar's time, a similar ox had been domesticated in Egypt (c. 4840 B.C.). A slate palette of the Predynastic king, Nar-mer,⁵ depicts what is no doubt intended to represent a long-horned, high-standing *Bos Aegypticus* (sometimes called the Gala ox). What this beast was like may be judged from an illustration in Cotton⁶ of a specimen still to be seen living in Northern Bantuland even today,

carrying marvellous horns 3 feet 4 inches in length, and measuring 5 feet across from tip to tip. But these are puny compared with others met with in the south of Africa, where the baTlowu Chwanas possessed herds whose horns "measured as much as 8 to 10 feet from tip to tip".⁷ Whether this long-horned Egyptian ox was the offspring of the aurochs or not, we cannot say; but "the careful researches made by Dr. Lortet on the mummies of Egyptian bulls have led him to the conclusion that the long-horned bull, which is the oldest breed found on the monuments, is a native race, and has not been imported from Asia".⁸ Speaking of Greece (c. 400 B.C.), Herodotus⁹ says: "The whole region is full of lions, and wild bulls [thought, remarked Rawlinson, to be the modern aurochs] with gigantic horns, which were brought into Greece." Long prior to that, to wit, during the reign of Pepi II, of the 6th Dynasty, the African Nubians, abutting on the Egyptians to the south, already possessed cattle; but we are not told what they were like.¹⁰ Anyway, thinks Johnston,¹¹ this Egyptian ox "was obviously the first type of domesticated cattle in Africa," and in due course it spread down the continent, leaving driblets as it went, in Somaliland,¹² among the Nuer of the Nile,¹³ the Himas about Uganda,¹⁴ the Tuis to the north of Tanganyika Lake,¹⁵ and then, after a remarkable gap of 1000 miles, re-appearing again in South Africa, among the Rotsis on the upper Zambezi,¹⁶ among the Hottentots in South-West Africa,¹⁷ the Chwanas of the Central Plateau,¹⁸ and finally, at the middle of last century, among the Zulus of Zululand. They were brought to this latter country, during Dingane's hunts after the fugitive Mzilikazi, from incidental raids made on the baPedi (*Z. baBélu*) Sutus of the north-eastern Transvaal. Hence the Zulus called the breed, the *ūSutú* or *ūBélu*; and "so high were they, that," as the Native story runs, "one had to stand up (not squat down, as is usual) when milking them." Which moreover appears to be no great exaggeration; for the veracious Livingstone,¹⁹ writing of the herds of the Zambezian Rotsis, says: "These oxen stand high on their legs, and are often nearly six feet at the withers. They have big horns, and a pair we brought from the lake measured eight and a half feet from tip to tip." But this was not the national Zulu breed.

Contemporaneous with the long-horned Egyptian ox, and domesticated at about the same period by Mediterranean man,

was another species of ox, humpless like the former, but of smaller size, and wearing horns of only normal length; in all, a much more delicate beast. The prehistoric Magdalenian artists of the south of France (8,000-10,000 B.C.) left on their cave-walls for our future enlightenment²⁰ pictures of such a humpless ox, carrying horns of medium size, with the points curved forwards, as with the gnu: but, mindful of the limitations of Magdalenian technique, one must beware of making too much capital out of this last detail. In 1905, was unearthed at Deir el-Bahari, in Egypt, a complete statue of what seems to be the same or similar type of ox, personifying the Egyptian goddess, Hathor. Pictures of such cattle have been left us also by unknown African artists, carved on the rocks of the northern Sudan, in the Murzuk region of Fezzan.²¹ Like the long-horned Egyptian, so now the short-horned Mediterranean cow is again to be found trailing away from the north to south of the continent—among the Shilluks and Nuers on the Nile,²² at Kanem in the Sudan,²³ in Budumaland on Lake Chad,²⁴ at Djerma on the upper Niger,²⁵ on the Cross River in Nigeria,²⁶ in Uganda,²⁷ among the Yanzis of west Equatorial Africa,²⁸ among the Shukulumbwes on the Kafue,²⁹ and the Tokas of the middle Zambezi³⁰ in Ben gwela (Portuguese West Africa)—“bullocks were in great abundance,” writes Owen,³¹ “the latter of a small species, the largest out of five that we took on board weighing only one hundred and eighty pounds”; in Bihe in inner Angola,³² and thence, with a leap, over to the other side of the continent to our Zulus in Zululand, and thence away south to the Cape,³³ where the Bushman cave-drawings often depict them.³⁴ This is the species from which the Zulu breed must, we think, have been evolved.

There was still another kind of ox in Bantuland. Sumerian carvings in Early Babylonia (c. 4,000 B.C.) show an ox having identically the same-shaped horns (namely, projecting like those of a gnu) as those depicted by the Magdalenian artists of France, but now having, what the latter did not have, a well-developed hump. From this breed, we may reasonably suppose, the modern Indian zebu may have been derived. This latter has in recent times been imported into Eastern Africa, and thence has spread into Galaland³⁵ and Abyssinia,³⁶ to the Sudanese Dinkas³⁷ and Nyamnyams,³⁸ and as far away as Timbuktu,³⁹ as well as to the Masai⁴⁰ and Kikuyus,⁴¹ the

Nandis⁴² and Kavirondos.⁴³ But, so far as we know, it has never yet reached as far as southern Africa.

Some are of the opinion that the South African Bantu obtained their cattle from the Hottentots. So far as the Zulus are concerned, this cannot have been; for the Hottentot cattle were of the big, large-horned, coarser breed, whereas those of the Zulus were small, medium horned, and more delicate both in flesh and in appearance. The nearest relatives to the Zulu cattle, so far as we can discover, are (at the present time) those of the Kafu (beyond Zambezi) Shukulumbwes and Angola Bihes—the straight-backed, shorter-horned type of Ancient Egyptian Deir el-Bahari. The cattle trail from north to south through Bantuland, from Uganda to Zululand, is well defined. In the Congo region generally, by reason of the presence of tsetse-fly,⁴⁴ cattle are practically or entirely non-existent.⁴⁵ In Angola, “the total absence of horned cattle among the Natives on the coast, from the river Congo to the south of the river Quanza, is very remarkable”;⁴⁶ and north of the Congo mouth, the story is the same—“there are none”.⁴⁷ [Parenthetically, we should warn the reader not to be misled by the quite modern attempts at cattle introduction into some of the parts just mentioned]. Similarly, from the Congo eastwards to the Indian Ocean—among the Delagoa Bay Tongas (in 1854),⁴⁸ the Kalangas of Mashonaland (in 1860),⁴⁹ and throughout Portuguese East Africa,⁵⁰ cattle were “entirely absent”. Where, then, were the cattle? The line of cattle-Bantu and cattle-country is clearly marked; it passes down from Uganda both eastwards⁵¹ and westwards⁵² of the Victoria Nyanza; along the north,⁵³ east⁵⁴ and west⁵⁵ of Lake Tanganyika; by the north of Nyasa Lake,⁵⁶ to Mweru⁵⁷ and Katanga,⁵⁸ to the Shukulumbwes on the Kafue⁵⁹ and the Tokas on the middle Zambezi,⁶⁰ thence over the latter river to the Okavango⁶¹ and South-West Africa, to Lake Ngami⁶² and the Chwanas⁶³ on the Central Plateau, and so straight away to the Zulu-Xosa Ngunis in the south-eastern corner of the continent. And this north-to-south cattle-line marks also, in our opinion, the route of the ancient north-to-south Nguni migration 500 years ago.

The pastoral Bantu, as a rule, and including the Zulus, valued the ox more highly than the cow, just as they preferred also sons to daughters. Stow^{63a} says of the ovaMbo of South-

West Africa that, "when a foray was made upon their herds, [they] allowed the cows to fall into the hands of their enemies and devoted all their energies to the preservation of their oxen." To the Egyptians, and presumably also to the modern Indians, it was the cow that was held most sacred and preserved. Perhaps it were true to say of the Zulu paterfamilias that he bestowed more attention on his cattle than upon his children, and prized them as highly as he did his wives, whose equivalent they were in 'cash'. Notwithstanding which, the Zulus reckoned 13s. apiece quite adequate payment for a beast when, in 1854, the hunter, Baldwin,⁶⁴ "initiated himself into the art of trading" among them; while, two years before, they were willing to exchange an ox for "four picks or hoes . . . worth in the Colony 1s. 6d. each." Mackenzie,⁶⁵ also in the middle of the last century, gives 7s. 6d. as an average price for a cow in Zululand.

In passing, we may draw attention to the curious fact that, almost everywhere throughout the Old World, the guttural sound, *g* or *k*, appears as the principal consonant in the roots employed to designate a 'kow' an 'oks', and the 'kattle'; thus, Ancient Egyptian, *ka*, ox; *kaut*, cow; Sanskrit, *gaus*, cow; Hindi, *gao*, cow; Arabic, *gamus*, buffalo; Hebrew, *gamal*, camel; and so away through Africa; thus, Hima, *ngobe*, cow (generically, throughout); Swahili and Angola, *ngombe*; Herero, *o-ngombe*; Zambezi Toka, *i-ngombe*; Bihe (Angola), *olo-ngombe*; Fernando Po, *nkofo*; Chwana, *kgomo*; Zulu, *i-nkomo*; and even Hottentot, *goma-b*, ox (comp. Zulu, *i-nkabi*, ox), *goma-s*, cow (comp. Zulu, *i-nkomazi*, cow). In the Sudanic tongues we naturally expect to find the usual chaotic nomenclature. Yet the guttural sound largely still persists; thus, Songhai (western Sudan), *hau*; mid-Niger, *ligume*; Wandala (Sudan), *luguma*, camel; Teda (Libyans), *goni*, camel; Fula (Libyans), *nagge*, cow; Jawunde (Cameroons), *naga*; Duala (Cameroons), *naka*.

