

MAZIYANA KA MAHLABENI

20.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 15-16, 23-4.

Also present: Nodwengu, Socwatsha

- 15 Maziyanan arrives, 20.4.1905, with Nodwengu.

Women do not go (herd) to the king's eating cattle, for (his) personal use - only men.

Mcotoyi ka Mnini ka Manti (Mabona) ka Mzoywane ka Dole ka Sivuba ka Mayiya (Mayiwe) ka Dambela ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Ncamuzakancane.¹

I am of the amaNdelu tribe. I am of the same age as the Isangqu regiment, but was never *buta'd*.² My father was Mahlabeni.

- 16 Our chiefs: Mzingelwa (living at the Mtwalume above where the Izinkumbi live; he pays hut tax at Mzinto) ka Sonsukwana ka Ndelu (was called after a preceding chief of the tribe) ka Mangcuka ka Jele ka Mgwabatshi ka Magininda ka Majojobela ka Ndelu.³

Our ancestors came here to Natal with the Tulis. The Tulis came from far down the Izimfolozi (rivers), near the sea and the Mtetwa tribe. From there they came to the Matikulu and from thence to Port Natal, Esibubulungu.⁴

- 23 Maziyanan (and Nodwengu). Socwatsha present.

Ntaba's principal kraal was Kwa Gobela, built near the Marianhill Trappists.⁵

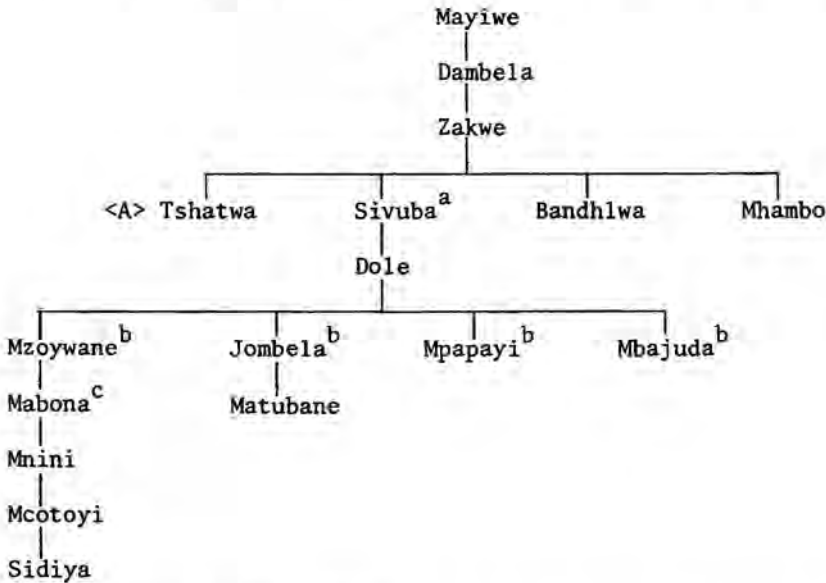
Myebu's chief kraal was Kwa Gobela; it was in that that Ntaba grew up.⁶ Tusi ka Myebu (*a younger brother of Ntaba*) went out and built Kwa Gwalabanda on the site of Pinetown itself. *The left-hand section (ikohlo)* also went off with Nongwadi; this was built at Mbumbulu. The name was generally known simply as Ekohlo; though there was a name it fell into disuse. Mnyama went off with Nguqe ka Myebu and built *the Emnyameni kraal*; it was built where the Mlazi and Umcadodo conjoin. Cogi went off with the emaVanganeni kraal; it was built on the north side of the Mkomazi above where Mcotoyi now lives. Ncwane went off and built where Chief Ndunge now lives; his kraal was Emnyoko.⁷ Mancamane separated off with the oNyazini (kraal).

- 24 Tshatwa was a son of Zakwe, (from) whom all the Tulis are descended. Mkwici is a son of Mande ka Zakwe. I fancy Dambela is a son of Lutuli, not Mayiwe (Mayiya). Dambela ka Mayiwe ka Zuba ka Mqayana ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Ncamuzakancane. Tshatwa is the son of Zakwe, and

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not of Sivuba. Sivuba is a son of Zakwe.

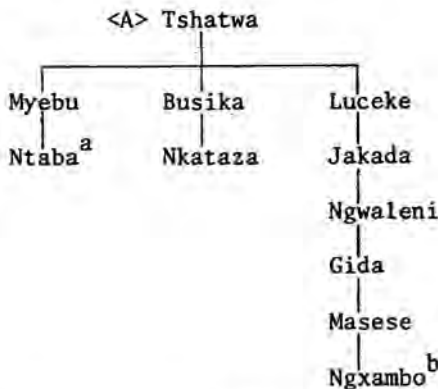
<In the genealogies that follow we have used the symbol A to indicate a relationship which is indicated in the original by a conventional genealogical descent line - eds.>



^a Younger brother of Tshatwa.

^b These four sons of Dole were all of one woman. Her name was Ma'ahlisa, a girl of the Emambilini people.

^c Manti was an isibongo.



^a His mother was a girl of the Emambilini people; her name was Mantite.

^b Mcotoyi's big induna.

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Zakwe ⁸	Bandhlwa
Mhambo	Lubanga
Mkwici	Sopoyiya
	Mgcagcama

'He was killed in the *izwekufa*'. *Izwekufa* is when the country was ruined by Tshaka.⁹

<21.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 62, pp. 6-22.

Also present: Socwatsha

6 Maziyana continues, Socwatsha present.

My father was born in the Tuli tribe. He was *authorized to put on the headring* by Mabona (i.e. Manti). He was of the same age as the uFasimba in Zululand.¹⁰ He was not recruited in the Tuli tribe, for in those days there was no recruiting in these territories. Mnini, however, *formed amabuto* later on. I was born about two or three years prior to Tshaka's death in 1828, and shortly after *the mourning for Nandi*, when the order was given that people could bear children again.¹¹ I was born on the Bluff side of the Mlazi, low down. We drew water from that river.

'Masdirik' ['Maastirik' is the exact pronunciation] is the pronunciation of the name of the first European I know of who came to Port Natal. [I cannot imagine who this can be.] He was followed by Febana.¹ 'Masdirik' merely called and then went on. It was in Tshaka's reign. He then went off. This ship came from eBayi [Algoa Bay]. 'Masdirik' was an Englishman. I did not see him but I heard about him. [Could this have been Capt. W.F.W. Owen in the 'Leven'?]¹³

When Febana arrived he found no fires burning anywhere on these hills except on the Bluff. They, seeing smoke there, crossed over. Matubane was then in charge of the Tuli tribe.¹⁴ Febana asked the cause of there being no people. Matubane explained this was due to Tshaka. On further inquiries Febana ascertained Tshaka's whereabouts, and asked Matubane if he would conduct him to T. Matubane agreed. Men were furnished by Matubane to carry things to Tshaka's kraal. Matubane 8 took the white people to Magaye (Cele chief). Messengers were sent on to Tshaka to say, 'Here are some *strange beasts (izilwane)* who have arrived.' Tshaka then directed that Matubane was to bring the white people on to him. They went. The things carried were presented to Tshaka. He then gave them presents of cattle, and gave an order to the Zulu people to the effect that the white people could help themselves to a beast wherever they might put up for the night.¹⁵ Febana then returned and cut down trees and built his establishment and called it Isinyama. The site of it is where the court-house at present stands. Those who had hidden away by ones and twos in the bushes about Port Natal came out of their places of refuge on seeing food available.

Mbulazi went across the Umzimkulu, finding the *Xolo* people and the

- 9 *Tshabeni* people.¹⁶ He returned with them to Esinyameni. The Europeans thereupon married native women. There were some of lesser rank than Farewell and Fynn.

After their arrival, Kamu Kengi [Captain King] arrived, accompanied by Mis Isisi [Isaacs], a young man afterwards called by natives *uDambuza m tabate, u zimema ze Ngome*.¹⁷ The occasion of his getting this praise was when he went to Zululand and was stabbed by the *Kumalo* people at the *Ngome* (up the *isiKwebezi*).¹⁸ He had the wound in the thigh, in front; I do not know which thigh.

- Kamu Kengi asked Matubane to take him too to the Zulu king. Matubane took him to Tshaka. Tshaka was glad to see him, presented him with cattle and with *plumes of the black finch*, and said, 'You are of the *Fasimba*,' i.e. belong to the regiment of that name. Kengi came back and built himself a house on the Bluff where Mr 'Bower' lived afterwards. Mrs 'Bower' is living there now. Her husband is dead. Natives called him *uMfitshane*. Kengi called his establishment *Esihlengeni*.

- Tshaka asked Kamu Kengi to build a boat (*umkumbu*), for that he had come in had been destroyed. Kengi said, 'There are no people to help me.' T. said, 'Matubane has people.' The boat was built in due course, and its completion reported to Tshaka. T. then told Sotobe ka Mpangalala to take a favourite wife - Mbozamboza was Sotobe's attendant; he was a *mature man*; he was *his ipini* - and go with him *abroad*.¹⁹ Klaju went with him, Klaju ka Nomdayi ka Sinda ka Mtukuteli ka Ncindi ka Ndababa ka Mtembu of the *Ematulini* people but really of the *abaTanjini* tribe. He was the interpreter who went along with Sotobe.²⁰ Sotobe took his *dancing dress, war shield, assegai, headband* (with *crane* feather), and *otails* for (decorating) the arms. Sotobe took his favourite wife *Ntombintombi* of Zululand, and entered the ship.
- 11 Kamukengi took him to eBayi. He was kept outside. Communications took place, leading to Sotobe being landed there. He *put on his finery*. He said he was going *over the sea*. Klaju was directed to tell Sotobe that Tshaka's words would not be taken *over the sea*; they would go no further. Interviews took place. It was decided that letters would be sent forward to report the arrival of the messenger. He, Sotobe, had a house set apart for him. Whilst here he was frequently visited by 'great people' (*amakosi*). For each of these visits he had to *dress up* and be interpreted for by Klaju. (Klaju had learnt English from Kamu Kengi for whom he worked inside the house.)

- Later on letters came from the *AmaXosa* country to say Tshaka's army was killing *amaXosa* and that therefore Sotobe had something to answer for.²¹ A force was got to resist the invaders. Sotobe was called and questioned. He said T.'s troops could easily be distinguished. The Europeans threatened to kill him when they returned if the men turned out to be Tshaka's. It was found the men were Tshaka's but they did not kill of *Matiwana* as supposed but by an European force.²² The remainder *konsa'd* Faku of Pondoland. *Matiwana* was called there *Marwanqana*. Sotobe after this was well treated, taken all about the town, and put on board a two-mast schooner and conveyed back to Natal. S. went to see Tshaka, was presented with cattle, and shortly after, T. was put to death.

Kamu Kengi died prior to T.'s death. Some illness seized him. After T.'s death Febana, Mbulazi and others made off to the Cape. Mis

Isis, Wohlo, Jana (Cane), Damuse, Diki Kingi were those who did not run away.²³

- 3 Shortly after Febana had left, Nqeto *deserted from the Zulu country* and went to Pondoland.²⁴ Febana returned overland although he had gone off by sea; he had a waggon with him. He found Nqeto at the Msi-kaba in the Amampondo country. F. *outspanned his waggon*. The people said, 'He is going to Zululand and will call on the Zulus to attack us.' They then killed him, for the waggons had not *outspanned at the homestead* but at a distance. Those on the waggons escaped. Febana had gone on a visit to Nqeto, where he had put up a tent. After this those with Febana came on to Natal to report his death.²⁵

Wohlo, Jana, Mbulazi, Mis Isis after this continued on at Port Natal.

- 14 Nhlamba said to Dingana, 'There are red-clothed people who recognize no chief.'²⁶ Jana and Damuse went off to Dingana to *konza*. They found a large number of men had assembled. Nhlamba was absent. Dingana said to them, 'Is it fact that there are people who do not recognize a king, people with red clothes?' Jana replied, 'Where has the king heard this?' They denied the charge. D. said, 'Would you kill the person who says this of you?' They said, holding up their hats in the air, 'How did the king come to divine our wish?' Jana then said to Wohlo to call Nhlamba. Nhlamba came and was put to death by Wohlo. Wohlo was asked to send for him as he had not been to Dingana with the others and so no suspicion would attach to him. Dingana no sooner heard of this than he attacked the Europeans. They and all their followers fled to the Cape, leaving only Mnini and his adherents, who resorted once again to the forests.²⁷

- 15 Jana was the only white man who remained here. Mnini remained there with only four kraals. Whilst here, Dabeka (Mqawe's father) of the amaQadi people and Mnguni ka Mtshiyana, chief of the Tshangase tribe, arrived here.²⁸ The Njanduna was also killed in the Zulu country, namely those made into a *buto* by Tshaka, (those) taken from the Cele.²⁹

After the arrival of these three sections of people, people emerged once more from the forests and there was peace.