So proud was the Zulu of older times of his cattle, that he found great pleasure in torturing them in all sorts of ways in order to make them look still more beautiful. In this practice he held no monopoly; for it seems to have been a general South African survival of what may have been in earlier days a universal African custom. Though there is no actual record explaining exactly how the Zulus performed their 'horn-training' custom, from such accounts as we have, it would

seem that the procedure with them was much the same as it was among the surrounding peoples. Speaking of the Hottentots, Lichtenstein⁶⁶ observes: "This [ornamentation of cattle] is done in two ways; either by giving the horns strange and fantastic directions, or by cutting, soon after their birth, pieces of skin from the neck to the knee, and letting them hang down. In order to change the manner of the horn's growing, they are, from the moment when they begin to appear, pushed into the direction intended to be given them. By these means they sometimes drive them back like the horns of the antelope, or turn them in a variety of strange and absurd ways." "The Makololo [Sutus on the upper Zambezi]," writes Livingstone,⁶⁷ "are in the habit of shaving a little bit from one side of the horns while they are growing, in order to make them curve in that direction and assume fantastic shapes. The stranger the curvature, the more handsome the ox is considered to be. . . . This is an ancient custom in Africa; for the tributary tribes of Ethiopia are pictured on some of the oldest Egyptian monuments bringing contorted-horned cattle into Egypt. This is not the only mode of adorning their oxen. Some are branded in lines with a hot knife, which causes a permanent discolouration of the hair, like the bands on the hide of a zebra. Another mode of decoration is to detach pieces of skin round the head, two or three inches long and broad, and these are allowed to heal in a dependent position".⁶⁸ This will suffice to give an idea also of the practice with the Zulus, who used to play similar tricks with their cattle up to 100 years ago, as Fynn⁶⁹ has told us in his papers, but without obliging us with any further detailed explanation. The custom seems to have died out after Shaka's time (d. 1828). All this was presumably the cause of the great number of subsequently permanent horn-shapes, each with a distinguishing name, among the Zulu cattle until the beginning of this century. Thus, there was the *iGóqo*, long horns spirally twisted throughout their length, like those of the kudu antelope; the *ūCengezi*, horns spread broadly out and then round above the head, like a basin; the *iMbóxela*, perfectly erect, sharp-pointed horns, like those of a bull bush-buck; the *isiGédle*, curved horns pointing downwards, either straight down on each side, or slightly round before the face; the *ūGélegéqe*, long horns, standing erect, then flowing away to the rear; the *iNgóngómba*,

long horns twisted near their points; the *iNgóqela*, erect horns curving towards each other and nearly meeting; the *iGúbudu*, horns curving round to the front and falling downwards before the forehead; the *iNgxobongo*, uncurved horns pointing straight forwards, like those of a gnu; the *ámaHlawe*, horns hanging down, quite loose, along each side of the head; and many more quaint devices not necessary further to specify. Strange to say, these artificially deformed horns seem somehow to have been transmitted to the offspring; for practically all of them were still to be seen even in our own time; which was long after the actual custom had become obsolete. But since about the year 1900, we have failed to notice so great a variety of horn in Zululand cattle, as though there is a tendency to revert to the original types.

Similar was it with the cattle-colours. Until recent years there used to be all manner of colour-forms, which we no longer notice. Thus, there was the *iWaba*, a beast black of body, with a large white patch under the belly and running up the flanks; the *iHwanqa*, mainly black, with white patches everywhere; the *e'ma Qanda-kaHayiba*, mainly white, with small brown spots; the *iNtsasa*, brown with roan belly and lower flanks; the *uKólo*, brown body, with roan head and neck; the *iKlalati*, black, with a white spot on the throat; and numerous other varieties. From the fact that these fancy colourings are quite noticeably disappearing, one might almost conclude that they had been deliberately cultivated. All the same, the plain colours were by no means despised. Indeed, the Zulu kings seem to have had a special partiality for these one-coloured cattle, of which they found pleasure in amassing vast herds; thus, there was Shaka's (later inherited by his successor, Dingane) *iziTúlu* herd of black cattle; his reddish-brown *umTshezi* herd; his spotted *amaBédelezi*; his dust-brown *umVutwámini*; his grey *umJibá* herd; and his *iNyoni-ka-yi-Púmule* herd of all-whites.

The milk (*uBisi*) of the true Zulu breed, compared with what we are accustomed to, was, in its quantity, exceedingly scanty. But at the same time, it was extraordinarily rich in cream, especially in those districts where the red and long *iNtsinde* grass (*Anthistiria*) prevailed. Capt. Ludlow⁷⁰ was familiar with both European and Zulu cows; and yet he could write: "The milk from the Zulu cattle is quite as rich as that

of the Alderney cows at home." Which is also our own personal experience. The scantiness of yield at milking is perhaps attributable to the universal practice of milking (*ukuSenga*) only after the calf has first well sucked the mother. They have an idea that no cow will yield its milk, unless it be first 'enticed' by the calf; and this may really be so, the disposition having been created by long usage. Cows that did allow themselves to be milked without the calf were certainly known, and such a cow was called an *isiGúdo*; but they were regarded as an abnormality by the Zulus. Of course, it could never be said that the Zulus were incompetent milkers. They were trained to the job from boyhood, and thoroughly understood their cows, as well as being by nature provided with uncommonly strong wrists and fingers. And here, with the milking, we are once again confronted with a plethora of terms; for instance, the first milking (after the first sucking by the calf) was called the *amaMbila*; the second milking (after the second sucking by the calf), the *umPéhlu*; the third milking, the *umNcundze*; and the fourth, the *umGqoblya*. So many milkings were, of course, quite exceptional; the rule being, one only milking though two milkings were quite common. A cow yielding milk, abundantly was termed an *iHubúhubú*; one with little milk, an *isiGqala*; and one with none at all, an *isiQoqogo*. Again, we have *ukuHwabá*, to milk 'just a splash', as from a single teat; *ukuGcobá*, to milk slightly, as from a cow yielding little milk; *ukuHawuza*, to milk in haste, taking advantage of the moment; *ukuHubúza*, to milk abundantly; *ukuGqobá*, to milk the cow dry, leaving no second serving (as is customary) for the calf; and *ukuGúda*, to milk altogether without the calf. Sometimes it happened that a cow lost its calf. Seeing that his cows refused to be drawn without their calves, one might conclude that the Zulu would now find himself in a quandary. Not he! Magic always provided him with a sure means of overcoming every difficulty. So he went out on to the veld, and came back home again—bringing with him a crab, and the roots of the *ubuVimba* plant (*Withania somnifera*). These he mixed well together, and fortified the mixture with the tail of a monkey and the same of a weasel, finally inserting the completed *iMvumane* specific into a horn (with a hole at its point). He then blew the contents of the horn through the hole on to the body of any calf selected for the purpose. To make still more

certain, he might smear the back of the calf with hippo-fat. At the same time the cow itself was treated. The pounded leaves of the aforesaid *ubu Vimba* plant were rolled into a ball, which was slipped into the cow's vagina, and followed up with a vigorous blow with the mouth into the cavity, in order to drive the pellet well home; whereafter he recited the magic formula, *M-Vume. Nangu umNtwana waKó* (Accept-it. Here-is your child). And at that moment scenting something agreeable on the calf's back, the bereaved cow would immediately start 'kissing' (i.e. licking) it. And the calf as soon would start sucking at the udder; and down would come the milk!

With all those centuries of experience behind him, one would expect the Zulus to be well acquainted with all the local stock-diseases. And so they were; and furthermore had a fair working knowledge how to deal with them. In olden Native days, their cattle-diseases were not many; but some of them were of the serious type, which beat the Native doctors, as they did also the European. Among the earlier diseases were anthrax (*umBendeni*), quarter-evil (*uNqasha*), tsetse-fly disease (*ūNakane*), the *umMunca* (another 'wasting' disease of the coastal bush-veld), and the *umGóbo* (a complaint causing curvature of the spine). Then came the Whiteman, and with him brought red-water (*uBósiki*, fr. Dutch 'Boschziekte'), tuberculosis (*umMbila*), and lung-sickness (*uMahagáne*). All these latter diseases probably came along with the trading-wagons which roamed about the Zulu country during Mpande's reign. Lung-sickness first appeared in the Cape Colony in 1855, and by 1861⁷¹ it was already rife in Zululand, where, says Mohr,⁷² "so many oxen died, that there was not one left for the old king, Panda, to kill. On the other hand, buffaloes swarmed in the country to such an extent at that time, that the redoubtable John Dun [Dunn] was named hunter to his majesty, and in about three months he and his Kafir servants shot over eight hundred on the banks of the Umvolosi and Umhlatu [umHlatúze]. Dun elected to receive payments in lands and privileges; and that was how he came by his fine farm, Inthuensi [emTúnzini]." Tuberculosis was noticed in Zululand by the hunter, Leslie,⁷³ in 1870. Native traditions and European records go to show that the tsetse-fly was less prevalent in Zululand in former times than it is today. The beautiful Hlabisa woodlands seem to have been a cattle paradise in

Zwide's time.⁷⁴ The adjacent Hlulhuwe district, too, had such an excellent reputation, that king Dingane himself, after his flight from the Boers, first decided to settle there. Whether it was malaria, or what, that compelled him soon after to move up further inland to the *īVúna* river, is unknown. "For some years after Panda became king of the Zulus," writes Leslie,⁷⁵ "the country between and about the junction of the Black and White Umvolosi was thickly populated and full of cattle." Harris,⁷⁶ however, in 1836 found the north-western Transvaal, about the Mural mountains, to be infested by "a large species of gadfly, nearly the size of a honey-bee, the bite of which . . . proves fatal to cattle." Holden⁷⁷ records it as present about Lake Ngami in 1849; and Livingstone⁷⁸ mentions it in other places. Oswald⁷⁹ declares that the (imported) humped or zebu breed of cattle in East Africa are immune to the tsetse-fly disease.

In our own quite recent time, an even more baleful cattle-plague has swept down on the Zulu country. Rinderpest (*Z. uLendipési*) came down from Rhodesia in 1896, and killed off perhaps three-quarters of the Zulu cattle. No sooner had the herds once more recovered themselves, than down came the so-called tick-fever (no specific Native name has yet been coined for this) from the same quarter, and wrought once more an equal destruction. However, this time, the speedy introduction of the Government dipping-tank and compulsory dipping saved the remnants by ridding the veld of fully 90 per cent. of its ticks (*īKízane; iNkizane; umKáza; īQashi*—according to variety). Notwithstanding which, the plague still reappears sporadically and in less virulent form. The latest visitation of new and previously unknown cattle-diseases was, so far as we know, the so-called 'three-day sickness' some years back. This ailment seems to have been prevalent in the Sudan about the year 1870. Had it been gradually creeping south ever since then? Schweinfurth⁸⁰ wrote about the time stated: Among the Dinka cattle, a disease, "known as Odwangdwang, appears just as contagious, though not so generally fatal, as the two former; the animals refuse their food for forty-eight hours, but under favourable circumstances, on the third day commence grazing again."

Besides the preceding specific diseases, the Zulus were well aware also of the poisonous properties of the *iNdloloti*

veld-plant. The *isiKátá* or hair-ball, too, with its consequent stomach and bowel derangement, was well known. The moth larva, *uNkulunkundleni*, when gobbled up along with the grass, was also said to be fatal to cattle. Vegetable remedies galore were well known to the older men for every ill. And when vegetables failed, the medicine-men always knew some synthetic substitute; for instance, the *umGóbo* spinal complaint might easily be cured, said they, by taking the tail of an *iNtsimba* genet, burning it to ashes, and then giving these to the sick beast to drink.

A great deal of harm to grass and soil is attributed by Europeans (especially through the consequent soil-erosion) to the universal and annual Native practice of grass-burning. Probably the original idea had been simply to clear the land at the end of the dry season of the overgrown grass, so inconvenient to travel and dangerous with snakes. Further this regular grass-burning provided the Natives' only effective acaricide. Without this constant check on the multiplication of ticks, it would be difficult to realise what the state of the grazing-grounds and the cattle might have been. This tick-pest, of course, is common in Africa. And yet in some parts, the creatures do not seem to thrive. Stigand⁸¹ says that, while abundant in the Masai country [who, by-the-way, have many cattle], they are few or entirely absent in the Rift Valley [is it because of the absence of cattle there?].