Shortly after this the Boers arrived.

Klaju is the one who told me of Mas-dirik. This white man came prior to my birth but in Tshaka's reign. It is possible he may have come from the Portuguese at or near Delagoa Bay.

- 16 I know of Mpipi and Hasazi, but disagree with Maquza when he says they and not Matubane introduced the Europeans to Tshaka.³⁰ It is unnatural that they could have done so, as Matubane was at Port Natal when the Europeans arrived. What probably happened was that the white men used to sleep at Mpipi's when on their way to Magaye and Tshaka - nothing more. The truth is that Matubane effected the introduction, and he returned with the cattle presented him by the king.

Febana built a 'camp', with an enclosure. He did not build a native kraal, nor did he marry native women. He built it of *umhluma* wood, to keep (out) *hyenas* and *leopards*. All slept inside, for there were no people or kraals about. The very first man who came to give his allegiance to Faraewell was Jadilili ka Pudwa ka Ngozi ka Nyanise of the Mfeka section of the Tuli people, and Ndandane ka Mantiyane ka Ngamelwa of the Mapumulo people, (and) Mdhliwa ka Magoda of the emaKanyaweni (a people just across - north of - the Mngeni). Jadilili was

actually the first arrival. The Mfeka people lived under Tusi ka Myebu near Pinetown.

- 17 There is a tradition to the effect that Europeans arrived at Port Natal in Dole's day. They were *driven away* by Dole because he was hostile and determined to do away with everyone here. Some of the Europeans, however, remained and intermarried with natives, and their children married natives. I have myself seen a man, Mpazima ka Boko ka Vondwe (an European) who was one of these Europeans' descendants. I saw him when I was about six or eight years of age [i.e. about 1834]. He was well advanced in age, about my father's age. He grew up in Mabona's (Manti's) reign. Mpazima was *light in colour* and it was clear to me that he was descended from an European. I could see this from his hair. His sisters too were *light in colour* etc. like him. His property was *inherited* by Wohlo. He said to Wohlo, 'I have no one of my people here; I am descended from a European.' Wohlo presented Mpazima's wife with two head of cattle on account of her daughter Nolinda whom he inherited. He did this after Mpazima's death. The girl was married to another person, Funwayo, who paid her *lobolo* cattle to Wohlo. Funwayo was son of Mpopomo of the Tuli people. Funwayo's heir - but not by this wife - was Ndhlela (deceased). Funwayo afterwards went off to Ozwatini [at the source of the Mdhloti, where Socwatsha's people *left* from to go to Zululand, when he had already married and had a child], so I lost sight of him, says Maziyan, and do not know his issue by Nolinda.
- 18 I am sure Isinyama is the name of Febana's establishment. He had his own wife - European. Jana (Cane) took over this name, saying 'Esi-nyameni'. He built it at the Lovu. Another was built across the Umzinto, in charge of Nkayitshana; (it was, also called Isinyama. I saw Febana's Isinyama homestead when a young lad. It was then occupied by Jana (John Cane). Its position was exactly where the court-house now stands.
- 19 Mbulazi's kraal was Ensimbini; (it was, built at the Mlazi, near Mr Lamport [?]. He left there and built south of the Mzimkulu.

When Tshaka fought Sikunyana he called on Europeans to assist. They did so. Fynn went. 'USutu' cattle were seized. Mbulazi got a share of these and brought them back and established his Insimbi kraal with them.³¹

- When the Ndwandwe *impi* under Zwide invaded Zululand, Tshaka withdrew, burning and destroying everything as he went.³² The Mdadasa regiment under Lukilimba, however, came into conflict with Zwide's forces and was repulsed. Tshaka at a later date, having heard of this occurrence, was dissatisfied with Lukilimba's conduct, for by opposing the invaders and allowing them to make a feint on him, he thereby drew Zwide's forces onto the Zulus. Zwide was still living at this time. T. now said to Lukilimba, 'What were you doing, drawing the enemy on? Go and die in the wilderness, so that you will be removed from my sight.' (I.e. he would be destitute, and would be killed by anything that might chance to come in contact with him.) Lukilimba went off to eNtumbankulu, on the north side of the Mzimkulu, in the Port Shepstone magisterial district. He went off simply with the section (*isigaba*) of the Mdadasa which he commanded, not the whole regiment.
- 20 Later on Tshaka, who was obviously fond of the man, for he did not

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- have him killed - no doubt because he was a brave man - sent an *impi* south (*the Amabece campaign*). This *impi* came to hear of Lukilimba having built at the spot referred to, and reported the fact to Tshaka.
- 21 Tshaka now directed Matubane to go and fetch Lukilimba back. Matubane collected a force of his men together and proceeded to execute the order. Lukilimba heard of the approaching of a force and prepared to receive it. Matubane, not sure if the report to the king was correct, decided to send two men to spy and get necessary information. They did so, finding the *impi* collected as stated. Matubane now advanced, and as he came near, caused the *praises of Tshaka* to be recited in a loud voice, and when he had completed *praising* him Lukilimba realized that the expedition had come from the king and for no hostile purpose. He allowed Matubane to come in and eventually to seize him by the arm and carry him off to Tshaka. When they got to Tshaka he presented both Matubane and Lukilimba with a large number of cattle. Of his share,
- 22 Lukilimba took a portion and gave them to Matubane, saying, 'I would not have received what I have but for you.'³³

[Maziyanana has no Lala accent. He speaks the ordinary Zulu dialect and does not even *tefula*. Mcotoyi on the other hand *tekeza*'s slightly, though the dialect he speaks is the ordinary Zulu one.]

<22.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 63, pp. 14-24.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

- 14 Maziyanana says: I never saw Mbozamboza but knew Klaju. He *put on the headring* whilst we were still boys. He died subsequently to the Zulu war. He knew English well. I do not know what the Europeans called him. Klaju ka Nomdayi ka Sindo ka Mtukuteli ka Ncindi ka Ndebabo ka Mtembu. Klaju was Kam' Kengi's interpreter.

Tshaka used to speak direct to Matubane and not through his *izinduna* as in the case of other people.

- Klaju is the person who gave me the particulars regarding Sotobe's visit to Port Elizabeth. Klaju, after King's death, attached himself to a ship's captain and with him travelled to America, to England, to some 'French land', and to Portuguese territory at Delagoa Bay. When he left the sea he worked for Jemuse (a white man who was here prior to Benningfield's arrival).³⁴ He went with him on a trading trip to Zulu land.³⁵ When he got to Sigwebana's (ka Mudhli) kraal, probably on the Ndulinde,³⁶ he was informed that a young European boy called Jeke, who was an *isikonzi* at Ntonteleni kraal,³⁷ had plucked new mealies and eaten them prior to the Feast of the First Fruits, i.e. before the king had partaken of them. This matter Sigwebana looked on in a serious light. Jeke belonged to Jemuse's party even though he *konza'd* at Ntonteleni. Klaju acted as interpreter and duly impressed on Jemuse the gravity of the offence committed by Jeke, and as the king had already heard of this and was extremely angry, advised an immediate return to Natal. Jemuse, however, would not take the advice and decided on pushing on to see the king himself at Mgungundhlovu (Dingana was now reigning). On getting to the Great Place he outspanned. No one came anywhere near

them, and yet on ordinary occasions waggons were met by many long before actually arriving at the kraal. Presently two *izinduna* came, in company with *izikulu*.³⁸ The *izinduna* came bringing some old, injured cattle horns as well as eaten hides for purposes of barter.

- 16 These Jemuse refused to barter for. They behaved towards him in a lawless manner, practically blackmailing him. They each *bullied* him by making importunate demands for presents, demands which, under the circumstances, amounted to extortion. At first Jemuse resisted their demands but presently yielded, giving them a whole packet of beads.

It was after parleying that they caused Klaju to be lifted up and carried off in the direction of Kwa Matiwane (place of execution) to frighten him and the white man, so that on Klaju being brought back, he, as he had agreed with the *indunas* to do, recommended and induced J. to accede to their demands, whereupon J. gave the beads as stated. Klaju called J.'s attention to his warning when at Sigwebana's, and said this was a sign of the trouble he had anticipated. After the *izinduna* left, a girl from the *isigodhlo* came to the waggon, over part of which Jemuse had erected a temporary tent covering. *She forced her way in*. She pulled the cloth aside and *uncovered* him, and finding J.

- 17 crying with rage, shouted out that that was the case. Upon hearing her shouting there immediately collected a great crowd, which proceeded to loot the things from the waggon before J.'s eyes and carry them into their huts. Everything was seized, the waggon being left empty.

In view of what had happened, having had no interview with the king, J. decided to inspan at night and return to Natal. When all were asleep he inspanned and, driving his other stock ahead, trekked to Sigwebana's and from thence into Natal. From Port Natal he went away down the coast to the Cape Colony [Port Elizabeth] - eBayi - where he got into communication with Wohlo (who was, then at eRini [Grahamstown], learning from him that he and others of Tshaka's *white men* had fled from Natal on account of Dingana's hostility. Klaju asked leave to see Wohlo etc. This was granted, whereupon Wohlo said he was returning to Natal and Klaju must go with him. He advised Klaju, who was still with Jemuse, to *take leave* of his master and return with him to Zululand. Klaju did so, being presented by J. with a number of cattle as payment for his services.

As regards Jemuse's affair, no case was tried, no inquiry held, nor was compensation of any kind given. He, however, escaped not only with his waggon and oxen but with cattle he had been bartering for, these having been driven ahead of the waggon right on to Port Elizabeth.

- 18 I never saw Sotobe.

Collis (Kolise) arrived after Dingana had *scattered* the white people. Jemuse is therefore not Collis (James Collis) but someone else.

[Is not Jeke 'the boy John Ross' referred to by Isaacs in his book?]³⁹

Neither Jemuse nor Jeke ever returned to Natal, says Maziyan.

Nhlamba had his kraal (in Dingana's reign) at Kwa Mpofu (a large flat between the Mhlatuzana and Mlazi). The name of his kraal was eku-Weleni. Tshaka *allocated to him people of Magaye's place*.⁴⁰

Tshaka never divulged what Nhlamba told him about (what) the white people did and were. The only occasion on which he did so was when he

directed Kam' Kengi to build a boat to take his people to go and see the white people's king (i.e. to see the people Nhlamba had been telling him so much about). Dingana, on the other hand, questioned the Europeans as already stated on a matter he obviously ought to have kept to himself, i.e. for Nhlamba's safety.

When Tshaka was assassinated, Dingana caused Magaye, Zihlandhlo, Matubane, and Sambela to be put to death, men who had ruled with Tshaka.⁴¹ Nhlamba then left from the other side of the Mdhloti and settled on the flat just referred to. His kraal there was known as ukuWela.

Sambela was a son of Gawabe. S. followed Zihlandhlo in age.

Nhlamba, on leaving the Mdhloti, left with his followers, given him by Tshaka, and settled on the flat in question close to - on the Durban side of - Lambode's old sugar mill [Lampont's?].

22.4.1905, 7.20 p.m. Maziyan, Socwatsha, and Nodwengu.

The Zulu impi which attacked Jana (Cane) at Port Natal was under the command of Zulu ka Nogandaya.⁴² [Correct: vide p. 247, ii, Isaacs.]

When Mpande left Zululand and came to Natal he visited the Boers at Kangela.⁴³ They wanted to know if he had really left Zululand and was not deceiving them. Mpande was conveyed to Pietermaritzburg, where he saw the principal Boer chief. The Boers said, 'We'll see if what you say is true, because there will be fighting between you and Dingana.'

Zulu ka Nogandaya came into Natal with Mpande. Wohlo said to Zulu, 'I shall hide you; I shall give you help. Go to Gagamela ka Jojoza, chief of the Ndwalana tribe, at Faku's in the Mpondo country, because you finished off the people at Ndongakusuka' (a battle fought near the country of the whites).⁴⁴

In the Ndongakusuka battle, Nondinisa ka Mabangwini ka Njabuza of the Tuli people was wounded. He belonged to Jana's (Cane's) impi. He was wounded at the back of his neck. He afterwards, as Socwatsha says, lived at Zwatini. Some of the tribe paid tax in Greytown; others at Mapumulo.

Zulu then went off to the Amampondo. And when Smith brought forces to Natal he accompanied Smith.⁴⁵

Tshaka went twice south - two campaigns.⁴⁶ On the 'amabece' campaign the Zulu were cut up by the Mpondo, for three Zulu units (amabandhla) were finished off. But the Zulu got the better of them and succeeded in seizing some of their cattle, but not many. Tshaka did not accompany this impi. This force got to the end of their cattle (meat supply) and suffered from hunger. They were obliged to eat melons (amabece) and wild plants. The melons were eaten at the Umzinhlamvu, this side of the Umzimvubu but high up from the sea.