Besides his cattle, a Zulu man often possessed also a small number of goats (*iMbuzi*). The domesticated goat is supposed to have been first tamed, during Neolithic times, from some wild *Capra* (*C. aegagrus* or *hircus*) in the region of Asia Minor,⁸² and to have reached the Bantu from Egypt.⁸³ The Zulu goat is of all manner of colours, black, white, black-and-white, and brown (light and dark); and its hair, short and coarse (except in the case of old billies, when it becomes shaggy), is of no commercial value. Its flesh is quite passable, and the remark of Merolla⁸⁴ concerning the Congo in 1682 would equally apply to the Zululand of today, namely, that "goat flesh is in much greater esteem in these parts than mutton." The goats of those parts were, he adds, "so exceeding fertile that they will bring forth three or four young ones at once." The Zulu goat is rarely so generous as to produce more than a pair at a

time; though three or four are known. The goat furnishes the Zulu with a cheap and conveniently sized animal for smaller ceremonial occasions, being chiefly used as a sacrifice to minor ancestral spirits, for the entertainment of visitors, and as an important element in medical procedure. Its milk is not used by the Zulus; though it sometimes is by the Xosa Ngunis. Strange to say, Kay,⁸⁵ writing in 1835, asserts that goats were then but a 'recent' introduction among the Cape Xosas, and were rare also among the Chwanas of the Transvaal. Yet the good ship, *Noord*, reported goats as being in 'swarms' in Natal so long ago as 1689.⁸⁶ Baldwin⁸⁷ says there were none in Mashonaland in 1860—due perhaps to Matabele raids. On the other hand, in those parts of Bantuland where cattle do not thrive, goats are usually found to be the staple stock.⁸⁸ The Zulus keep their goats in special pens; though occasionally one may meet with one or two kept within the *iTómbe* partition inside the family hut.

The sheep (*iMvu*; Chwana, *Nku*; Herero, *oNdu*; Kamba, *Ngondu*; Swahili, *Kondoo*; Nama Hottentot, *Gui*) is thought to have been first domesticated in the same region as the goat, and to have entered Northern Africa along with the Mediterranean race.⁸⁹ Johnston⁹⁰ believed that "the oldest type of the domestic sheep of Negroland is undoubtedly that remarkable dwarf form which is found in the Cameroons." But "the ordinary and commonest type of the domestic sheep in the Congo is black and white . . . and belongs to the group tentatively named *Ovis jubatus*, from the very considerable amount of hair along the throat and under-side of the neck in the male. The tail in all Congo and West African sheep is without any deposit of fat. . . . When one passes to the south and east of Congoland . . . one exchanges this smaller white and black, thin-tailed sheep for the larger, taller domestic sheep of East and South Africa, which ordinarily develops a great deposit of fat along the upper portion of the tail, changes its throat mane into a dewlap, and is more often . . . fawn-colour all over. . . . But the East African sheep . . . may be as permanently black and white (or all black) as is the Maned Sheep of West Africa. . . . The ears in the West African Maned Sheep are always erect, short and narrow. With the Fat-tailed Sheep, especially as one proceeds nearer

to North-East Africa and Nubia, the ears become long and pendent. It is evident to me that an early type of this first domesticated form of *Ovis aries* penetrated up the Nile Valley and into Negroland—from this species arose the several modern African varieties.”

The Maned Sheep just referred to—the name, by-the-way, strangely becoming lost so soon as the animal had been castrated⁹¹—found in more northern Africa, from Dinkaland on the Nile,⁹² to the Cameroons⁹³ near Guinea, was unknown in the south. The Zulu sheep belonged to the Fat-tailed breed. This type was common in all historic time throughout the whole of the Old World, from east to west and from north to south, in China, in India, in Syria, and in Africa, from Nubia⁹⁴ in the north, down the Nile to the Shilluks,⁹⁵ through Galaland,⁹⁶ Kavirondoland,⁹⁷ Uganda,⁹⁸ Tanganyika Colony,⁹⁹ Western Congo¹⁰⁰ and South-Eastern Congo,¹⁰¹ to the Cape Colony in the extreme south, where the earliest Portuguese navigators found it in 1595.¹⁰² “These fat-tailed sheep,” says Stugand,¹⁰³ “appear to do well in the dry and arid country, and are able to endure the periods of drought and poor grazing in a surprising manner. The raw fat of their tails is eaten by Masai and Samburr as a cure for thirst. The Somalis say that a gelding rested and fed on this fat will race any animal excepting the ostrich and the gerenuk (Waller’s gazelle).” Herodotus was struck by the peculiar tails of these sheep in Arabia. There were, he says,¹⁰⁴ two kinds of sheep, one with tails so long (three cubits in length!) that, “if they were allowed to trail on the ground, they would be bruised and fall into sores. As it is, all the shepherds know enough of carpentering to make little trucks for their sheep’s tails. The trucks are placed under the tails . . . and the tails are then tied down upon them. The other kind has a broad tail, which is a cubit across sometimes.” A more modern Herodotus, named Cole,¹⁰⁵ writing of the Cape Colony in 1852, repeats the old story once more. The Cape sheep, he says, “are perfectly lean except at the tail, which is a huge mass of fat dangling down to the hocks. . . . Their tails were so enormous and so heavy that they had little wicker-work go-carts, to which they were fastened and in which they rested.” Referring to these Hottentot sheep in 1775, Sparrman¹⁰⁶ says “the tail alone of one of these sheep (which is thick and of a triangular shape,

being from a foot to a foot and a half in length, and sometimes above six inches thick near the rump) will weigh from eight to twelve pounds, and mostly consists of a delicate kind of fat.” Darwin¹⁰⁷ was puzzled as to the meaning of this cumbersome appendage, and suggested that it might be merely “purposeless variability.” For once, there is little doubt, Darwin was entirely wrong. Its purpose was obvious, and the device was excellent. In this delicate fat, nature had provided the animal with a store of ‘liquid food’ in concentrated form whereon to draw in times of drought; and further, instead of enveloping the animal’s body (already so warmly clothed) in a blanket of fat, which would have proven unbearable under a tropical sun, had considerately stored it up out of the way in the tail. This type of sheep, however, proved of small use to the Whiteman, when he came—it had no wool! The difference between wool and hair is that in the former the threads are externally serrated, as though consisting of a succession of overlapping circular scales, which causes the fibres to cling together when interlaced and so form one compact mass of ‘felt’. Hair, on the contrary, presents a perfectly smooth exterior and consequently refuses to cling or mat together. The African fat-tailed sheep grows such a form of coarse ‘hair’, and is accordingly unusable as wool. The true woolly sheep was first introduced into the Cape by Lieut. Daniell so recently as the year 1827.¹⁰⁸

The Zulu lamb usually had a beautifully glossy, jet-black skin, much prized by them for making men’s dress-ware (tailed-kilts, ornamental shoulder-ropes, etc.). As the animal grew, the glossiness disappeared and the colour changed to a dull dark-brown. The ears were never pendent, but always small and erect. The tail of the rams and wethers was always fatter than that of the ewes. The fat concentrated at the top near the rump (where the tail-breadth might be six or more inches), the tail gradually diminishing to a point at the bottom, which might reach as far as the hocks. By docking the triangular appendage of its point or vertex, the accumulation of fat might be materially increased at the base. In the ewes, this storage of fat was much less active, and the tail consequently less massive. The marvellous tails mentioned above among the Hottentots and Arabians (both, you will remark, located in exceptionally arid and desert-like regions) were

never met with among the Zulu sheep, which always grazed in comparatively richer pasture-lands.

Kay,¹⁰⁹ writing in 1835, says sheep were few among the Xosas of the Cape, and he considered them to be of recent introduction. Among the Chwanas of the Transvaal, he found sheep to be entirely absent. Baldwin,¹¹⁰ in 1860, made the same report about the Kalangas of Mashonaland. Stow¹¹¹ casually refers to 'some sheep' as possessed by the Korana Hottentots about the Kalahari.¹¹²

Osborn¹¹³ asserts that the wild-boar was already in evidence during the 2nd Interglacial (between the 2nd and 3rd Ice Age), some 200,000 to 300,000 years ago, 'moderately calculated'. The pig proper appears to have been an Asiatic,¹¹⁴ whence it wandered into Africa and Europe, mating, as it went, with its relative, the wild-boar, which was roaming everywhere. After that, man took it in hand, brought it home, and converted it into a respectable citizen and table ornament. This, Hoernes¹¹⁵ thinks, occurred about 1500 B.C., as far as Europe is concerned; though Elliot¹¹⁶ states that the pig was domesticated in England and Germany already in Neolithic times.

A variety of wild-pig (*Potamochoerus chæropotamus*) is still roaming the forests of Zululand, and is known to the Zulus as an *iNgúlube*—a name running right through Negroland; thus, Bornu (Sudan), *Ngurutu*, hippopotamus; Hausa (Nigeria), *Garugusu*, pig; Atakpame (Guinea), *Guju*; Yaka and Mbala (Congoland), *Gulu*; Yanzi (Lower Congo), *Ngulu*; Ndonga (Ovamboland), *oshiNgulu*; Herero (South-West Africa), *oNgoruwe*; Nama Hottentot, *Hagub*. The animal, as an article of diet, appealed to the Zulus no more strongly than it did to the Jews, Muhammadans and Ancient Egyptians. And everybody knows exactly how much it appealed to them: if an Egyptian man "in passing accidentally touch a pig, he instantly hurries to the river and plunges in with all his clothes on"!¹¹⁷ No wonder none of these ever attempted domestication. Yet now at long last *mores mutantur*, and "as regards the *Potamochoerus*, the Red River-Hog is tamed and kept as a domestic animal by the Nyamnyam and perhaps the Mangbetu" (in Equatorial Africa).¹¹⁸ Indeed, the baTeke of the French Congo have grown so excessively fond of pigs, "not

necessarily to eat, but as pets", that "a favourite boar may be the friend of the whole village, and come readily at call to be fed or played with." European domestic pigs were in due course introduced by the Portuguese into Western Africa. Even the Zulus have in recent years surrendered, and nowadays one may find pig-styes in their kraals perhaps as frequently as in the homes of Western and South-western Congo.¹¹⁹

"The harmless, necessary cat (a native of Africa, *Felis ocreata*)," says Elliot,¹²⁰ "was, as is well known, domesticated in Egypt at a very early date. It did not appear in Britain until a late period (A.D. 800 to 1000)." This being so, it were well nigh impossible to believe otherwise than that so useful and charming a pet should have been carried, both by water and by land, along the Nile into Negroland at a very early period. But even prior to that, as an aborigine of Africa infinitely more ancient than the Egyptians themselves, both Sudanese and Bantu Negroes must have been familiar with the animal as a wild denizen of the woods. The commonest Bantu name for 'cat' is the onomatopoeic *Nyawo* (after its cry). But another name, *Páka*, also appears everywhere from top to bottom of the Eastern Bantu field; thus, Zulu, *iMpaka*; Hinzua (Comoro Islands), *mPaha*; Yawo (Nyasa) and Kamba (Kenya Colony), *mBaka*; Guha (Tanganyika Colony), *luKaka*; Konde (Lower Rovuma), *Maka*; Swahili (Zanzibar) and Kuwa (Mozambique), *Paka*; Ganda, *Kapa* (inversion). This, we think, must have been the original Bantu name for the animal in its wild state. It was certainly never known to the Zulus (earlier than quite recent times) in a domesticated state; and there being no longer any wild cats in their new home in South Africa, the old name, *iMpaka*, came in course of time to assume a kind of mythological signification. Those secret workers of evil whom the Zulus term *abaTákkáti*, were (and still are) supposed, some of them, to possess a certain 'cat-like' familiar, called an *iMpaka*, which they despatch at night-time to collect, for magical purposes, the 'dirt' (rags, etc.) of those persons whom it is intended to harm or kill. It is rather surprising that so gentle and harmless a creature as the cat should, not only in Africa, but also in Europe, have come to be associated everywhere with witchcraft. For, in medieval times, when European 'witches' were as numerous and as

dreaded as Zulu *abaTákāti*, the cat was held to be as universally a 'familiar' with the former, as it was with the latter. Indeed, with ourselves, a favourite personification of 'Old Nick' himself was that of a Black Cat.

The *domestic* cat was first introduced into Zulu homes by Tonga hawkers about the middle of the 18th century. The Tembe Tonga king at that period chancing to be named Mangobe, the Zulus facetiously called their new pets, brought to them by his subjects, after him, *uMangóbe*. At that time, cats were necessarily few and of great price; but after the middle of last century, when contact with the European pioneers in Natal had increased considerably, cats in Zulu homes became much more common, and now, instead of the previous Tonga name, *uMangóbe*, assumed the English appellation of *iKati* (which is the Zulu rendering of 'cat').¹²¹

Like so many other good things, the useful fowl is also 'supposed' to have been introduced into Africa (as well as Europe) from India. Johnston¹²² surmised that it was first brought into Egypt by the Persians, when Cambyses conquered that country about 525 B.C., and that the modern Bantu poultry are descendants of that stock. Breasted,¹²³ either before or after Johnston, repeats the same story. Speaking of the caravan-roads through Asia Minor, from Syria to India, he says: "A good example of the effect of these roads was the incoming of the domestic fowl, which we call the chicken. Its home was in India, and it was unknown in the Mediterranean until Persian communications [under Darius, c. 521-485 B.C.] brought it from India to the Aegean Sea. Thus the Persians brought to Europe the barnyard fowl so familiar to us." Actual facts, however, since brought to light by Petrie and Carter, have now nullified these surmises. Under the great pharaoh, Tahutmes III (1503-1449 B.C.), writes the former,¹²⁴ Syria was invaded, and a civilization encountered superior even to that of Egypt itself—gold-plated chariots, suits of armour, and other such objects. Soon after, his near successor, Tahutmes IV (1423-1414 B.C.), caused to be taken a "census of the land . . . an inspection of all things, soldiers, priests, royal serfs, artisans of all the country, and of all cattle, *all fowls* [our italics], and all small cattle, by the scribe of troops, loved of His Majesty,

Zanuni".¹²⁵ This historical record was later actually confirmed by hard facts, during the recent excavations by Carter in the tomb of another pharaoh, Tut-ankh-Amen (c. 1343 B.C.), where, engraven on a limestone slab, was found the figure of a domestic cock. So that, even though the barnyard fowl may (which is not proven) have entered Egypt from Syria, or from India, that event must have occurred a thousand years earlier than the date assigned by Johnston and Breasted.

Eventually—and more probably than anywhere else, out of Egypt—the fowl reached Negroland. Speaking of the Akka pygmies in the Sudan, Schweinfurth¹²⁶ writes: "Their only domestic animals are poultry; and it struck me as a coincidence somewhat curious that one of the Pompeian mosaics which I saw in the National Museum at Naples represents the Pygmies in the midst of their little houses, which are depicted as full of common fowls." And those Pompeian mosaics denoted a date at least as early as 70 B.C. . . . From the Sudan, it was not far to Bantuland; and it could hardly have been many centuries later, that the fowl reached there also.

The commonest Bantu name for the domestic fowl is some form of the root, *Kuku* (representing the 'cluck-cluck' of the bird). The Zulus call the fowl *iNkuku*; Kaguru (Tanganyika Col.), and Sango (north of Nyasa), *Nkuku*; Ibo (Nigeria), *Okuku*; Nika (Kenya Col.) and Swahili (Zanzibar), *Kuku*; Ganda, *Nkoko*; Yaka (W. Congo), *Koke*; Mbala (W. Congo), *Kok*; Rega (E. Congo), *Ngoko*; Atakpame (Guinea Negroes), *Akiko*; Ngala (Bornu), *Kusku*; Vili (French Congo), *Susu*; Herero (S.W. Africa), *oNdyuhua*. From this universal identity of name, Johnston¹²⁷ has drawn the conclusion that the name must have been coined, and therefore the fowl itself have been already on the spot, prior to the dispersal of the Bantu from their common original motherland. It may have been so; and were the case any other than that of the fowl, the argument might have been more easily accepted. Unfortunately, the peculiar 'cluck cluck' (to African ears sounding as 'kuk kuk'), so impressively heard all day long in all the several lands all over the continent, lends itself so easily to onomatopoeia, that one is not quite so ready to accept Johnston's theory off-hand. Did we do so, we should find ourselves compelled to believe, not only that all the Bantu and Negro names, but also the Chinese *Kung-ki*, cock, the Sanskrit

Kukkuta, fowl, the Singalese *Kukula*, fowl, and perhaps even the Egyptian *u*, fowl, were all and every one of them derived from a single source in a single land; or, alternatively, that all these races had (as Johnston has it) 'dispersed from their common motherland' after the fowl had already become domesticated there! More plausible were the supposition that all, or many of, these similar terms are simply onomatopoeic, and have been independently coined in the several lands in imitation of the fowl's 'cluck cluck'. Or are we to believe that the Zulu *kukulugú* (the Zulu's effort to imitate the cock's crow), the Nyanja *kokololiko*, the German *kikiriki*, the French *coquelico*, and the ridiculous English 'cock-a-doodle-do', are also all of them derived from a single etymological source? Only if that source be the fowl itself, could we ever credit such a thing. Therefore, it would seem that Johnston's argument that the fowl must have entered Bantuland prior to the race's dispersal, and its corollary that that dispersal must have taken place later than the year 525 B.C. (when he supposes the fowl first to have entered Africa), can hardly be sustained.

Anyhow, the domestic fowl reached Bantuland somewhen; but whether it had reached southern Africa prior to the Portuguese arrival (c. 1500 A.D.), we cannot venture to surmise. Certain is it that, even at the beginning of last century, the fowl was but little known and but slightly appreciated among the Bantu peoples. Speke¹²⁸ says the Natives of Uzinza (Nyanza region) kept fowls only "to sell to travellers, or else for cutting them open for divining purposes, by inspection of the blood and bones" (which latter suggests Arab influence). At the opposite end of Bantuland, at the Cape, Steedman¹²⁹ says that the Mpondos there (at the beginning of last century) reared small fowls, but only for feathers for head-ornaments. Krapf,¹³⁰ in East Africa, states that the Bantu there did not eat their fowls. Certainly the Zulus never did—not until long after their contact with modern Europeans. So recently as 1860, Miss Mackenzie,¹³¹ then resident in Zululand, had to record that "there are none here, and our fowls [which they had brought up with them from near Durban] have a great many wondering visitors"; just as Gardiner¹³² wrote, in 1835, of his Xosa servant, Mpondombini, that "he was greatly amused at the pigs, having only once seen one before." Equally as likely was it that he had never seen a

fowl; for Kay¹³³ affirms that at that time (1835) no fowls yet existed in Xosaland. In Natal, on the other hand, there is good historical evidence that the Lala Ngunis there were in possession of fowls (probably for the same purpose as with their neighbours, the Mpondos) as early as 1688; for in that year the mariners of the galiot, *Noord*, procured from them "two fowls for six or seven beads",¹³⁴ a price which Barth¹³⁵ was able to eclipse, at the beginning of last century, in northern Africa, where he "could buy a fowl for a needle." Capt. Rogers,¹³⁶ again, visited Natal just prior to 1718, and found there "plenty of cocks and hens", and he mentions them as a "common food" of the local Natives, a statement which we are inclined to suspect was but an assumption of his own.

The original Bantu fowl, wherever it was found, seems to have been little improved (if at all) on its natural wild state. It was so insignificantly small, that the Natal Natives, in earlier times, are said to have regarded (and even called) it an *iNtsw-e mpe* (which was their name for the local wild partridge, *Franco-linus coqui*). From this, it would seem clear that they did not know exactly what it was; they (like the Mpondos, who were also a coastal people) having perhaps first received it from visiting or ship-wrecked mariners. Steedman (above) specially noted the 'smallness' of the Mpondo fowls. Johnston¹³⁷ describes those in Congoland as of the "usual short-legged, Bantam-like breed found throughout Negroland", and Kassner¹³⁸ as "a special small kind, no bigger than bantams, and seem to be a true breed. Their plumage is varied—some white, some brown, black or spotted."

We cannot pass without mentioning that most celebrated specimen of the Congo breed, Merolla's cock, which, as a magician, broke all fowl records.¹³⁹ A certain Congolese potentate, Sogno by name, dared to raid the territory of a neighbouring potentate, named Simantamba. "At his arrival he found all the Inhabitants fled; whereupon the Sognese Soldiers fell immediately to rifling the Houses, and moreover began to kill all the living Creatures they met in their way, to satisfy their Hunger. Amongst the rest they found a Cock of a larger size than ordinary, with a great Ring of Iron about one of his Legs, which occasioned one of the wisest among them to cry out, *Surely this Cock must be bewitched, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with.* To which the rest answered,

Be it what it will, we are resolved to eat it". So they proceeded and "tore it to pieces", and boiled it, and, having piously said grace, started to devour it. "But before they had touched a Bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled Pieces of the Cock, though sodden, and nearly dissolved, began to move about, and unite into the Form they were in before, and being so united, the restored Cock immediately raised himself up, and jumped out of the Platter on to the Ground, where he walked about as well as when he was first taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining Wall, where he became new feathered all of a sudden, and then took his Flight to a Tree hard by, where fixing himself, he after three Claps of his Wings, made a most hideous Noise, and then disappeared. Everyone may easily imagine what a terrible Fright the Spectators were in at this Sight, who leaping with a thousand *Ave Marias* in their Mouths, were contented to observe most of the Particulars at a distance. The cause of their Preservation they attributed to the Grace that was said before they sat down"—despite the fact that they had previously murdered the cock's owner, stolen his property, and hacked the bird to pieces! Well, no Zulu cock ever equalled so magnificent a show. And yet they too were not above a little hocus-pocus when it suited. For instance, when a Zulu medical man was called in to treat a certain eye-disease, we found that he also selected a cock from among the poultry in the kraal, and, standing it upon the crown of the patient's head, no amount of startling noise or action would so much as cause it to wink, much less to budge! Whether this was worked by druggery or hypnotism, we were unable to discover.