This force's object was to 'fetch' Madikane, the Baca chief who had run off south from Natal and Zululand. He had been living at Emkambatini (Table Mountain) near Pietermaritzburg. The army crossed the Tsekela into Natal well above Greytown (say opposite Mzinga) and travelled right under the Drakensberg - they skirted along the Drakensberg range. The force travelled southwards, sweeping round,

- slightly entered Pondo territory, and made its way along the coast back to Zululand, crossing the Mzinkulu in the neighbourhood of Port Shepstone. They failed to find Madikane, as he had taken refuge among the Amaxosa far inland. The force then entered Pondoland, coming to Mancini's territory (a Pondo *induna*). They merely effected an entrance and made a slight seizure of cattle. The Pondos came to the attack. The Pondos *sika'd*, i.e. *stabbed* (the word *sika* is used in this way by Pondos, not by Zulus) three regiments. Seeing this, Mdhaka reinforced the three regiments being defeated by *youths* and got the better of the Pondos.⁴⁷ After this the Zulus came back homewards. *Faku used supernatural forces to set hyenas of the forests on to them.* The *hyenas* ate the Zulu cattle as well as the members of the force, and followed the force until it got to the isiBubulungu and across the Tukela into Zululand.

It was on this return journey that Lukilimba was found to be residing at the Mzinkulu [see preceding notebook].

- When the *impi* got back *its experiences were related* before Tshaka, who directed Matubane (Tuli chief) to go and *spy in the Mpondo country*. He went, and returned with one beast - a black heifer. He went with a force. On his way back he came across two Pondos from the *Ngutshana people* (Pondo tribe) going further south into Pondoland, driving this black beast. Matubane, desiring to have tangible evidence of the fact that he had been into Pondoland to spy, lay in wait for the two men, swooped on and killed them, and drove back the beast to show Tshaka. The beast was taken to Tshaka in support of the statement to be made by Matubane regarding his journey. It was some months after, when the rivers had all gone down, i.e. in winter time, that the *ihlambo impi* left to attack the Pondos.⁴⁸

The *amabece impi* was under the command of Mdhaka (commander-in-chief), Mpangazita ka Mncumbata (Fasimba *induna*), Nomapela of the *Ndwandwe people* (Nobamba regiment), Klwana ka Ngqengelele (Mbelebele regiment), Manjanja ka Nhlambela (regiment?), Mvundhlana ka Menziwa ka Xoko of the *Biyela people* (the *Ntshangase*) ka Mamba of the *Zulu people* (regiment?).⁴⁹ This *amabece campaign* took place prior to the arrival of the white people at Port Natal.

22.4.1905, 8.25 p.m.

File 62, nbk. 64, pp. 1-4.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu?

- 1 Maziyan continues.

The *melons* referred to were found on old habitation sites of the Pondos. The men were so hungry (famished) that they ate them uncooked.

Tshaka's tactics were to attack unexpectedly, says Socwatsha. Any *induna* coming back and reporting that *so-and-so* had remained behind, *so-and-so* had remained behind (i.e. deaths) would cause the king to be very angry and kill the *induna*.

When the *amabece campaign* took place, Natal had been already denuded of inhabitants, north as well as south. Mmini and his small following alone remained about the Bluff.

Tshaka himself did not accompany the *amabece impi*. Mdhaka was in supreme command. Mdhaka's sons are Febana, of the *Nsele section*

MAZIYANA

- 2 (isigaba) of the Ngwegweni regiment, living at Kwa Magwaza under Chief Ndube ka Manqondo; Mbonyapansi, living, of the Emgazini tribe at the place of Masipula - he pays tax in Paulpietersberg; Mahlahlana, dead.

Mlokotwa ka Febana is able to recite the praises of the emGazini notables, Masipula, Mdhlaka etc. Febana could give names of all the izinduna of the army etc.

.... <Praises of Mdhlaka omitted - eds.>

S. thinks Febana was called after Farewell.

- 3 In the hlambo campaign, Tshaka commanded in person. He crossed the Mzimkulu and took up a position there whilst the impi went on ahead under the command of Mdhlaka. Faku directed his men not to attack but to allow the Zulus to seize cattle. The force accordingly proceeded far away south as far as Esikaleni se Nyoka in the country of the Bomvana people. On their way thither the Pondos made no attack at all on them; they did not molest in any way. Tshaka himself stayed in Mbulazi's kraal a short distance across the Mzimkulu. The impi seized cattle and returned with them. The Pondos kept out of sight. Faku went off to the Drakensberg. His own cattle were not seized. He took off his father Ngqungqushu's cattle too. The cattle taken were those of his people, light-brown ones (ezimdubu). Tshaka remained with the Nobamba regiment at the Mzimkulu. There was also a regiment of girls, the uNkisimana. There were also girls of the king's mdhlunkulu. The Nkisimana was butwa'd at Dukuza. The Mcekeceke and Ntshuku were collected in Zululand.⁵⁰
- 4 The name of the flat between the Mhlatuzana and Mlazi, Kwa Mpofu, is not derived from the fact that the amaMpofana people used formerly to live there or near there.

23.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 64, pp. 4, 6-20.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu.

Maziyana, Socwatsha, and Nodwengu present.

The amaTuli drove out the amaMpofana from this region. They also drove out the amaNqondo, amaJali (not amaNtshali), amaNtshangase, im'Zindhle, amaKanyawo, imTwana, amaCi. All these, among the Pondos, are known as Abambo, for they all went south to the Pondos when driven out by the amaTuli.⁵¹ These are said to have gone up (kupuka'd) to the amaMpondo, not gone down (euka'd), for Zululand is known as umzansi, i.e. below, or those below.

Socwatsha corroborates this about Pondos speaking of Zulus etc. as umzansi. 'Look at this fine person; he cuts to let the bad blood out; he even jabs into his mother's vagina, but still he can't get it out' - the latter an insulting expression. Those who in Cetshwayo's day came to Durban etc. and travelled to Pondoland to buy genet skins came back with these accounts.

6 These various tribes, says Maziya, became amaMpondo. The Tulis *hatched an evil plot to overcome other peoples*, for wherever they found members of these tribes they *impaled them through the anus on the posts of the umuzi fences*. In consequence of this practice all the old tribes ran off.

The amaMpofana are those who were at the isiBubulungu, *at the 'ford'*. (People spoke of the Bay as having a 'ford' and still do, because ships come in and because persons crossed the Bay not far from Kangela.) IsiBubulungu is an ancient name. I do not know why. The amaMpofana ate fish and caught them; *they trapped them by means of izintango*.⁵² These were ordinary persons, not specially *light in colour (mpofu)*. I have heard old people say Nomabunga ka Nkowane was their chief.

It was Dole who seized the Bluff from the amaMpofana, Dole ka Sivuba ka Zakwe etc. Mkokeleli married Matu, the daughter of Sivuba.⁵³ 7 Matu was got from Sivuba whilst the Tulis were still at the amaTikulu. Sivuba, Zakwe, and Tshatwa are all buried in Zululand at the amaTikulu. I am sure Sivuba died at Matikulu. The Tulis did not, in Zululand, live on the coast and seashore as they did in Natal, nor did Myebu do so, for his territory lay about Pinetown and stretched away to the Mkomazi as far as the Ngilanyoni hill, on the north side of the Mkomazi.

Nodwengu observes that Ngilanyoni is the same name as Inhlazuka, the mountain opposite Mkunya.

When the Tulis came south they were accompanied by the amaMbili, amaKomo, Isicaka (of the Cele tribe),⁵⁴ uTshaba of Gwayi, uGwayimbili.

The amaMbili built south of the Mkomazi and as far as the Mzimkulu. The amaKomo extended from the Ngilanyoni to Camperdown. The Bacas were above them. The uTshaba people of Gwayi lived along the banks of the Mzimkulu, on the north side. These last are still living there. Tshaka attacked them. The Tshabeni chief (was, Kofiyana ka Mbengana ka Gwayi (Gwayimbili - i.e. showing union with the amaMbili). When T. attacked them he merely seized their cattle. They, like the Tulis, hid in the forests and retained possession of their lands. Fynn brought out all who were in the bushes, including the Tulis, the Xolo, and the Tshabeni. He brought the latter two tribes to Port Natal. Kofiyana was made an induna by Febana on the present site of Durban. He became induna of eSinyameni.

I know nothing of the Sivuku people. I do know of the abalumbi. These were under the chief of the maZelemwini people. They, the abalumbi, lived south of the Mdhloti.

The Gwayi tribe came from the Mbili one. The Mbili chief was Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo. The Gwayi chief was uMankafana ka Gwayi. Mankafana was of higher rank than Mbengana.

9 Zulu ka Nogandaya [father of my informants Mkehlengana and Mkotana] built on lands of the amaMpofana (chief Nomabunga ka Nkowane).⁵⁵ Lukilimba - prior to Zulu's coming - went and seized the cattle of the amaMpofana, amaVundhle, Mgayi, Tshobeni (at the umZembe river). He also crossed the Mzimkulu but the amaNgutshana tribe (Pondo one) defeated him. Lukilimba built his own isigodhlo after the fashion of the Zulu kings. This was the Lukilimba fetched by Matubane by Tshaka's

orders, as previously stated by me.

3.15 p.m.

10 amaNqondo, alias amaNxondo. These people lived with the amaMpo-fana. I do not know their chief. They lived with, and as part of, the amaMpofana, the latter being the principal people. They (the amaNqondo) may have had a chief of their own. They lived chiefly on the far side of the Berea but close to it.⁵⁶ They ate fish. They spoke a Lala dialect.⁵⁷ There are several who remained behind whilst the great majority fled to ebuNguni, Pondos, etc. etc.⁵⁸ Marawana is the only man of this tribe I know of. Only his sons are now living. He is under my chief, Mqotoyi.⁵⁹ Marawana's father is Mpahlo ka Mncomisa of the Nqondweni people. He was the age of my father. His only son now living is Mapinda (of Mqotoyi's age). Mapinda is living under Mqotoyi. I do not think he knows any more than I do of his old tribe, for I used to hear his father *bonga* when he *slaughtered a beast*. The amaNqondos did not cut the little finger joint. They *made incisions on the face* instead. They did what the Pondos do. The ama-Nqondos had already *been scattered* when Marawana was born.

amaJali. I know of no member of this tribe in Natal. They fled to Pondoland where they have a chief of their own. They lived along the coast near the Ilovu and across the Mkomazi. Their chief in Pondoland is Maqutu; he may be dead by now. I do not know their *mark of identity*. They too were amaLala. [I notice there are amaJali under Mpikwa in Alfred County - Blue Book, 1903.]

11 amaNtshangase - now living in Pondoland. They lived across the Mkomazi on the coast. Tshaba, i.e. the Tuli, *drove them out*. Their chief in Pondoland is unknown to me.

Imzindhle. I do not know their chief. They lived on this side of the Mzimkulu, on the coast.

amaKanyawo - lived just across the Mngeni. Their chief in Pondoland is Nonhlanga (deceased). They were not *driven out* by Tshaka but by the amaTuli. Some remained and were dispersed by Tshaka. They were killed off in the neighbourhood of the Mngeni. Ndhlebende is a son of Mandala. They were amaLala. They bought fish from the abaTembu who lived on the site of Durban Berea; they lived as far as the lime (?) works near Kangela. The fish was bought with assegais. In those days iron-smelting took place all over, in every tribe. These Kanyawos did not come into conflict with the Tulis; they simply fled before them as other tribes did.

12 abaTembu. These people were on the Berea and the site of Durban when the Tulis arrived. They were not dispersed. They *paid tribute* to the amaTulis, and continued to build and live with them. Mangete ka Mufo ka Msamane ka Gqaba ka Belezi ka Mtembu - that is where they connect with Klaju (previously referred to at length by me).⁶⁰ Their territory extended to this side (Durban side) of the Mngeni, as far as Kangela and on the site of Durban. These people caught (*trapped*) fish by building *fences of reeds*. The abaTembu used to fish on the north side of the bay, whereas the amaMpofana fished on the south side. The amaMpofana had the best fishing grounds. There was much more fish in the deeper water on the Bluff side. All kinds of fish were procured.

'Cwaneke' is to put in sticks, and toast; (they) last for a month (fish). A person gets fat and sleek.⁶¹

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There are no more Tembus left; they were killed by the Zulus in Tshaka's day. The Tembus married a daughter of Mabona (*Manti*), and were on excellent terms with Mabona etc. When the Zulus attacked these regions, the Tembus were compelled to take refuge in the bushes. After coming out of them again they became subject to *bandits* that went about the country eating people, and who, when they found a well-cultivated garden, would kill the owner. In this way the Tembus were gradually killed off. Maqata is the name of a Tembu who was killed in the battle of the Tugela (when John Cane lost his life).⁶² I do not know Maqata's father. He left no sons.