Simpson¹⁴⁰ says the Akela tribesmen in the Congo so love their poultry and evince for it so fatherly a concern, that they actually "provide little houses for their chickens", as though they were their little children. Perhaps they *are* the children of Merolla's cock!¹⁴¹

Bees (Zulu, *iNyosi*; Xosa, *ubuSi*, honey [comp. Z. *iNyoni*, bird]; Ganda, *Njuki*, bee, *muBisi*, honey; Rega (LutuNzige), *Njuki*, bee, *buKi*, honey; Swahili (Zanzibar), *Nyuki*, bee; Herero (S.W. Africa), *oNyuityi*, bee, *ouTyi*, honey; Ndonga (Ovamboland), *oNgushi*, bee; Ngwila (N. of Nyasa), *iBusa*, bee) can hardly be counted among the domestic animals; yet

many Bantu tribes in the north 'cultivate' them with assiduity. Every traveller through Tanganyika Colony, Kavirondoland and other parts up there will have been struck, as he passed along, by the numerous arboreal bee-hives set up everywhere by the Natives. The Zulus were far too primitive for any such advanced ideas. When they left the north, such industries were not yet in existence. Yet they loved their honey none the less; and their herd-boys were quite diligent in their search for it, and brave in their attack. They were sometimes led to it by that useful bird, the Honey-Guide (Z. *iNtlav-e-Bizelayo*; sp. of Indicator), which they always rewarded with a fragment of the comb.

Besides the common honey-bee (*iNyosi*), there was a pygmy relative, which they named the *ūBóngana* (? *Melapona præterita*). This was a stingless little bee, slightly smaller than the house-fly, dark and glossy in colour, and building a nest either in tree-holes or the ground. It constructed a single celled-comb, of about the diameter of the top of a tea-cup, containing a very sweet and clear honey. The comb was light-brown, or quite white, when new, but almost black, when old.

There must be several varieties of this little bee, we think; because Mohr¹⁴² speaks of one that stored its honey, not in celled combs, but in "loose grey bags, some as large as grapes, and even walnuts"; while Schulz¹⁴³ mentions another "slightly larger than the common house-fly", and making combs. The honey of these, he says, is "a source of great inconvenience, if not of danger, to the inexperienced, as it contains some strong aperient matter most unwelcome to the consumer. . . . The entrance to the nest was a little hole in the ground about an inch in diameter, and when we dug below this, we came upon a twisted structure not unlike the interior of an ant-heap, but formed of bees-wax. The honey was deposited irregularly in this space without much regard to shape, and the wax, which had a deep grey-black colour, possessed perforations through which the bees found access to the combs in the recesses on beyond."

The bumble-bee was well known to the Zulus, but was not classified as a 'bee' (*iNyosi*), but simply as an *īBúngane* (any flying-beetle). Its honey, called, not *iziNyosi* (bees'-honey),

but *ubuSi* (cp. terms above, also *Nika*, *uChi*, palm-wine), was much liked by the Zulus, and was contained in reddish-yellow 'lumps' (? bags) found deposited in holes and crevices.

So much, then, for the domesticated animals; now for the wild.

Besides that friendly and civilized canine dealt with at the commencement of this chapter, the Zulus were familiar with another, decidedly undomesticated, type of dog, which we distinguish by the epithet 'wild'; well worthy of that name, and associated, in the Zulu mind, rather with their herds than with their homes. They called it *ĩNkentshane*. It was a dark-coloured, wolf-like beast, with a bushy tail tipped with white, and roamed the country in fierce and voracious packs, working wholesale destruction among sheep and goats and calves, as it passed.

So-called 'wild-dogs' are constantly described by African travellers; but as their descriptions are so frequently discrepant, we conclude that there must really be two or three varieties of them. Of those of the 'Zulu' breed, we may cite those met by Moubray¹⁴⁴ in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. "These animals," he writes, "are the fiercest and most to be dreaded of any that are met with in Central Africa. They hunt in large packs, so that should a traveller be attacked and succeed in killing even a number of them, that would be of little use, as those behind would come on till their enemy was overpowered. . . . The Natives, when they hear a pack coming, immediately take to a tree. . . . Should a lion have just killed an animal and be starting to eat it, and should some hunting dogs come along and see the meat, they will drive the lion away. . . . The dogs stand as high as an average retriever." They have a slightly bushy tail, white at the tip, and short-haired bodies. Patterson¹⁴⁵ encountered the same breed in the lower Kenya Colony. "Wild dogs," he says, "will attack anything, man or beast, when really driven by hunger. I was at Tsavo Station one day . . . when one of these dogs came up and stood within about thirty yards of me. He was a fine-looking beast, bigger than a collie, with jet-black hair and a white-tipped bushy tail."

Schweinfurth's¹⁴⁶ 'wild-dog' seems to have been of an entirely different type from those just described. He writes:

"The spotted hyæna dogs (*Canis pictus*) are very common in this region [Sudan]. I saw one specimen in the Seriba that was perfectly tame, requiring no other restraint than a cord, and yielding to its master with all the docility of an ordinary dog. This fact appears to corroborate the assertion of Livingstone (which, however, he makes with some reserve, not having personally witnessed the circumstance) that the natives of the Kalahari Desert are accustomed to break in this animal and train it for the chase." This is apparently the same species as that known as the Cape Hunting Dog (*Lycaon pictus*). Harris,¹⁴⁷ also in South Africa, apparently encountered the same species. They are, he writes, "of a slender form, the general colour is ochreous yellow, blotched and brindled with dingy black. The ears are large and semicircular; the muzzle and face black, and the tail bushy, like that of a fox." This may be the dog described also by Fitzgerald,¹⁴⁸ in practically the same part of Kenya Colony as that given by Patterson (above). "The day before my departure from Mombasa," he writes, "Weaver shot a wild dog, called by the natives '*Umbwa a mitoni*'. Our people . . . said these dogs, which always hunt in large packs, were so fierce and savage that even lions were afraid of them, that they would be sure to return at night to attack us in revenge for the death of their companion. . . . Sure enough, shortly after we had turned in, we heard the brutes howling . . . we jumped up and, taking our rifles and a lantern, ran outside. The wild dogs, about thirty in number, set up a big howling on seeing us. . . . It was too dark to see them clearly, but they were very close to us at one time. The one Weaver shot was over 2½ feet high, with a shaggy, massive head somewhat resembling a hyæna's." The dogs described by Cumming,¹⁴⁹ again away in South Africa, may have been of this same breed. "The wild dogs," he says, "are still numerous, both in the colony and in the interior. They hunt together in large organised packs of from ten to sixty, and by their extraordinary powers of endurance, and mode of mutual assistance, are enabled to run into the swiftest, and overcome the largest and most powerful antelope. . . . They are of a bold and daring disposition, and do not entertain much fear of man, evincing less concern on his approach than any other carnivorous animal with which I am acquainted. . . . Their voice consists of three different kinds of cry, each being

used on a special occasion : one is a sharp angry bark, usually uttered when they suddenly behold an object which they cannot make out. Another resembles the chattering of monkeys ; this cry is emitted at night when large numbers of them are congregated together, and they are excited by any particular occurrence, such as being barked at by domestic dogs. The third, and the most commonly made, is a sort of rallying note to bring the various members of the pack together when they have been scattered in following several individuals of a troop of antelopes. . . . This interesting though destructive animal seems to form the connecting link between the wolf and the hyæna."

The animals mentioned by Cotton¹⁵⁰ almost look like a cross between the two preceding species. "These wild dogs," he says, "stood a little under two feet in height, had very large rounded ears, and a mangy coat of rusty black, blotched with brown and white. There was a large brown patch on the neck, and the tail and forelegs showed a good deal of white."

Good old Merolla,¹⁵¹ too, had his own Congolese 'wild dog', which we cannot quite place anywhere among the preceding. These dogs, he tells us, "whenever they met with any Lion, Tiger, or Elephant in their way, set upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground. . . . These Dogs, notwithstanding their wildness, do little or no damage to the Inhabitants. They are red hair'd, have small slender Bodies, and their Tails turn up upon their Backs like a Greyhound's."

Moffat¹⁵² explains to us some of the habits of the South African wild-dogs of the Cape species. "When the dogs approach a troop of antelopes," he writes, "they select one, no matter how it may mingle with others on the dusty plain ; the dog that starts never loses scent, or if he does, it is soon discovered by the pack which follow after, as they spread themselves the more readily to regain it. While the single dog who takes the lead has occasion to make angles in pursuit of his prey, the others, who hear his cry or short howl, avoid a circuitous course, and by this means easily come up again, when a fresh dog resumes the chase, and the other turns into the pack. In this way they relieve each other till they have caught the animal, which they rarely fail to accomplish,

though sometimes after a very long run. Should they, in their course, happen to pass other game much nearer than the one in pursuit, they take no notice of it. These dogs, of which there are two species, never attack man, but are very destructive to sheep and goats, and even to cows, when they come in their way."

Along with the wild-dog, the snake (*Z. iNyoka* ; Sanskrit, *Naga*, snake ; Hebrew, *Nakhash* ; Herero, *oNyoka* ; Swahili and Angola, *Nyoka* ; Toka (Zambezi), *iNzoka* ; Ganda, *Njoka* ; Yawo, *liJoka* ; Shambala (Tanganyika Col.), *Noka* ; Chwana (Transvaal), *Noha* ; Jawunde (Cameroons), *No* ; Tshi (Gold Coast), *Nson*) was another of those distinctly undomesticated animals with which the Zulus had to fight to live. His country was particularly rich in these creatures, venomous and otherwise. While he regarded the former with murderous detestation, some of the latter he actually honoured, as family ancestors.

We are told that the serpent (to wit, the *Serpens edenensis*, alias *diabolicus*) was the very first of animals to make man's acquaintance, and showed him the path both to good and to evil, to sin and to science. We will not say that that is the reason why the Zulu too distinguishes two classes of snake, a good and an evil. Among the former, are two species of super-honourable mention, both garbed in green. First and foremost stands the somewhat mysterious *iNyandezulu*. This is said to be an all-green grass-snake, some three feet or more in length. We say 'mysterious' because, in half-a-century of veld-roaming, we have never had the personal good fortune to make its acquaintance, nor have we ever heard it mentioned in general conversation as having been seen by anybody else. It may be the *Chlorophis natalensis*, which would seem to meet the description, and which F. W. Fitzsimons (in *The Snakes of South Africa*) states is widely distributed throughout south-eastern Africa. This *iNyandezulu* is the Zulu royal snake *par excellence*, whose form kings and princes are said to assume after death. Next in order of ophiological, or, if you will, ophiomorphus, precedence, stands the *umHlwazi*, which we have seen, and with which most kraal-dwellers are well familiar. This too is bright green, but spotted with black on the upper body, and some two feet or more in length, by half-an-inch in

thickness. Scientifically, it is either the *Philotamnus semi-variegatus*, or the *Chlorophis irregularis*; though we are often inclined to wonder, whether, after all, the above-mentioned *iNyandezulu* may not also be this selfsame *umHlwazi* masquerading under a special 'royal' title. Anyway, this *umHlwazi* represents the posthumous metamorphosis of the mere 'commoner'. But had any ordinary family head been at his death extraordinarily aged, then after his decease he would more probably reappear to his family in the much less gay, but much more bulky, form of the brown *umSenene*, some four feet long and stoutly built. A mere woman, even though a queen, had to be content with the still meaner garb of the dark-brown *uMabibini*, only eighteen inches long; and if very old, with that of a tiny salamander lizard. All these 'ancestral' snakes were naturally harmless; and they might frequently be seen basking sleepily on the home-kraal fences, or even slumbering peacefully inside the huts, where they were always respectfully left untouched. What exactly the Egyptians purposed with their 'sacred' snakes, we cannot say; but we note that they too were wise enough to select only the harmless varieties. "In the neighbourhood of Thebes," writes Herodotus,¹⁵³ "there are some sacred serpents which are perfectly harmless. They are of small size, and have two horns growing on the top of their head. These snakes, when they die, are buried in the temple of Jupiter, the god to whom they are sacred."