When the Europeans arrived they found only two Tembu married women living near the Mgeni in hiding (near the waggon drift). Farewell took the women and they afterwards lived with him, both of them, and they eventually died at Esinyameni (Febana's homestead). They had no children. One of them married a Hottentot, Mehlela, and the other was married to a man named *Nondeni*. The Hottentot, Mehlela, had arrived with Febana.

These Tembus at Port Natal had originally come from the Tembus who lived at the junction of the Tukela and Umzinyati rivers. The cause of their separation was a family quarrel (*umbango*).

Mangete had no son. I never saw him. He died at Port Natal in a bush on the Bay where Mangcingci's house was built.⁶³ Reuben Beningfield now lives there, near Sir John Robinson's house.⁶⁴ Mangete died in hiding. His kraal was on the north side of the road to Pietermaritzburg from Durban and on the Berea. Its name was eBalwaneni. It was owing to Tshaka's wars that Mangete took to the bushes and died there alone, his own men and women having been either killed or having run off to Pondoland. Mangete was older than Mnini. When Tshaka attacked Mangete etc. Mnini was still a boy.

*There were many people to whom Tshaka caused great sorrow, as (he) did by killing off people of various tribes.*⁶⁵

The Tembu chief who came from the northern Tembus near the Mzinyati was Gqaba. One of my father's wives was a Tembu girl, and it was from her I heard the story I now give.

The Tulus arrived at Port Natal shortly after the Tembus, but only shortly, for Gqaba and Dole appear, according to Maziyana, to belong to the same generation.

My mother in question was still living when the Izigqoza battle was fought in 1856; also in 1873 (Langalibalele's war). She died shortly before the Zulu war of 1879.⁶⁶

The amaHlubi people are amaNtungwas.⁶⁷ They are those who used to say, 'Ofe, Mkozi!'⁶⁸ The abaTembu are not amaNtungwa - traders who used to go about the country selling tobacco (*gwayi*).⁶⁹ They were of the amaHlubi tribe and were *buta'd* by Tshaka, and he called them *iziYendane*.⁷⁰ (Tshaka afterwards killed them on the ground that they held back captured cattle). They twisted their hair like girls and *izangoma*. The phrase is *ukupot' umyeko*, to twist into tassels and let them fall over the face and ears (like the Baca women do). The Tembus did not do this. They sewed on headrings in the same kind of way that the Zulus did.

The Tembus on their arrival must have turned people out of the land about the Bay, but I cannot think which. I do not know. I know the

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Kanyawos, when the Tulis came, were north of the Mngeni, the amaNqondo on the far side (west) of the Berea, and the amaMpofana on the Bluff.

Socwatsha says: the aba kwa Mbonambi, aba kwa Sokulu, aba kwa Nibeya, and aba kwa Mfeka (kwa Mfekane) all eat fish. They live on the Zululand coast and they are *insulted* by eating fish.⁷¹

17 I do not know what people the Tembus drove away when occupying Port Natal, says Maziyan, for none of these regions was unoccupied in those days. They may of course have *konza'd* the amaMpofana, the strongest tribe then existing here, or they may have come to terms with the amaNqondo.

[But I, J.S., suggest, having regard to the fish on which people in these parts depended for their livelihood, it is not likely they got the land without a fight with some tribe. The amaMpofana of course had the best side of the Bay.]

The flat on which Durban, race course etc., stands is known as Kwa Malinde. I do not know when this name came into use.

18 There is another section of the amaMpofana living in the amaCi tribe in Harding Division. I once went to Harding with Mcotoyi (in Mmini's lifetime), after the Zulu war. We several times slept in a kraal not far from Harding which turned out to be one of a member of the old Mpofana people. This kraal belonged to the amaCi tribe. We stayed at it on our way to and from the office. They of this kraal told me they had been *driven out* by the amaTuli from Port Natal, and that there were seven amaMpofana kraals in all in that neighbourhood. They were living on ground which, I fancy, has since been laid off in farms. The kraals were under one man, *an old man*, Muzimu by name. Mabunu is his son and may still be living. The amaMpofana I slept with as stated told me that u(lu)Tshaba, i.e. uTuli, *had driven them out and impaled their children on posts*.

19 Imtwana tribe. These people ran off past the Pondos and Xozas and built close to the Europeans in Cape Colony. When wars broke out they left and went to the Mzimkulu, *to their old living sites*. They were driven from here by Europeans of Natal and went to the Mzimvubu, but finding no land, turned back *far up the Bisi river* near eNsikeni mountain, where they are still living. They pay taxes in the Cape Colony (at Kwa Madonela - Donald Strachan's).⁷² Their late chief was Banginyama (deceased). These people resemble the Pondos. They lived close to the Mzimkulu but across it (from) where Mtshwetshwe ka Magidigidi is now living with his tribe.⁷³

The amaCi lived near Ntumbankulu, a forest between the Mzombe and the Mzimkulu. They got permission from Sir T. Shepstone and moved to the Mzimkulwana near the town of Harding.⁷⁴ That is where they are still living but, owing to laying off of farms, have been pushed towards the Mtamvuna river. Their chief was Mbonwa (deceased). When driven out by the Tulis they went off to Pondoland and returned later on to Ntumbankulu. (They pay tax at Sayidi - Port Shepstone.) When driven out by the Tulis they lived north of the Mzimkulu. Mbonwa ka Mbusi ka Magoba - chiefs of the tribe.

20 I cannot call to mind the name Inyangesa (Nyangiza) referred to by Fynn [Bird's *Annals*, i, 73].

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When Dole arrived there were, I fancy, some Europeans in this part of the country. These Europeans lived at Emcakwini - where lime (*umcako*) is being made by Europeans - at Kangela near Durban. They afterwards left for the Cape by sea. I hear it was white people (whom) Dole saw, not merely their descendants. Several Europeans remained and led lives like the natives. I have conversed on these matters with Tshadile and others.

[The coming south of the Abambo, Xozas, Pondos. Who are abaNtungwa? AbeNguni? The Hlubi people.]

24.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 64, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

Maziyana (Socwatsha and Nodwengu present).

My impression is that the abaMbo came from the direction of Swaziland.⁷⁵ It is the dialect they speak which causes me to think thus. Zihlandhlo was the Embo chief and was on very friendly terms with Tshaka. T. called him his *younger brother* (*umncwabe*).

- 21 Socwatsha heard that Zihlandhlo's people *originated* at the Manyane stream where it enters the Tukela on the Zululand side. The Manyane rises in the Qudeni mountains.⁷⁶ Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo ka Mkize ka Gubela.⁷⁷

.... <Praises of Sibiside, former Mbo chief, as given by Socwatsha omitted - eds.>

Socwatsha fancies they (Embos) were not ancient occupants.

The Abambo are amaLala, not amaNtungwa or abeNguni.⁷⁸ They say, not 'Wenzani?' but 'Wentani?' I am a Lala, says Maziyana.

Socwatsha says the Ngcobo tribe, to which he belongs, originally *tekeza'd*. The Ngcobos are not amaNtungwa; they are amaLala.

- 22 Bambata ka Tshabase of the Embo people, *induna* to Zihlandhlo at *Esimahleni* (Zihlandhlo's *ikanda*), escaped in Dingana's reign when Zihlandhlo was put to death by him. He came to live on the Mkomazi. Not many tribesmen followed then, but when Mpande crossed into Natal many joined Bambata. They, however, came with a chief, Siyingele ka Zihlandhlo, who became the chief of all. After Siyingele's death his son Ngunezi became chief, followed by Sikukuku, also Tilonko - two at this day.

Socwatsha says the Embo people lived at the Manyane and Mfongosi streams in the Nkandhla Division.⁷⁹ There are stragglers of the tribe now under the Ntuli tribe (chief: Mpumela ka Godide), others at Kwa Magwaza under Ndunge ka Manqondo, and other tribes of Zululand.

Nqume ka Nzangwini ran off to the amaXozas; he was afraid of Tshaka. He was chief of a section of the abaMbo. He had come from

- 23 the Manyane in Zululand with these. He afterwards returned from the Xozas and settled at Ntumbankulu on the Mzimkulu.

Magidigidi ka Magaye afterwards settled near Nqume.⁸⁰ Nqume's sons quarrelled with one another and all died off - they poisoned one another. Some of his adherents are under Tomukana (ka Pobana), a *bastela*; others are under Mdungazwe (deceased) ka Fodo, paying tax at Madonela's or Kokstad.⁸¹

As Zihlandhlo was on intimate terms with Tshaka he was allowed to kill off and rule. He may have been attacked by Zihlandhlo <sic>.

I know of no mark of identity among the Embo people. They do not cut the face, nor cut the little finger, the little finger remaining uncut.

The Xozas proper are the amaNgxaleka - Hinsa's.⁸² Those further north-east are the abeNguni. The Xozas proper originated right on the frontier of the Cape Colony. I do not think the amaNgxaleka are abeNguni; they are true amaXoza.

- 24 The Xozas received accessions of all kinds of people from the northern districts of Natal, viz. Embos, Celes, Tuli, Tembus, Xolo, etc. - every possible variety seen in Natal.

It seems to me the Xozas went down south first and established themselves, then others at various periods settled among them etc. The Pondos followed later.

The Pondos seem to be descended from Embos, but then, judging from their language, they are hardly amaLala like Embos.

Socwatsha says that what does stick to people - more than their language can do - is their *isibongo*.

Mande was the one who insulted Tshaka by saying, 'The little Ntungwa with a penis-cover made from the tongwane tree; could he ever get here to our place at Emfakuceba?'⁸³ He spoke of Tshaka as an umNtungwa.

Socwatsha says the Kumalo people are the real abaNtungwa, for they say 'Mntungwa' to one another.⁸⁴

24.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 1-12.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

- 1 Socwatsha says he hears the *Nzimela* people speak to one another as 'Ummguni'; they live in Zululand. Zimema is their chief - in John Dunn's district.⁸⁵ Zimema is living. Manjanja, J. Dunn's great *induna* (he was imprisoned) was of the *Nzimela* people. Zimema took over Manjanja's people. Zimema lives from the Ngoye to the Mlalazi. The Emanzimeleni people are distributed all over Zululand and Natal. S. does not know the Manzimela chief. S. never hears Mtetwa speak of being abeNguni. They say, 'Nyambose!'⁸⁶

B'ehla ne 'silulu or b'ehla nge 'silulu: the latter is the commonest expression.⁸⁷ The former is also used but is incorrect; e.g. *amaNtungwa ehla nge 'silulu*. (Not nge zilulu.)⁸⁸ Per Socwatsha and Maziya.

[Nodwengu returns home.]

11 a.m. Maziyana and Socwatsha present.

- 2 They rolled by means of a grain basket (*ba ginqika nge silulu*), i.e. were all put into a basket which was rolled down, and when they got down it was opened and they came out and scattered over the country. That is the popular idea, but this popular idea is wrong, for there are such things as hills and rivers over which a basket could not roll. Moreover the expression refers to only one basket. Thus it seems the expression is merely a metaphor, not a statement of fact.

This means, of course, that they came from the north or upper country. Probably a body of people started from the far north and travelled south through district after district until they reached unoccupied lands where they settled and scattered over the land. That is, they made an exodus.

The abeNguni are not said to have come down by means of a grain basket, but Socwatsha thinks they must have done so, like the amaNtungwa, on the ground that the Qwabes and Zulus, who are really amaNtungwa, speak of themselves nowadays as abeNguni.

- 3 [One cannot say which arrived in these parts first, amaNtungwa or abeNguni, but as the Qwabes, who were Ntungwas, came to speak of themselves as Ngunis, so it seems to me that there was a settlement of Ngunis here prior to their coming, and it was these Ngunis who modified their Ntungwa (Sutu) dialect.]

Some Hlubis, at the time of the scattering of the peoples (*ngezwekufa*), i.e. in Tshaka's day, were broken up and were given protection by us. I heard from them that formerly in their tribe they said, 'Ofe, mkozi!' My belief is that the amaHlubi bartered the *ika-tazo* plant.⁸⁹

Socwatsha says *mkozi* means my friend (*mganewami*). The Tongas use the same word to a person they are bartering with. The traders (*abarwebi*) [from *rweba*, to sell (*tengisa*)] used to sell, and use the word *mkozi* to any person they sold their goods to.

- 4 The amaHlubi are not abeSutu. Their chiefs are Sinepu (some say Siyepu - deceased) ka Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane ka Nsele. They are amaNtungwa. They lived near Matiwana ka Masumpa of the amaNgwane tribe. They were driven out by Tshaka from the Pongolo, where they originated. They left and settled at the Mtshezi.⁹⁰ T. attacked again and they went over the Drakensberg.

Even if the Hlubis separated from the Besutu they are related to one another. They wrap round in front with a softened skin, leaving the buttocks showing, the testicles and penis not showing at all.

The aba kwa Bomvana are in the Cape Colony. Between the Mpambanyoni and Mkomazi when the Tulis came they gave the country to amaMbili <sic>. AmaVangane is the name of Myebu's kraal. [See Shepstone's map.] Xoki ka Myebu lived in it. This kraal was this (north) side of the Mkomazi near where Mtambo (chief) lives.⁹¹

Leaving of Tuli from the country of the Zulu.

- 5 I do not know what caused them to leave the Matikulu. After they left, the land they had occupied was built on by Pakatwayo.⁹² The chiefs in Natal opposed them. They made a plan. Dole said that neck-rings were to be taken off and handed to *izilomo* (warriors) of the Tuli tribe.⁹³ He then took these 'braves', with the neck-rings, his object being to pretend to pay taxes to the tribes, whereas he would set upon and stab them when they were near him. When he crossed over he became a *marauder* in the country on this side. He impaled children on posts and drove the occupants of the lands off. At this time Makanya (Qwabe) had not built south of the Tukela. The Tuli crossed first, then Mkoheleli, Makanya, and Mteli (brother of Pakatwayo), and occupied these regions.⁹⁴ I do not know the people who were tricked in this way. The neck-rings were of brass (*itusi*). The *itusi* was smelted by the people themselves, as well as other tribes. One neck-ring
6 fetched a beast. I do not know what *umdaka* is.⁹⁵ [Socwatsha says *ubedu = umdaka = mika*.]⁹⁶

I am sure it was Dole who acted in this way. Myebu crossed over at the same time as Dole. He was the principal chief. I am sure Tshatwa died in Zululand and that Myebu crossed into Natal.

Ntaba had sons. Ntaba was a mature man when he was driven out. Tusi fathered Ndomba (same age as Mabona, or Manti). Tusi was a small chief of the Tuli tribe. He was of the same age as Ntaba. I believe Ntaba was born in Natal.

Ifenya got its name because fish was eaten there; it was not the name of a hill.⁹⁷

People in olden times lived much longer than in these days. Both Myebu and Ntaba reigned a considerable time.

Lutuli and Nkomo were Tuli chiefs at the Matikulu.

- 7 The Tuli drove all the coast tribes before them, from the Tukela to the Mzimkulu, and across the Mzimkulu. They then came back and built where they fancied best. They fought with assegais. They did not hurl the assegai but retained hold of it.

The Tuli are neither abeNguni nor Ntungwas.

Ketshepi (Pakatwayo's daughter) married Funwayo ka Mpopomo (Tuli tribe).⁹⁸

Myebu's main kraal was Kwa Gobela (the place of Ntaba's people).

Myebu's sons: Ntaba, his younger brother (*umkawe*) Tusi, Nongwadi, Nguqe, Xoki, Ncwane, Mancamane. Hatshu is not the son of Myebu but of Xoki. Xoki's principal son was Mlahlekeli. Xoki fathered Mlahlekeli, Gwalaza, Mtebele, and Hatshu.

Nguqe's son: Madhluma. Tusi's sons: Ndomba, Zililo (girl).

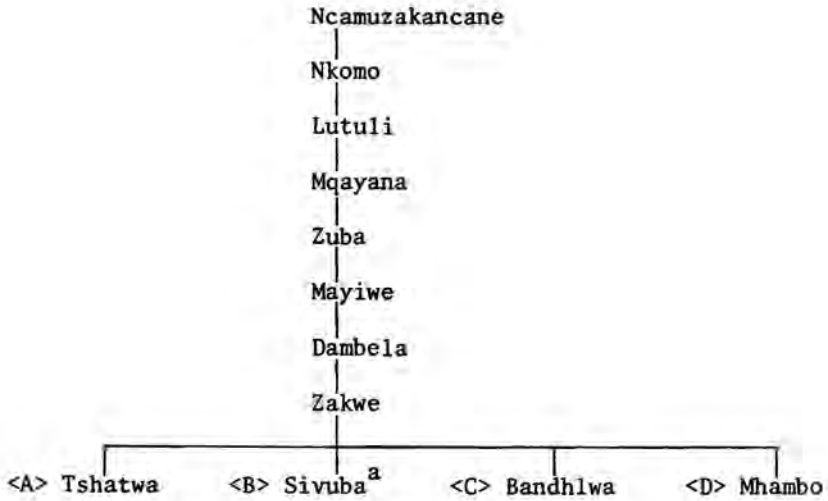
I do not know who Nongede is [given by Mcotoyi]. Sojuba [p. 261, Shooter]⁹⁹ ka Majoka ka Mtshayeni ka Bandhlwa ka Zakwe ka Dambela etc.

Nongwadi was Myebu's son of the left-hand house, and lived at the Mbubulu (where Mtambo lives).

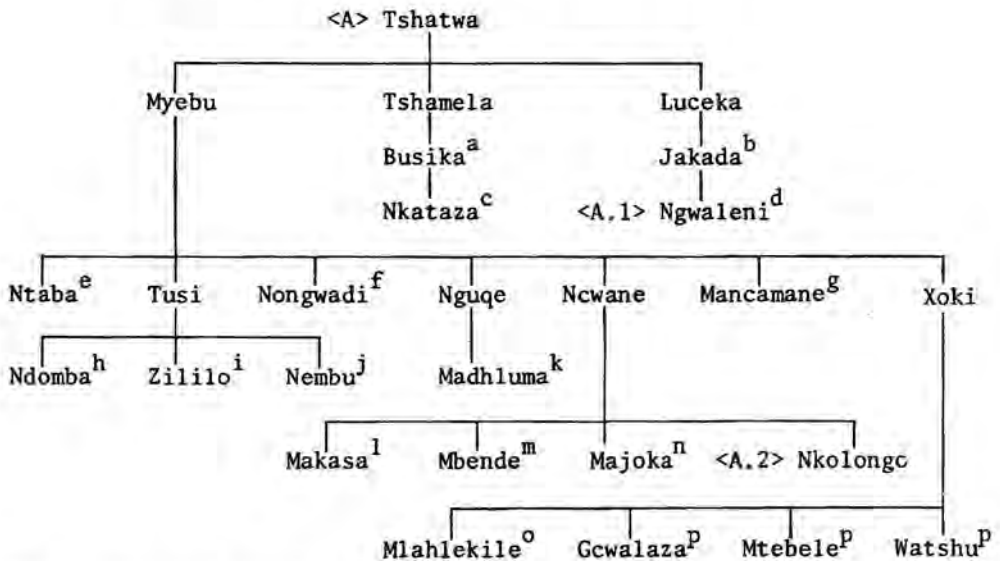
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8-11 Genealogical tree: Tuli tribe. Per Maziya, 24.4.1905.

<For typographical reasons the lineages given below cannot be set out in conformity with the style adopted in Stuart's original notes. Relationships between lineages are here indicated by the use of the symbols A, A.1, A.1.1 etc. Stuart's original notes are reproduced in the frontispieces to this volume - eds.>



^a Younger brother (umawe) of Tshatwa.



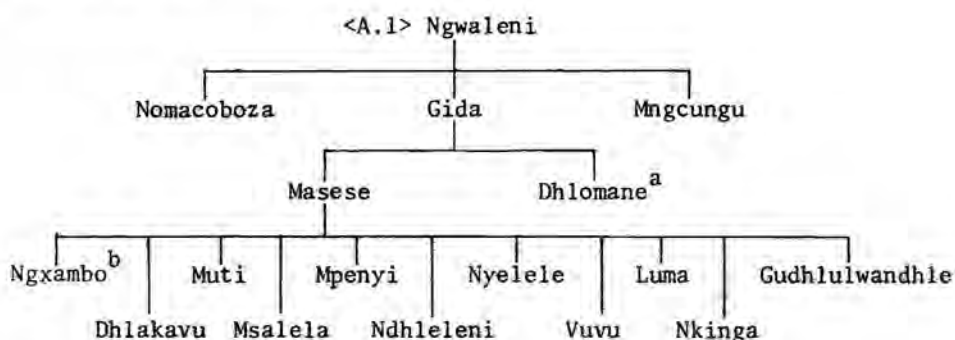
^a Only (son) I know of.

^b Know no further issue than Jakada.

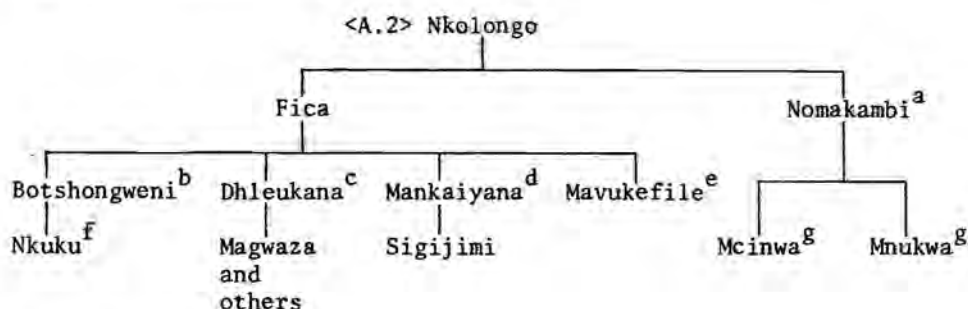
^c Driven out by Tshaka. Only (son) I know of.

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- d Know of no other issue.
e Had issue but I do not know it. Tshaka killed off some; some went to other regions for refuge.
f I hear of no issue of his.
g I hear of no issue of his.
h (Issue) died during the time of troubles (*izwekufa*).
i Girl. Did not marry.
j No issue.
k Given protection by Lukilimba. Killed by Dingana. I hear of no issue.
l Chief son. No issue I know of.
m No issue to my knowledge.
n No issue.
o Chief son. No issue to my knowledge.
p No issue etc.

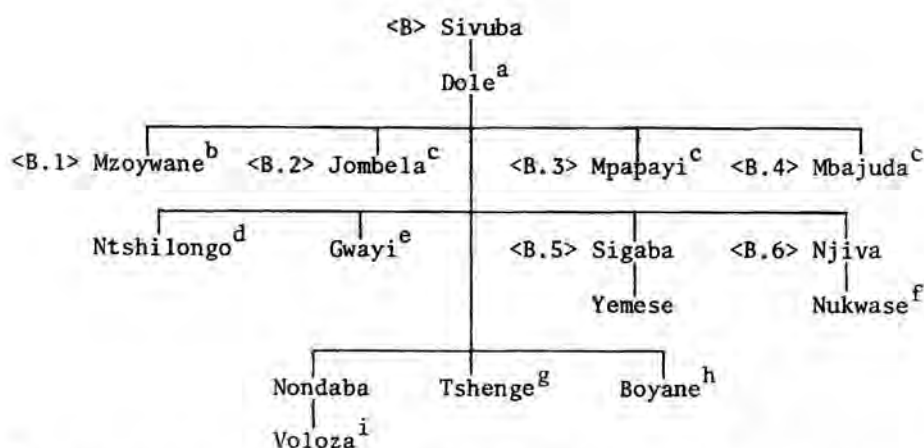


- ^a No issue.
^b Ngcambo. Mcotoyi's big *induna*.



- ^a Girl. Married Dubaza.
^b Dead.
^c Living with Nkuku.
^d Dead.
^e Living with Mcotoyi. Has issue.
^f Living. Chief son. Just married. Lives under Charlie, son of Pobana, among the *isinkumbi* people.¹⁰⁰ Lives with Dhleukana.
^g Both living.

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^a There were other sons than Dole. Their issue died out, so it has been lost sight of.

^b Son of the woman Manhlisa.

^c Of Mzoywane's house. (Sons of the woman Manhlisa.

^d His kraal Kwa Zulu was at eMolweni, above Pinetown. I do not know issue.

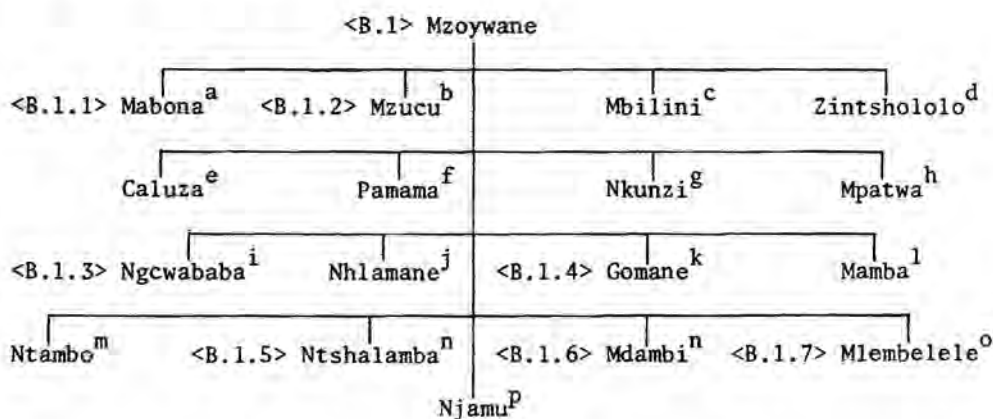
^e I do not know issue.