A very different proposition were the Zulu *mamba* snakes. Whereas the preceding 'good' snakes represented to the Zulu the ancestral Adams and Eves of his family, the *mamba* personified the Old Enemy himself reincarnated, bringer only of death to mankind. The Zulu term, *iMamba*, a-mamba-snake (cp. Xosa, *iMamba*, python; Rotsi, *Mamba*, puff-adder; Swahili, Bondei, Hehe, *Mamba*, crocodile; Nika, *Mamba*, hippopotamus; Mpongwe, *oMamba*, certain snake; Sutu, *Mamparwane*, lizard; Ganda, *Sarambwa*, black-and-white snake) was the Zulu generic name for several varieties of colubrine snakes, all formed after the same pattern (though differing in size and colour), having long slender bodies, thicker about the middle, with the spine very slightly raised, long thin prehensile tails, small necks, and narrow, longish, somewhat triangular or pear-shaped, heads, with eyes unusually large

and prominent, all occasionally climbing trees, and all dangerously, though not equally, venomous.

First of all, we may warn the reader that that which the Zulu (quite correctly, according to his own language and conception) calls a mamba, is not always precisely that which the European zoologist (more scientifically) calls by that name. Thus there are many more 'mambas' in the Zulu zoology than there are in the European. The Zulu definition of a mamba is that just given above; that of the European scientist seems to be, a species of *Dendraspis* (see F. W. Fitzsimons, *The Snakes of South Africa*). Again, the Zulu snake-names are of a generic rather than a specific nature, that is, cover many species of the one genus, owing simply to a rough general similarity of appearance.

The various kinds of so-called 'mambas', then, recognized as such by the Zulus (though the descriptions are conflicting in some details) are the following:—

1. The *iMamba eMnyama* (or Black Mamba), also called *iMambalukótó* (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), colour black, belly white, favourite habitat rocky and bushy places, up to thirteen feet in length, and fatally poisonous, death occurring (unless properly treated) within two to twenty-four hours, according to bite.

2. The *iNdlōndlo* (or Crested Mamba), which some say is but a very old Black Mamba, of a dull lustrous blackish colour, and having the scales or shields on the head grown long and raised so as to present the appearance of a crest (*ūPápé*), living in unfrequented bushy and rocky places, of the same size as the preceding, equally as venomous, though very rare, and much dreaded, as of a very aggressive nature. Probably also a *Dendraspis*.

3. The *iMamba eMpofú* (or Brown Mamba), of a lightish dirty-brown colour, slightly yellowish about the belly, not so fierce, nor yet so fatally poisonous, as both the preceding, being supposed (by the Natives) to be in an intermediary stage of development between that of the *eMnyama* and the *iNdlōndlo*. It frequents watery places, and 'when struck, makes at once for the water'. Probably a *Dendraspis*.

4. The *iMamba eLuhlaza cwe* (or All-green Mamba), also called an *iMambaluti*, anything up to nine feet in length, colour bright, unmarked, green throughout the whole length of the upper-body, belly clear white, much given to climbing trees in bushy country, and in the grass to standing erect 'so as to appear like a stick' (whence the second name), rare, and nearly as fatally poisonous as the *eMnyama*; said by some Natives to be of a dark colour when young, and to assume the green colour only when about three feet in length. Certainly a *Dendraspis*.

5. The *iMamba eLuhlaza e-namaZinga*, or *eQopile* (or Green Striped Mamba) does not, as do all the preceding, belong to the *Dendraspis* group; being, zoologically, a *Dispholidus*, and more appropriately called simply the 'Green Tree Snake'—although the Natives regard and call it an *iMamba*. It is of a green colour, with black stripes running round the sides of the body following the ribs, but somewhat indistinct on the back, where the green assumes a darker shade. It is of much smaller size than the preceding, being seldom more than four or five feet long, and is not fatally poisonous. Its female is said to be of a brownish colour.

All the mambas are particularly vicious during the breeding season, and if a traveller happen at that time to place himself in the way of a passionate male or female returning to its spouse or offspring, it is liable to attack. Mohr¹⁵⁴ declares (and many other voracious travellers agree with him) that "riders who have suddenly surprised a Mhamba, have been pursued by it for a whole mile."

Of the viperine snakes, the *iBululu* (Puff-adder; *Bitis arietans*) is the most lethally venomous. This is a short, thick-bodied snake, from two to three feet long, with a body beautifully mottled mainly in dark browns. It has a dangerous habit of striking backwards, and should therefore be approached from the front.

Its pygmy relative, the *uMantshingeyana* (Berg Adder; *Bitis atropos*), hardly less to be feared, is usually not more than a foot in length, is similarly mottled, and with the same habit of striking backwards, only more so; for this, being so much smaller, lighter and more agile, can actually throw itself at one

through the air, hence its name of 'the-little-throwing-thing'. Its bite may be small, but quite big enough in its serious consequences; whence it is also known as *uMaqanda-li-ng'-Opi* (that which strikes one down, even before the wound starts bleeding). The bite of these viperine snakes, if not so speedily fatal as that of the mambas, is said to give rise to troublesome and long enduring after-effects (perhaps from some sort of blood-poisoning).

Among the viperines, comes too the *iNtlangwana* (Night Adder; *Causus rhombeatus*), with a much more slender body than the *iBululu* (above), two or three feet long, and, like the last-mentioned, with slightly mottled, though less rich, markings, and not so dangerously poisonous.

The short, thick-bodied, and similarly mottled, *iMboma*, found in rocky places, may be another snake of this class.

There is, in the Zulu country, at least one species of *Naiia* cobra and one of *Sepedon*, all, of course, belonging to the colubrine family. The former (or *Naiia*) is known as the *iMfezi*; is up to four or five feet in length, brown in colour, with red distensible throat, and at home in the long grass. It has the habit, when attacked, of raising itself erect and with distended neck, ejecting its venom, with considerable force and skill, straight into its assailant's eyes. Milk is said to be the best remedy; though personally (milk being unobtainable) we found that by immediately plunging the eye, open, into a basin of cold water and retaining it there for a quarter of an hour, repeating the process several times throughout the day, the inflammation had been completely removed by the morrow. Merolla¹⁵⁵ was familiar with this snake away on the Congo in 1682. Speaking of the local 'Copras', he says, their "Poison is in their Foam, which, though at a great distance, they spit into the Eyes, and cause such grievous Pains, that, unless there be some Woman by . . . to assuage the Pains with her Milk, the Party will become immediately blind."

The smaller cobra, about two feet in length, dusty-brown in colour and frequenting stony places, is called the *iPimpi* or *uNopempetwáyo* (*Sepedon hæmachates*; Ringhals).

The dark-brown, venomous *iNtsuze*, resembling the *iMfezi*, save that it does not spit, may perhaps be a *Naiia* cobra; or may not.

Other well-known Zulu snakes are the following :—

The *umDlambila* (the Coney-eater), sometimes called the *iMamba yesiWa* (the Precipice-mamba), may, or may not, be a mamba; more probably not. It is a very long snake, with a body some two inches in thickness, reddish-brown in colour, frequenting rocky places and especially partial to coneys, living thereabouts. Reports differ as to bite, some saying, harmless; other, venomous. The description almost suggests a small species of python.

The *ūKókóttí* (*Thelotornis Kirtlandii*), blackish with a greenish tinge, is of medium size. It resembles the mambas somewhat in body-form, but without their dangerous bite, resembling the *iMfezi* cobra, in that it 'spits' its venom (which is said to be highly corrosive to flesh) on to the bare body of its Native assailant.

The *umHlangwe* (*Simoncephalus capensis*), about four feet or more in length and thickly built, dusty-brown in colour, with a conspicuously raised spine (giving the body a triangular appearance), is non-poisonous, or only slightly so. Its entry into a kraal is regarded as a bad omen.

The *umDlume*, of about the same size as the preceding, dusty-brown in colour, but with darkish stripes running down the body, is also not poisonous.

The *uBúlube* is a sluggish snake of about the same size as the last two, non-venomous, and of a ruddy-brown in colour.

The *umHlwazimamba*, as its name implies, looks like an *iMamba*; which it is not. It is usually about four feet in length, of normal thickness, greyish brown in colour with a lighter line down each side of the back, and is not poisonous. We think it may be the same as the *umSenene*.

The *ūNungu* (? *Tropidonotus lævissimus*) is of a blackish colour with spots of a lighter shade.

The *ūZwambuzwambu* (? *Boodon lineatus*), about half-an-inch thick and a couple of feet long, light brown in colour, is perfectly harmless. It is a frequent visitor in Native huts.

The Zulu is a bit bewildered by the *iNkambapántsi* (any kind of Typhlops or Glauconia is so called), the blind burrowing snake. Is it, or is it not, a snake? It certainly looks like one in shape and size; but it lives underground, and has no eyes,

and, what is more, does not bite. The Zulu women, however, have no doubts at all about its very useful qualities; for, should a wife become discarded by her husband, she has but to smear her person with its fat, present herself before her loveless lord, when lo! the storm will have passed, and the genial sun smile upon her once more. Hence it is popularly called the *iNyoka yabaFázi* (the women's snake).

The cerastes or horned viper, though said to be plentiful enough in South-West Africa, is unknown in Zululand.

Among water-snakes—though most snakes take to the water at times, when crossing rivers, or placidly sailing downstream with the current—are the following :—

The *īFúlwa* (*Chlorophis hyplogaster*), green of colour, with white underparts, doubtfully (thought, slightly) venomous, frequents riverbanks, and is very partial to a plunge into the water.

The *īVézimandzi* a yard long and glossy black in colour, is a more formidable customer, being highly poisonous, and commonly found lurking in rocky corners below the water-surface in rivers.

But the *uZende* and the spotted *ūKwávume* (the latter name, or both, sound rather 'foreign'; perhaps of Tonga origin) are declared to be 'sea-snakes', and appear to be known only to Native doctors, by whom they are much sought after. Probably both of the genus *Hydras*.