^f Girl

^g Had no wife - busy with warfare, like others.

^h Do not know issue.

ⁱ No issue remaining.



^a (Alias) Manti. Chief son. At eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane.

^b At eMdhlaazi - name of a section (*uhlangoti*) of the kraal, viz.

eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane.

^c At eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane. Do not know his issue.

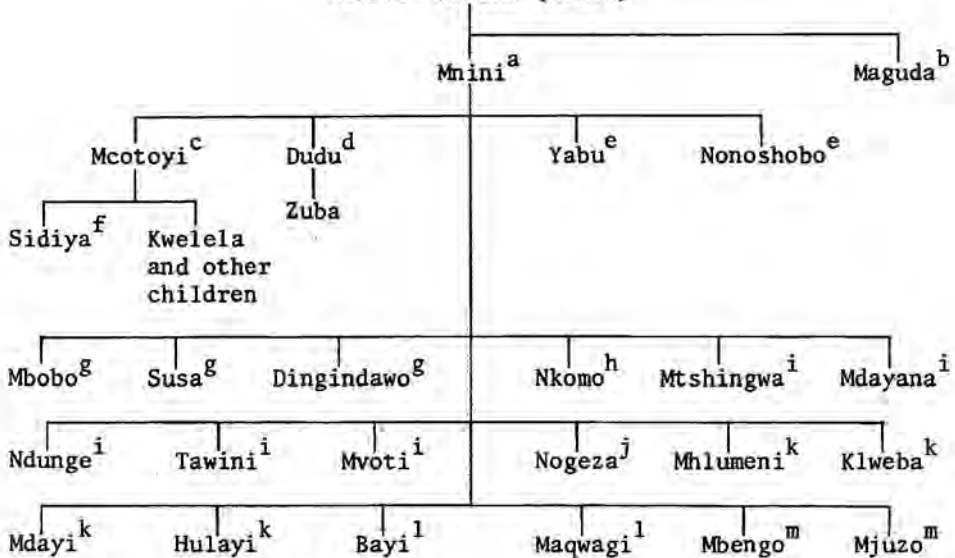
^d Girl. At eMdhluka. (Daughter) of the wife Mabungane. Unmarried.

^e Left-hand house. Younger brother (*umame*). Had issue but killed off by Tshaka.

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- ^fOf the *isizinda* section.¹⁰¹ Had issue; all killed off.
^gAt emFakatini kraal. Had issue; killed off.
^hAt emFaka. Had issue; killed off.
ⁱAt emFaka.
^jAt emFaka. No issue.
^kAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo.
^lAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo. No issue.
^mAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo. Issue killed off.
ⁿAt eNgeni kraal. (Sons of the) woman Matshingo.
^oThe last at eNgeni. (Son of the) woman Matshingo.
^pAt eMdhluKa, main kraal, but of small house attached to Mzucu. Had no wife.

<B.1.1> Mabona (Manti)



- ^aChief son. At eMdhluKa.
^bGirl. Died in the time of troubles (*eswenikufa*), i.e. prior to Tshaka's death. Was older than Mnini. Married Mangete ka Mufo ka Msamane etc. No issue. *The country was destroyed before she had had issue* - i.e. in Tshaka's day. *She was eaten by hyenas; slept in rough shelters like others, and like many others died in the bushes about the Bluff.*
^cChief son. At oPapeni.
^dOf the place of the great wife. At oPapeni.
^eGirl.
^fChief son. Has a wife; getting a second one. Of eNgoba kraal (which) separated from oPapeni.
^gAt eKwaliweni kraal.
^hAt eNsangwini.
ⁱAt eMlinganto.
^jGirl. Followed in age by Mtshingwa.
^kAt oPapeni.
^lAt eMdhlazi.
^mDead.

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<B.1.5> Ntshalambo

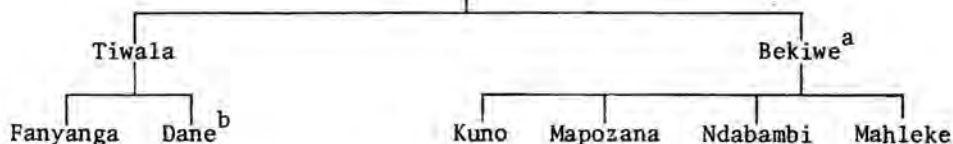


^a Girl. Do not know issue. Married Mahlatini in Harding Division.

^b Girl. Living. Married a Tonga after having been married to Tafeni. Do not know issue. By Tonga she had no issue. The Tonga's father was Mahoho, son of Makasane, the Tonga king.¹⁰³

^c Dead.

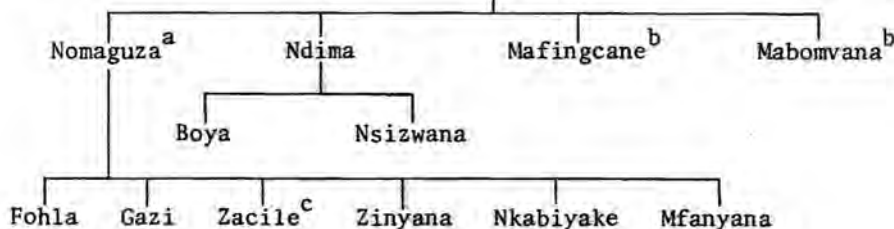
<B.1.6> Mdambi



^a Girl. Married Gezane.

^b Girl.

<B.1.7> Mlembelele

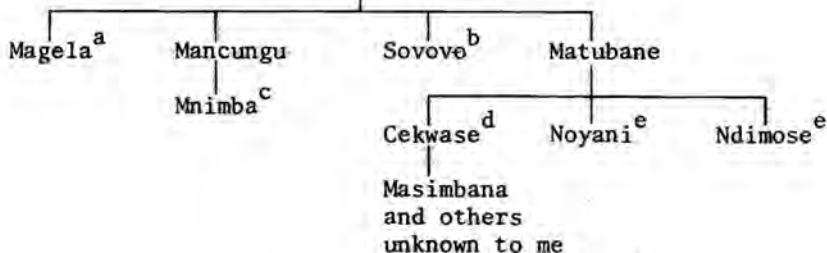


^a Alias Ngomane. Chief son.

^b No issue.

^c Alias Nojomba.

<B.2> Jombela



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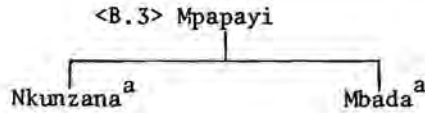
^aOr Magele. No issue.

^bIssue, killed in a civil war.

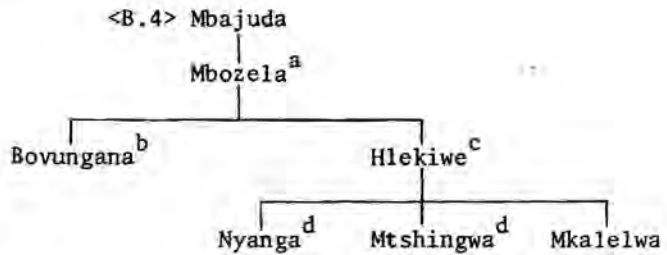
^cGirl.

^dGirl. Married Sihlanu ka Mgabi of the Myuswa people.

^eGirls.



^aI do not know issue.

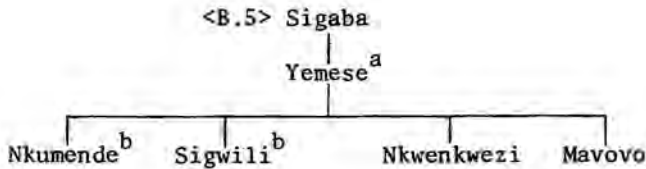


^aKilled by Dingana.

^bIssue died off. Had two sons. Both died natural deaths. Had no issue.

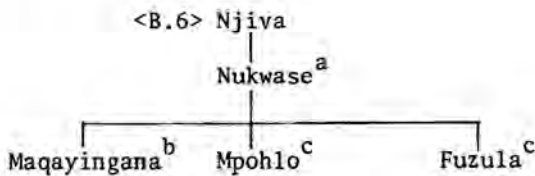
^cGirl. Married Zisonge ka Sondiyane of the eLangeni people.

^dBoys. All living at Mcotoyi's. Each has a kraal.



^aGirl. Married Nopata.

^bDead.

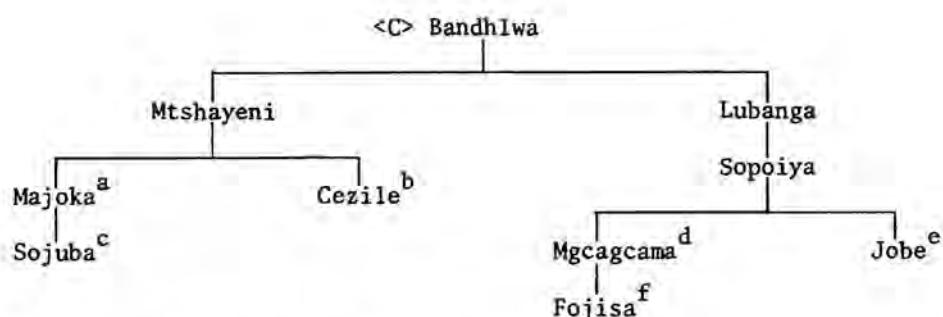


^aGirl. First married Nkuyane, then Nondeni.

^bSon of, Nkuyane.

^cSons of, Nondeni.

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^a Do not know Majoka's other issue.

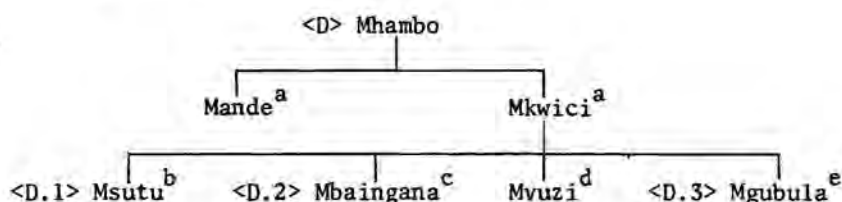
^b Do not know issue.

^c No issue. Killed off by Tshaka.

^d Know of no other issue.

^e No issue.

^f Sons living in Lower Umzimkulu Division.



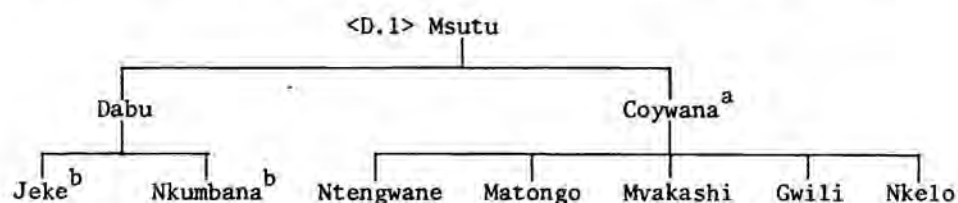
^a (Mhambo) had other issue - died off.¹⁰⁴

^b Chief son.

^c Of the *isizinda* section.

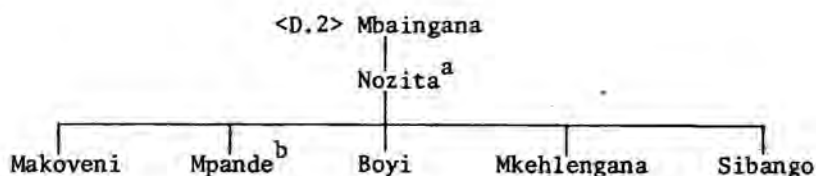
^d Younger brother (*umnawe*). Killed by Zulus before having issue.

^e Of Mvuzi's house. Mgubula was the last of Mkwici's issue.



^a (Alias) Mrabula.

^b Dead.

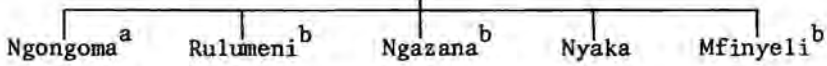


^a Girl. Married Duma of the place of *Mpisana* among the Tuli people.

^b Born when Mpande crossed into Natal.¹⁰⁵

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<D.3> Mgubula

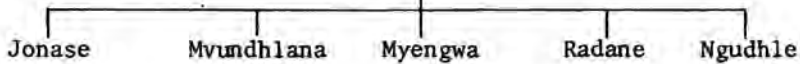


^a Chief son. (Living at Mtamvuna. I do not know his issue. Is, living with Mbobo - son of Mhini.

^b All these now living at Mtamvuna. I do not know issue. Are living with Mbobo - son of Mhini.

Ndungeni¹⁰⁶

Tshadile^a



^a Well-known man - on Mhini's side vs. Botshongweni.

My informant's genealogical tree

Ndelu (Ndelu tribe)

Magininda

Madiba

Gaba

Mkuma

Nkwani

Mahlabeni

MaziYana

(Genealogical tree of, my minor informant (Nodwengu)

Nguzane

Mdadane

Motsho

Kwezi

Mzimuni

Nodwengu

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- 12 AmaZuba - Mcotoyi's section is so-called. This name was so used when I was born. I do not think the word Zuba is derived from the name of a kraal but from some person.

Dole's main kraal was known as Kwa Zulu. I do not know his other kraals.

When children are hushed and kept from crying in the Tuli tribe, women say, '*Hush, Dambela, hush, Zakwe!*'

I fancy that the ancient king Zuba must be the origin of the name amaZuba.

Ntaba and Tusi *quarrelled*. Mzoywane *paid tribute* to Tusi. Tusi and Ntaba fought, and came as far as the Mbilo, when Mzoywane attacked and drove them back. Ntaba burnt Tusi's kraals. The amaZuba assisted Tusi and got them to reconstruct their kraals. They *held an ijadu dancing competition* with the Tusi people. The Tusi were known as uGwabalanda - the name of Myebu's kraal. Ntaba's people were spoken of as uGobela, *of the place of the people of the great one*.

25.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 13-21, 24.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 13 [Note on genealogical tree 3 pp. back.] Mhambo was the son of Zakwe but a minor and junior son. Mkwici was already dead when Tshaka *destroyed the country*. Mgubula was the very last child of Mkwici. This accounts for Zakwe to Ngongoma having only five generations, whereas Zakwe to Botshongweni, Zakwe to Mcotoyi, Zakwe to Fojisa's issue each have seven.

The older generations lived much longer than nowadays. Many Tuli did not marry young because they would *lose vigour* and (be rendered) incapable of fighting. Some did not marry till they reached my age (Isangqu regiment); others not at all. This idea existed prior to Tshaka's reforms.

Regiments were first recruited according to age by Mnini; formerly men and boys fought together. *Each umuzi had its own force (ibandhla)*, various ages being mixed together.

Mnini's regiments: uZololo, uMkumbane, Imijiba, Totololo, Imdwayimba, Imbila (the Nkuku, and three others of the same name). He then died. Mcotoyi *buta'd* the rest.

- The first Imbila did not *participate in an umkosi ceremony*. Mnini *held the umkosi* with the Zololo, Mkumbane, Imijiba and Totololo. The 14 Imidwayimba were mat-bearers. Ngoza, Somsewu's *induna*, took exception to Natal chiefs *holding the umkosi ceremony*.¹⁰⁷ He told Somsewu this and the *practice* stopped. The *umkosi* was discontinued about 1864.

The Imidwayimba did not *participate in an umkosi ceremony*.

The first Imbila (Nkuku) are the same age as the Imbube, i.e. Mxapo, alias Hlwayi (Zibebu's age).¹⁰⁸

1 Imbila - *the great one*. Tongo was appointed to command.

2 Imbila - *follows in age*. Mtengi ka Macayana was appointed as *induna*.

3 Imbila - *follows in age*.

4 Imbila - *follows in age*.

5 Imbila - *follows in age*.

6 Imbila - *the little one.*

7 Imbila - *the grown one.*

8 Imbila - young lads, or still growing.

Sidiya, Mcotoyi's chief son, is of the Imbila. There are two *companies (amaviyo)* after him. Sidiya is about Qalizwe's age.¹⁰⁹

Mcotoyi was advised to cease *butaing* Imbila but he says, 'No, my father said all, and even those unborn, are Imbila.' I do not know why this was done. Mcotoyi has not yet *buta'd* his own *ibuto*. He still calls them by the name given by his father.

- 15 I am of the Zololo regiment, but was *placed* there. So the *Great Zololo* are of the same age as the *Izingulube of the Zulu*. I am really of the *Mkumbane* regiment but was turned into the Zololo. It must be borne in mind that small peoples [like *Mnini's*, says *Socwatsha*] were not recruited strictly on the same lines as the *Zulus*, because, being so few, they were allowed to accumulate, and so one regiment included boys of two or three *age-grades (buntanga)*.

Matubane had a *company (viyo)* of men. They were simply called after the main kraal, viz. *Mdhluka*, i.e. *Mabona's (Manti's)* kraal. This is the *viyo* he *fetched* *Lukilimba* with as previously referred to.

- 16 When *Tshaka destroyed the country* *Mabona* was dead. He had died a natural death. He died at the *Mpofu*. His father *Mzoywane* had also died a natural death at an advanced age.

It was after *Tshaka* had *driven out the people* that *Matubane* took charge of the *umuzi*. He was the only one remaining, all having fled or been killed, so he *exercised authority* for *Mnini* because he was a boy. Those older than *Matubane* had been killed off or scattered, so it naturally devolved on him to assume guardianship.

He was killed by *Dingane*. *Dingane* killed *Magaye* first, then *Zihlandhlo*, *Sambela*, then *Matubane*, *Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo of the Dube people*, *Dube ka Siwane*. *Matubane* was killed before the *Boers* came to Natal. *Matubane* might have been killed about 1830. *Fynn* was still here. *Matubane* was not killed on the occasion *Jemuse*, *Wohlo*, and others fled to the Cape - all except *Jana (Cane)*, who took refuge with *Mnini* at the *isiBubulungu* (*Matubane* being dead).

25.4.1905, evening. *Maziya* and *Socwatsha* present.

- 17 *Dingane* killed *Matubane* because the king's cattle at *Kwa Ndabankulu* had been eaten by *hyenas*. *Tshaka* first of all sent oxen to *Matubane* to look after for him. *Tshaka* sent the *Ndabankulu* regiment down to cut poles for the cattle posts where the cattle were to stop and where people were to stay and look after them. This establishment was erected at the place of *Measimbana*. No sooner did the regiment construct the kraal than it returned to *Tshaka*, leaving *Matubane* to look after them with his own people. The regiment did not stop at all. They merely 'placed' the cattle and then returned. When this kraal was erected the *amaBece impi* had returned from its campaign. The cattle were stationed at two kraals. One was on the Bluff near *Jelemusi's* (a European, still living there). *Matubane* built this cattle post (where the royal herdboys stayed). The name of this post was *Kayisa of the Ndabankulu* - the latter part was usually added.

The following once happened. *Bambalele* was sent by *Gcamatshe*, who

18 was in charge of the *herdboys*, to report to Tshaka that the cattle were dying. One beast was not reported at once; there was a delay of about a year or so. Bambalele was with another. When they came to Tshaka B. said, '*I am reporting on the cattle of our place, of the place of Nansi.*' T. asked, '*Who is Nansi?*' B.'s friend said at once, '*Ndabenkulu.*' They reported and returned home and told their friends, and congratulated themselves on their escape. Presently Matubane visited T., who said, '*Did you kill the fellows who spoke of me as Nansi?*' M. answered, '*I have not done so.*' T. said, '*I've a good mind to kill the lot of you off.*' M. thereupon sent a man to the person in charge of the cattle to say, '*Put this matter right,*' meaning he was to kill him for his slip. The two were thereupon put to death, i.e. including the boy who had corrected the other.

It has to be remembered on behalf of the boys that they spoke a different dialect, and so had some excuse for making the slip; viz. *indaba* would be *indzaba*, *kulu* would be *kũlũ*.¹¹⁰

[It must be remembered that Socwatsha, being of the Ngcobo tribe, is really a Lala, so his dialect must vary slightly, e.g. *amagxolo* instead of Zulu *amazolo*.]¹¹¹

19 The other *cattle post* was Ndomba of the *Ndabenkulu*. This was of oxen only, no *cows*. Ndomba was the name not of the *cattle post* but of the oxen themselves. [Every *herd of royal oxen*, says S., had its name.] The kraal was near Mcasimbana's and was known as *Ndabenkulu*. These oxen were *herded* by married men who, when they came to the *cattle post*, left their homes, women, etc. behind. They had boys to help. At Kayisa unmarried boys *did the herding*.

When Tshaka died the 'boys' decided to take off the cattle to where they had come from. They thought as T. the *evil-doer* was dead they would be able to do as they liked, for Dingana would not do as he did. The boys drove the cattle, and when they got to the Mvoti they decided to halt, the sun having gone down. During the night *hyenas* attacked the cattle, eating off large numbers. Those remaining were driven on. The *chief wife at the Ndabenkulu umuzi* then reported to Dingana. A *case was opened*. D. *became angry*. The *case was held*.
20 Matubane then returned home. The *men of the Tuli tribe* advised M. not to return to the *Zulu country* as they would be killed. M. said, '*I intend to go there; it is fitting that I should die in the manure-dust,*' referring to the *cattle enclosure at the great place of the Zulu*. Indeed he died there.

The case or inquiry was not completed; it was adjourned, M. being told to come back. It was then that his own tribe advised him not to return, whereupon he replied as above.

M. said the 'boys' had taken the cattle without his knowledge.

Dingane killed off all the men Matubane had gone with regarding the cattle. The *impi* was sent out and those at Port Natal were killed off as well. (Dingane) killed Matubane etc. at Nobamba. He had left Dukuza where Tshaka was buried.¹¹²

21 Tshaka's death. He was assassinated by Mhlangana, Mbopa, and Dingana at Dukuza.¹¹³ I do not know where the wounds were. There must have been many wounds.

They *hurled assegais* at him, says Socwatsha. He was not *stabbed at*

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close quarters (emahlanze), i.e. still having hold of the assegai.

- 24 Maziyana says: Matubane was present at Tshaka's assassination. The assassination took place at night-time when Tshaka was speaking to amaMpondo. He sat in an open space. *Torches* were alight.
'Leave me alone, sons of my father, and I shall be your menial,' said Tshaka when being stabbed. They, D. etc., said, 'Leave you, the evil-doer who kills the wives of men who are away?' - i.e. away on war (Balule).¹¹⁴

25.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, p. 1.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 1 Maziyana says: When the *impi* had gone forth to the Balule, T. caused a woman enceinte to be cut open in order that he might look and see what kind of position a child assumed in the womb. A wife of Gwabalanda ka Mlungose was so dealt with. [Incorrect: see note under date 30.4.1905.]

26.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, pp. 2-13.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 2 Macala ka Nongalo of the *Emapepeteni* people, (who) was given protection by Mzobotshi ka Tambisa ka Magininda ka Madipa ka Ndelu of the Ndelu people, once dreamed that an *impi* was coming. Mzobotshi lived on the south side of the Ilovu, low down, and Macala was with him. The *impi* was sent by Mbulazi (Fynn). As soon as Macala dreamt, he set forth and told Mzobotshi his dream. Mzobotshi would not believe him, and yet an *impi* was on its way and arrived not many minutes after the dreamer had told his tale. Mzobotshi was killed; Macala escaped. The *impi* was from Port Natal - after Tshaka's death. Mzobotshi was one of Tshaka's favourites.
- Dingana, when he attacked Port Natal, sent down Zulu ka Nogandaya of the Hlomendhlini troops with the Njanduna to carry out his orders. Fynn fled south. Mzobotshi remained behind and leagued with the Zulus.
- 3 Fynn's cattle were seized. Fynn presently returned, went to D., and called for the return of his own stock, which had been seized along with that of other people at Port Natal. Dingana returned the cattle. When Fynn got back he collected an *impi* and attacked Mzobotshi and killed him at his kraal Kwa Novuza.¹¹⁵
- Macala told Mzobotshi that whilst still in his own tribe he dreamed of an *impi*, and the dream turned out true. Macala, at the time of his dream, was living in Mzobotshi's kraal. Macala escaped. Mzobotshi was a follower of Mbulazi, but when the *impi* (Zulu) came he turned informant against Fynn.

I do not know either Myebu or Ntaba's praises, nor do I know what either was like.

Tshaka in Natal. Before T. fought with the Ndwandwe he entered

Natal and attacked Mande ka Dibandhlela of the Cele people and Duze ka Mnengwa of the Makanya people, killing each the same night. He at the same time killed Sokoti ka Mdindi of the Amanganga people, Nkuna ka Mbedu ka Gwayi ka Nyapase of the amaSomani people, Mtinkulu ka Dibandhlela of the Mapumulo people [not Cele, remember], and Nzala ka Mangqatshu of the amaNdhlovini people (who) built at Esidumbini, at the Ivutwaneni stream (which) enters the Nsuze which enters the Mvoti.