Real sea-snakes, however, do seem to exist, elsewhere. At least, Wollaston,¹⁵⁷ writing of Papua, says: "As far as thirty or forty miles from land . . . they appeared to be yellowish with dark markings, and were about three or four feet in length. I was told that they sometimes . . . climb up the sides of ships at anchor." This almost reminds one of some small species of the proverbial sea-serpent; to see which, one must return again to Africa, always 'with something new'. "It was in this part of the Kavirondo Gulf [near Kisumu, on the Victoria Nyanza Lake]," says Oswald,¹⁵⁸ "that the late Sir Clement Hill, during a voyage on a steam-launch, caught a glimpse of the *dingonek*, a mysterious sea-monster with a long neck, which apparently tried to seize one of the men at the prow. Some people are of opinion that this creature, concerning which many fabulous tales are told by the Natives, is a

large sea-python, and fishermen are said to be not infrequently attacked by it ; but it still awaits verification by means of the sportsman's gun." Was the traditional *iVimbela* snake, living in large rivers and of fabulous size, which we used to hear of in former times in Natal, perchance an ancient memory of that selfsame *dingonek*, which the Nguni migrants had left behind, in Nyanzaland, 500 years ago ? And was the similarly traditional *uMningi* snake, likewise dwelling in river-pools and possessed of a multitude of heads, which we used to hear about in older Zululand, perchance but another exaggerated memory of that same *dingonek* ?

Turning now to the pythons, Dr. Boulenger, of the British Museum, lists one only species (*viz. P. seboe*) as existent in South-Eastern Africa. The Zulus, on the contrary (and we feel sure they are right), affirm that there are two (if not more), different in size, in colour and in habits ; albeit (for all we know) they may be anatomically indistinguishable. Of the two, the *iNtlatu* is king, and as rare (Swahili, *Chatu* ; Bondei, *Satu* ; Yawo, *Sato*). It is by far the largest, anything between 20 and 30 feet long, by about 6 inches in diameter. This python is said to live in or about river-pools, and to be capable of swallowing even a small antelope. It was much sought after by the Zulu diviners or 'pythonesses'—carefully mark this old Greek name for the same class of female 'oracles'—whose 'familiar spirit' was said always to provide each with a specimen, whose skin she was wont to wear attached to her body, trailing along behind her, when she divined, and whose fat she used for anointing her body, so as to secure the spirit's favours.

The *uMonya* species (*P. seboe*) was of much smaller size and less richly marked (the markings, in both cases, being of a dark mottled type). The colouring was usually of a lighter tint up-country, and became darker on the coast. The pythons covered their victims with a slithery liquid during the process of swallowing them whole.

Though we know that pythons were great pets with the Dinkas of the Sudan, who kept them in their kraals and regularly fed them with milk, the statement of Mohr¹⁵⁹ is surprising (and doubtful) news to us, namely, that "near the Umchlali River [whether or not this is the *umHlali* river in Natal, we are not certain] they [pythons] are quite domesticated

and are allowed to lie undisturbed in the hollows of the fields. They serve the same purpose as our household cats." There had been no tradition of anything like this in the *umHlali* district of Natal certainly during the last half century.

Dr. Aurel Schulz, who made a special study of the subject, supplies in his book,¹⁶⁰ an excellent detailed account of a snake's procedure, when biting.

The Zulu doctors were not without a number of apparently helpful herbal antidotes against snake-bite.¹⁶¹ Of these, we may mention the *isiTúmana* (*Solanum capense*), the *umHlala* (*Strychnos spinosa*), the *iMunyane* (*Leonotis leonurus*), the *iNkokáne*, and the *umNungwane* (*Xanthoxylon capense*). The Bushmen are said¹⁶² to have used the root of a creeping tendrilous plant called *Eokam*. With this in their mouth, they sucked the wound, about which an incision had previously been made. Tobacco juice has been frequently cited by Europeans as lethal to snakes ; and, in old wagon-transport days, when travellers had perforce to sleep on or near the ground, the simple smoking of a pipe was universally believed to act as an effective repellent. Indeed, heavy smokers were said to be given a wide berth by all snakes. "When I was travelling in the Matabele district," writes Mohr,¹⁶³ "Sililo, one of my companions, captured a puff-adder, which was hung up by the head and held firmly. I pointed [sharpened] a little stick of the size of a lucifer match, dipped the end in tobacco juice, and stabbed the snake with it. The poor creature died in about eighty seconds, in terrible convulsions."

Native doctors, however, place most reliance in the snake-poison itself, rather than in any herbal remedies—homeopathy, you know, enters very largely into their medical practice. They therefore keep in stock a supply of dried snake-head, bile, liver, heart and lungs, which they grind into powder and administer by the mouth as required. European authorities, on the contrary, assert that snake-poison, when taken directly into the stomach, is absolutely inert. They may be right ; but what we need to hear, is, not that snake-poison is inert in the stomach of the *unbitten*, but whether it may not be helpful to the already bitten ; indeed, whether it may not be both curative and prophylactic. The former well-known citizen of Durban, Maurice Evans, having been severely bitten in his own garden by a black mamba (nearly always fatal), which his

Native servant immediately destroyed, was given by the latter the snake's bile to swallow. He did so, and made an early recovery. One may mention, however, that a year or so later the gentleman became permanently blind. Without suggesting any connection between the two events, the fact might nevertheless be kept in mind. Many Zulus are said to render themselves entirely immune to snake-poison by administering to themselves regular small doses, over a long period, of the above-mentioned snake-powders. The Duke of Mecklenburg¹⁶⁴ met with such an individual in the Sudan. He says: "A delicate-looking negro was presented to me as the famous snake-charmer. Many times I entreated him to display his skill to me, and at last, in my presence, he allowed a medium-sized poisonous tree-snake to bite him on the finger. He assured me that he had tried in vain to procure a cobra or hooded viper. This was, of course, only an excuse, for it is quite possible that a native who has been repeatedly bitten by one of the smaller poisonous snakes, may eventually become to a certain extent immune, but I very much doubt whether the man would placidly have permitted a large cobra to bite him." The missionary, Jno. Campbell,¹⁶⁵ writes: "I found it was common among the Hottentots to catch a serpent, squeeze out the poison from under his teeth, and drink it. They say it only makes them a little giddy, and imagine that it preserves them afterwards from receiving injury from the bite of a serpent." May-be, in all these cases, a particular venom is prophylactic, or curative, only against its own particular species of snake; but if so, then, by drenching oneself gradually with all the local species, one might thinkably become armoured against them all. A European Australian, named Morrison (if we recollect aright), appeared in Durban some years back and offered to allow himself to be bitten in public by any snake on the planet, as he was immune to the lot. He rashly accepted the request to permit himself to be bitten on the arm by a local black mamba. In a few hours he had already passed away West, another martyr to science! Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus (d. 63 B.C.), had no snakes, we know of, in his realm; but he was so inordinately scared of being poisoned, that he regularly dosed himself with a special infallible specific of his own: which later became renowned in the medieval world as the marvellous *Mithridatium*. And, would you believe it, so

effective did his antidote prove, that, when at last tired of killing others, he tried to kill himself with poison, he only throve the more and lived the longer; so that finally he had to command a soldier to hustle him into Hades.¹⁶⁶

There are plenty of people in Africa (though the Zulus are not among them) who declare a fat snake to be uncommonly delicious eating. Whether all these too become eventually poison-immune, we cannot say. Probably they select their morsels with discretion. The honey-guide, as we have already said, usually leads his Native friends to honey; but occasionally, he is out of his reckoning, and leads them on to a leopard or a snake. Dr Schulz¹⁶⁷ gives an instance where it led his Natives, in the Okavango district of South-West Africa, on to a python, which they promptly collected and, when home, stowed safely out of further harm's way, in their stomachs, 'a great delicacy'. Meat-tastes are especially comprehensive in the Congo, and we are not surprised to see snake on their daily menu.¹⁶⁸ Over the sea, in Brazil, pythons provide many a toothsome and substantial meal; for, as Morella¹⁶⁹ tells, the Indians there "love them inordinately. . . . They say his Flesh is exceedingly white, and well relished, and in fatness much like the Hog. After they have cut away his Head, and torn away his Bowels, they devour the rest of it greedily."

One can understand carnivorous man, at a push, devouring snakes. But what shall we say to this yarn of Herodotus,¹⁷⁰ that "all the suburbs of Sardis were found to swarm with snakes, on the appearance of which, the horses left feeding on their pasture-grounds and flocked to the suburbs to eat them." We once had a Zulu friend who declared that, while out hunting, he had once seen a fleeing bush-buck, confronted by a snake, promptly snap it up with its mouth and swallow it! When the buck was later killed and opened, there was the snake inside.

To the monkeys (*Z. iNkawu*; Sanskrit, *Kapi*, ape; Kalanga (Mashona), *iNkawo*; Ganda, *Nkima*; Mbala (Congo), *Kima*) the Zulus were much better disposed; they looked so human, that the Zulus often wondered whether after all they might not be but some Lilliputian species of men and women. It was indeed this feeling of zoological relationship that, as far as the Zulus were concerned, saved him from the pot; though many other of his Bantu brothers¹⁷¹ had no such qualms of

conscience. All the same, when it came to pilfering the Zulu's crops, the sense of mutual relationship became at once changed to one of the mutual hostility of dog and cat. But the monkey, with the proverbial curiosity of his race, soon got to know his human brother so well, that he could always distinguish the harmless female from the murderous male; so that whenever he found the former in charge of a field, he simply walked in and proceeded calmly with his pilfering. The Zulu man, equally observant, likewise knew most of the monkey's tricks. But one of them always stumped him; what became of the monkeys when they died? The Zulus spend much of their lives in the monkey woodlands, chopping poles or gathering firewood; and yet none has ever yet lighted on a monkey lying dead! They say, the other monkeys bury them; yet, again, none has ever unearthed a corpse. Monkey pelts in general are not prized by the Zulus—except that of the *iNtsimango* (*Cercapithecus*), which provides him with one of his most highly valued girdles. Baboons (*iMfene*), too, were at home in every Zulu krantz and forest; but never a gorilla or a chimpanzee.

Elephants (*iNdlouu*), before the Whiteman came, were pretty numerous in Zululand, Natal and the Cape.¹⁷² Mohr¹⁷³ says the last was shot on the Berea (Durban) in 1846; but we think there is somewhere a later record giving the 'last shot' there as about the year 1853. So recently as 1880, Ludlow¹⁷⁴ tells us that "a herd of elephants, numbering about twenty" was still then roaming about the lower Mfolozi district of Zululand; and a single solitary specimen was still roaming there (now a law-protected animal) until far within this present century; when, much to the Governmental wrath, some irate Native slaughtered it for trespassing on his preserves, and so exterminated the elephant in South-East Africa—though there are still some in the southern Cape Province.

Buffaloes (*iNyati*), too, were very numerous in Zululand until about the last quarter of last century; but the guns of that redoubtable nimrod, John Dunn, cleared the country of most of them, as well as of a large number of rhinoceros, black (*uBéjane*) and 'white' (*umKómbo*, *iNkulumane*).

Lions (*iBúbesi*, *iNgónyama*) prowled about the grasslands of the Zulu coastal area, stalking divers sorts of antelopes, even well into our own time; when, too, leopards (*iNgwé*; and a darker forest kind, *iHlosi*), cheetahs (*iNgúlule*) and servals (*iNdlózi*) still inhabited the forests and woodlands. The lynx (*iNdabushe*), if at all existent in Zululand, must have been rare, and soon rendered extinct.

This last remark may apply also to the giraffe (*iNdlulamili*), of the hunting of which in Zululand (probably far inland) there are some dim traditions;¹⁷⁵ though no record of any specimen seen there in European times. Probably so rare and gentle an animal could hardly escape early extinction, after the Zulu country had once become well populated. The survivors of the *Stavenisse*, wrecked in Natal in 1686, are probably referring to the giraffe when they tell us of "two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant, having a head like a horse, a short tail, but long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe".¹⁷⁶

The hyæna (*iMpsi*) was common wherever were lions, whose parasite it was. It is said to have had a disagreeable habit too of preying on its own, on children. The Zulus somehow regarded it as a particularly ugly beast; and, for any man or woman of exceptionally hideous countenance, they thought they could find no more appropriate epithet than that of 'hyæna'. Nevertheless they gave the name of that ugliest of beasts to one of the loveliest hours of the day—*eleziMpsi*, hyæna-time (when the setting sun begins to cast shadows on the hillsides).

The *isiDawane* is either a mystery or a myth. Was it the 'strand-wolf', or some animal already long ago extinct in the Zulu country, or remembered from some former distant habitat? We note that the baKalahari (of the Kalahari Desert)—which, you will recollect, was near the line of march of the ancient Zulu migration from the north—called the lynx, *Tuwane*.¹⁷⁷ But the lynx would not fit in with the *isiDawane* man-hunting legend; for this animal had a bad record of preying on children in the kraals, even entering the huts to capture them. To entice them outside, it would approach a

kraal and cry out to one of the children it particularly fancied, *We! Bani, namp' ubuBende baKó* (I-say, so-and-so, here-is your blood-pudding—presumably much beloved by children). Then, when the child came out, it would seize it and carry it off.

The horse was first brought into Zululand about 1808 by the returning fugitive chieftain, Dingiswayo, who got it from some party of travelling Europeans near the Transvaal Utrecht district.¹⁷⁸ From its finely arched plumed appendage, resembling the tail-feathers (*̄Jomela*) of a Sakabuli finch, the Zulus nicknamed the strange new animal an *iNjomane*, a name long since ousted by the English 'horse' (Zuluized *̄Hhashi*).

The ostrich (*iNtshe*) was well known through its feathers, highly prized as a head-dress; but it doubtfully ran wild in the Zulu country, unless perchance on the more inland highlands.

The ancient Zulus were not above making a meal of locusts, when hard pressed by hunger. Indeed, when a party of Shaka's raiders was once passing through Tongaland, they unwisely robbed the local subjects of the Tonga king, Makasana, of their dinner of locusts (*iNkumbi, isiKónyane*), which they had just gathered up in basketfuls.¹⁷⁹ For which piece of plunder the owners hurled upon them the imprecation, that never more should those locusts leave them. And verily, as they marched away home, through all the hundred miles the locusts went with them, and, arrived in Zululand, settled down and ate up all their crops. That was about the year 1830, as Isaacs tells.¹⁸⁰ In 1835, Gardiner¹⁸¹ came, and found the pest still there, swarming everywhere from Zululand to the Transkei. Earlier than all that, the locusts had appeared in Basutoland, about the year 1828;¹⁸² whence, may-be, they had continued onwards towards the coast, to Tongaland, then Zululand and the Cape.

1. Elliot, *P.M.*, 199.
2. ib. 197, 199.
3. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 134.
- 3a. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 614.
- 3b. Maugham, *Z.*, 362.

- 3c. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 191; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 234.
- 3d. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 126.
4. Elliot, *P.M.*, 202.
5. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 8.
6. Cotton, *U.A.*, 301, 303.
7. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113; Livingstone, *T.*, 60; Schulz, *N.A.*, 280; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 456.
8. Naville, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 210.
9. VII, 126.
10. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 163.
11. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 27.
12. Burton, *F.F.*, vol. 1, 169.
13. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 241, 244.
14. Cotton, *U.A.*, 301-3.
15. Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 118.
16. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
17. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 67.
18. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113; Arbousset, *N.R.T.*, 181; Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
19. *T.*, 130.
20. Elliot, *P.M.*, 202; Sollas, *A.H.*
21. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 91.
22. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 224.
23. ib. 276.
24. ib. 231.
25. ib. 378.
26. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 113.
27. Roscoe, *B.*, 415.
28. See illust. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 623.
29. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 312; Smith and Dale, *I.P.*
30. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
31. *N.V.*, vol. 2, 274.
32. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 2, 184; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 105.
33. Peters, *E.A.*, 310.
34. Schulz, *N.A.*, 186.
35. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 20.
36. ib. 62.
37. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 57, 18.
38. ib. 20.
39. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 415.
40. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 144.
41. ib. 251.
42. ib. 301.
43. ib. 260.
44. Kassner, *R.E.*, 49.
45. Lewis, *A.K.K.*, 552; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 94, 274; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 138.
46. Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1, 46, 206; vol. 2, 153.
47. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 2, 296.

48. Baldwin, *A.H.*, 70.
49. ib. 383.
50. Maugham, *P.E.A.*, 289.
51. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 260; Kassner, *R.E.*, 172; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 118.
52. Kassner, *R.E.*, 182.
53. Kassner, *R.E.*, 159.
54. ib. 135.
55. ib. 90.
56. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 271; Elmsie, *W.N.*, 79; Grogan, *C.C.*, 67.
57. Kassner, *R.E.*, 76, 79.
58. ib. 65.
59. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 312.
60. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
61. Schultz, *N.A.*, 249, 280.
62. Baines, *E.*, 424; Livingstone, *T.*, 60.
63. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113; Cuning, *F.S.A.*, 456; Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
- 63a. *N.R.*, 264.
64. *A.H.*, 10, 87.
65. *M.*, 112.
66. *T.*, vol. 1, 268.
67. *T.*, 131.
68. See also Stow, *N.R.*, 251.
69. Bird, *A.N.*
70. *Z.C.*, 63.
71. Mackenzie, *M.*, 146.
72. *V.F.*, 162.
73. *A.Z.*, 31.
74. Leslie, *A.Z.*, 119.
75. ib. 185.
76. *W.S.*, 231.
77. *H.N.*, 432.
78. *T.*
79. *S.S.C.*, 45.
80. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 170.
81. *L.Z.*, 230.
82. Elliott, *P.M.*, 204, 211.
83. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 616-7.
84. *V.C.*, 701.
85. *T.C.*, 121, 157.
86. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
87. *A.H.*, 383.
88. See also Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 64, 68, 86, 171; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 459; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57, 118, 191; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 191, 189, 333, 455; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 260; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 144, 192, 362, 370; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 20; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 56, 218, 271; Stow, *N.R.*, 275; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 242; Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 69; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 129; Reeve, *G.*, 190; Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 2, 115; Roscoe, *B.*, 422; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 499.
89. Elliott, *P.M.*, 204.

90. *G.G.C.*, 617 sq.
91. Darwin, *D.M.*, 533.
92. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 57-8.
93. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 618.
94. ib.
95. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
96. New, *L.E.A.*, 189.
97. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 38, 45.
98. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 9.
99. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 328.
100. Merolla, *V.C.*, 701.
101. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 618.
102. Theal, *P.E.A.*, 201; Harris, *W.S.*, 36.
103. *L.Z.*, 286.
104. III, 113.
105. *C.K.*, 28.
106. *V.C.*, col. 1, 299.
107. *D.M.*, 532.
108. Cole, *C.K.*, 97.
109. *T.C.*, 121, 217.
110. *A.H.*, 383.
111. *N.R.*, 275.
112. See also Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 185; vol. 2, 322; Elliot, *P.M.*, 204, 339, 340; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 68; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 73; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 459; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 9, 163; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 242; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 45; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 181; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 286; Shaw, *M.*, 7; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 499; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 415; Theal, *P.E.A.*, 201; Kay, *T.C.*, 217; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 191, 616, 617; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 191, 333, 455; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 56, 121, 218, 271.
113. *O.S.A.*, 41, 43.
114. Elliot, *P.M.*, 209.
115. *P.M.*, 63.
116. *P.M.*, 339, 340.
117. Herodotus, 11, 47.
118. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 616.
119. ib. see also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 192; Elliot, *P.M.*, 339, 340; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 27, 121, 218; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, 280; Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 246; Kay, *T.C.*, 124.
120. *P.M.*, 210.
121. See also Petrie, *R.A.E.*, 72; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 161; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 153; Livingstone, *T.*, 149; Speke, *D.S.M.*, 9; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 484; Roscoe, *B.*, 425.
122. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 22.
123. *A.T.*, 188; Newbiggin, *M.G.*, 181.
124. *H.E.*, vol. 2, 146.
125. ib. 171.
126. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 83.
127. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 22.

128. *D.S.N.*, 144.
 129. *W.A.*, 254.
 130. *T.E.A.*, 69, 291.
 131. *M.*, 140.
 132. *J.Z.C.*, 246.
 133. *T.C.*, 125.
 134. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 57.
 135. *T.N.A.*, 250.
 136. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 57.
 137. *G.G.C.*, 620.
 138. *R.E.*, 57.
 139. Merolla, *V.C.*, 682.
 140. *L.P.K.*, 181.
 141. See Mackenzie, *M.*, 335; Merolla, *V.C.*, 689; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 163; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 144, 197, 362, 616, 619; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 455; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 170; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57, 118, 169, 283; vol. 2, 39, 40, 242; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 170, 205; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 94, 274, 332; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 280; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 86, 219; Park, *T.*, 8; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 195, 242; Roscoe, *B.*, 423; Huxley, *M.P.N.*, 8; Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 2, 354; Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 318.
 142. *V.F.*, 171.
 143. *N.A.*, 65.
 144. *S.C.A.*, 134.
 145. *M.T.*, 117.
 146. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 167.
 147. *W.S.*, 78.
 148. *B.E.A.*, 412.
 149. *F.S.A.*, 136.
 150. *U.A.*, 148.
 151. *V.C.*, 701.
 152. *M.L.*, 90.
 153. 11, 74.
 154. *V.F.*, 35.
 155. *V.C.*, 701.
 156. Baines, *E.*, 374.
 157. *P.P.*, 215.
 158. *S.S.C.*, 4.
 159. *V.F.*, 36.
 160. *N.A.*, 122 sq.
 161. Bryant, *Z.M.*, 71.
 162. Stow, *N.R.*, 77.
 163. *V.F.*, 35.
 164. *C.N.*, vol. 2, 137.
 165. *T.S.A.*, 189.
 166. Richard, *G.C.*, 46.
 167. *N.A.*, 62.
 168. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143; also Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 167.
 169. *V.C.*, 662.

170. I, 78.
 171. Cotton, *U.A.*, 241.
 172. Bryant, *O.T.*, 583, 608.
 173. *V.F.*, 33.
 174. *Z.C.*, 91.
 175. Bryant, *O.T.*, 630.
 176. Chase, *N.P.*, vol. 1, 8-9.
 177. Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
 178. Bryant, *O.T.*, 89.
 179. ib. 629.
 180. *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 51.
 181. *J.Z.C.*, 175, 260.
 182. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 186; Bryant, *O.T.*, 143.

29 MAY 1950