After this Tshaka collected together forces of these various tribes and attacked further south in Natal with them. But he first of all made a colony of Natal by sending the Iziyendane, as well as some Mtetwa people, to live in the neighbourhood of the Mvoti. The Iziyendane were of the amaHlubi tribe. The Hlubi had previously run away from Matiwana (Zwide) and konza'd the Zulus.¹¹⁶ The Zulus did not fight with the Hlubi.

After Tshaka had administered his first defeat on the Ndwandwe he followed Macingwane (of eNgonyameni) who had fled into Natal to eNsikeni mountain across the Mzimkulu.¹¹⁷ During this expedition he found that the whole of Natal had been denuded of its former population. He accordingly asked his 'younger brother' (umkase) Magaye who had depopulated these districts. Magaye replied that the Iziyendane had done so. T. then said, 'And what did they do with the cattle they seized?'

Magaye had a regiment called the uNjanduna. T. took a fancy to this name and said it sounded well if one were to say, 'The king is at Njakazi or Njanduna.' T. thereupon appropriated the name whilst Magaye's men assumed that of 'Rodi' - on T.'s instructions.

The Iziyendane, Mtetwa, amaNganga, amaPumulo etc. were those who attacked the tribes south. They adopted a Zulu chant, and if any stranger should hear them chanting thus he would dash off and jump into a swamp or other hiding place. These men therefore were transformed into Zulus and were regarded as such by the tribes south.

When Tshaka came back from eNsikeni he, on hearing from Magaye that the Iziyendane retained possession of the cattle they had seized from the Natal tribes, attacked the Iziyendane themselves and caused them to flee away south to the Nguni country. Others went off to the Sutu country, to Basutos.

It was the Iziyendane and the others mentioned that attacked along the Natal coast as far as the Mzimkulu - on T.'s behalf - and scattered all the tribes. They are the ones who, without special instructions, caused people to flee in the way referred to by Fynn, who in July 1824 found only a few kraals of Tulis on the Bluff.¹¹⁸

My father Mahlabeni never ran away from these parts. He always remained with Mabona, Mnini and Matubane. He was older than Mnini.

Mabona died before the Iziyendane began to attack here - Port Natal. I do not know the name of the kraal of the Iziyendane. Nonzama was their chief. When Nonzama was killed by T. he gave his cattle to Matubane on account of his konzaing.

Socwatsha says the name of the kraal of the Iziyendane was Eziyendani.

The Iziyendane lived on the north side of the Mvoti, Magaye on the south side.

When T. took a fancy to the name Njanduna he appropriated not only the name but the men who composed that regiment, leaving Magaye to

buta his own, who were by T.'s orders called Rodi.

After Mabona's death Dhlemula ka Mzucu was established as chief. Dhlemula only ruled on behalf of Mnini, like Matubane, and when Dhlemula died, Matubane succeeded as guardian. Dhlemula went on the uBalule campaign and died there. Matubane did not go on this campaign. He remained with Tshaka.

The Iziyendane used to go out on their expeditions south by T.'s orders. They used to hand over the cattle to him, but many no doubt were stolen by *izinduna* before reaching the king. It was the fewness of the cattle received which caused T.'s displeasure against the Iziyendane.

- 8 Dhlemula was a mature man but not of Matubane's age. Before the 'Izwekufa', when the tribes were disturbed by the Iziyendane and others with them, Dhlemula was the acknowledged tribal guardian. Matubane, after the depredations of T.'s troops, *konza'd* T. T. took a fancy to him and gave his orders to him; he spoke to him direct and not to Dhlemula. As Matubane was in favour with T., so he superseded Dhlemula and became the de facto guardian of the tribe and responsible to T. for its good behaviour.

Dhlemula and others from Natal - Jadilili ka Pudwa ka Ngozi ka Nyanise, Mrabula ka Msutu, Ndandane ka Mantiyane of the Mapumulo people, Ngungwini ka Mnganu, Funwayo ka Mpopomo, Mruyi (alias Kofiyana) ka Mbengana, Sipongo ka -- <sic> (who) was in charge of the Isihlenga company (*viyo*), i.e. Kam Kengi's, and others - went on this campaign to Balule, i.e. from Port Natal, from Esihlengeni (Kamu Kengi's kraal), Esinyameni (Febana's kraal). Europeans did not go on the Balule campaign. Ndandane was the *induna* of the two *amaviyo* sent from Port Natal to Balule.

- 9 When Fynn left esiNyameni he built on the north side of the Mlazi his eNsimbini kraal, and after having been driven away by the Zulus to Pondoland, he returned and built the Mpendu kraal at Isipingo, south of that river.

After the *Izwekufa* Matubane went with Dhlemula to T. to *konza*. Tshaka was attracted by Matubane, and spoke to him. T. said nothing to or about Dhlemula. He proceeded to negotiate with Matubane as representing the tribe. Matubane had been in charge some years when the Europeans first arrived at Port Natal.

When the amaBece *impi* went out, Matubane was already in charge of the tribe.

I cannot suggest who 'Enslopee' is, the man referred to by Isaacs as living on the Bluff.¹¹⁹

- 10 Myebu's great kraal was Kwa Gobela. I do not know the name of the kraal Ntaba may have separated off with. Tusi's kraal was Kwa Gwabalanda. Nongwadi's kraal was eKohlo (there may have been a special name but this was the one generally used.) Nguqe's kraal was Emnyameni, Ncwane's kraal was Emnyoko, Mancamane's kraal was eNyazini, Xози's kraal was eMavanganeni. I do not know Tshatwa's or Zakwe's or Sivuba's principal kraals.

Bandhlwa and Mhambo are of lesser rank than Sivuba. They belong to his, Sivuba's, section of the kraal, as Tshatwa was the chief.

Luceka was younger brother (*umnawe*) of Myebu. Tshamela was simply of the chief's house; he fell into Ncwane's section.

Nongwadi was Ntaba's *umnawe*. Tusi was of the main house. He (Tusi) and Ntaba quarrelled and separated. Ntaba became the great chief and remained such. Tusi, however, went and established himself on this side of the Mhlatusane in the Pinetown district. Ntaba was on the south side of the Mhlatusana. Kwa Gobela was built between the Umlazi and the Umhlatusana; Kwa Gobela was the place of Ntaba's people, where he was born.

- 11 The son of the left-hand house (*ikohlo*) is the junior brother (*umnawe*) of the chief. The real *umnawe* was Tusi but, as he quarrelled, Nongwadi became the *umnawe*. Tusi thereupon became practically an independent chief and ruled over his own section. The descendants of Ngwaleni ka Jakada contended for or supported him. Tusi had a large following who strongly supported him. Ntaba's and Tusi's people were perpetually fighting against one another. Tusi was got the better of by Ntaba, who had a large force (*amabandhl' amaningi*), but Tusi was given the *amaZuba* people. Tusi established his independence and he and Ntaba lived apart until Tshaka came and drove them out.

Nguqe was a dependent of Ntaba, but he had his own people - up the Mlazi, on the south side in the bush country.

- 12 Ncwane was of the *eMkungweni kraal*, the name of the cattle which the chief had received when he was circumcised. When the chief is circumcised all his people present him with cattle. These cattle will be collected and remain in the chief's possession. When he gets married he *lobola's* with them, and the kraal is known as *eMkungweni*, the place where the chief is *kunga'd* when he is circumcised.

To *kunga* is to present a king or chief with cattle; the whole tribe does so, as when he reaches puberty, is circumcised, puts on the headring, and marries. Mcotoyi was presented with cattle by the whole tribe when he put on the headring. These cattle were contributed by members of the tribe who were living considerable distances away, as at the Mzinkulu, oZwatini etc., even though these persons had *konza'd* another chief.

- 13 Ncwane was born where Myebu was *kungwa'd* on the occasion of his being circumcised. Ncwane had a district of his own, from eNwabi hill (Chief Ndunge lives there now) to the great *Amanzamtoti*. He was independent of the chief Ntaba and ruled over his own people. Ncwane fought with no one. Mzoywane and Ncwane's *imizi* were next to each other; they did not fight. Makasa (Ncwane's son), however, after his father's death, fought Mabona (Manti), the latter getting the better of it.

Ncwane was in the favour of Ntaba - not Tusi. Ncwane did not quarrel (*banga*), only Tusi and Ntaba. In the next generation Mabona and Makasa quarrelled. Nongwadi and Xoki had occasional fights, fighting only out in the open; homesteads were not attacked. There was no fighting by the Tuli people with neighbouring tribes or those at a distance.

The Tuli had a reputation for ferocity inasmuch as they were always fighting. When Tshaka appeared on the scene all the domestic quarrels ceased and the various sections scattered. Some were killed during the general lawlessness that prevailed; some were eaten by hyenas; some went to the Xozas; some went to find protection in Zululand; and later on some crossed over into Natal with Mpande.

27.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, pp. 14-18.

Also present: Socwatsha

Maziyana calls himself a Lala - '*We amaLala*'.

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

Maziyana speaks.

In Dole's kraals Mzoywane was the chief. He was born at the eMdhluka kraal. Mabona was in authority at eMdhluka and Mmini was born there. There are three old sites of this kraal, all situated at Mpofu. A kraal that separated off from it was oJoneni - Mabona's *ikanda*. Mabona did not marry many wives. He ruled like the Zulu kings who did not marry, viz. Tshaka and Senzangakona's sons.

- 15 Another of Dole's kraals was eNcetú. This was the one Mpapayi ka Dole separated off with. Jombela's kraal was eNjingini. Mbajuda separated off with the Isibumbu (Esibunjini). Ntshilongo was of the Zuba, another of (Dole's) kraals. Gwayi belonged to eMafakatini, Mzoywane's kraal. Its other name was eNhlabela. Sigaba belonged to this kraal too. I do not know of Njiva. Nondaba's kraal was eMcacazeni, i.e. *the place of his people*, where he was born. Tshenge belonged to oJoneni; it was built not by Dole but by Mzoywane. Boyane was of the Emfaka. (Emfakatini is the name of a different kraal.)

Mpapayi was Mzoywane's junior brother (*umncwé*). I see this from the fact that he was the one who received the *umhlubulo* at the great place (at eMdhluka).¹²⁰

The *isizinda* kraal was eNdungunya, where Pamama ka Mzoywane lived. The *umuzi* of the left-hand house was Inhlazuka. Caluza was the principal of this. The Inhlazuka was built by Mzoywane.

I do not know the *umuzi* of the left-hand house of Dole.

Emdhlazi was one of the flanks (*uhlangoti*) of eMdhluka, on the right side looking towards the gate; it was not a separate kraal.

- 16 Matubane went off from eMbango, his elder brother Magela's kraal, and built iSoka. Mbango was not the *isizinda*. Our chiefs did not build *isoka* or *nqwaba* or *ekwene* kraals as with the Qwabe tribe.¹²¹

The rule of chiefs is not everywhere the same, i.e. there is a difference between the Qwabe constitution and that of the Tuli.

The eNgeni kraal (Mzolwane's) separated from Emfaka. Gomane was born there. A kraal that separated from this was eMunywini, of the people of Nhlanhla ka Mzoywane. This was simply a kraal which followed the great *umuzi* in age and separated off with sons of the house.

Our rule is each one should separate off with the *umuzi* of his own people, leaving the great *umuzi* behind.

Mabona did not build his own kraal; he ruled at eMdhluka and died there. This was because he objected to having many wives; his issue, for instance, was only Mmini and Maguda.

- 17 Mmini was born at eMdhluka, as well as his sister Maguda. Maguda was older than Mmini; she married prior to Tshaka's attacking the

MAZIYANA

Tulis. Mnini's mother was a girl of the Emandhlovini people (Macevu - her father's name, a girl of the place of Nzala (chief) ka Mangcatshu. I do not know her proper name. A woman after marriage is called after her father.

When Mnini separated off he built uPapeni, where Mcotoyi was born. Mcotoyi had a kraal built for him by his father, called eNgoba. When Mnini died Mcotoyi was away at the Mtamvuna, living with his brother Mbobo there. The tribe requested the Government to allow Mcotoyi to return and take over the tribe. This was allowed. The Ngoba kraal was built for Mcotoyi whilst he was still at the Mgababa, where his father died. When Mcotoyi returned he amalgamated the Ngoba and the uPape and it continued to be known as oPapeni. He is now living at oPapeni; the eNgoba is part of it. This was done because he was alone; there is only Dudu, a son of the house to which he belonged and who followed him in age.

- 18 When Mhlumeni separated off, his kraal was called oJoeni (this name was revived). Mbobo is Mcotoyi's junior brother (umkawe), living now at the Mtamvuna. He went to the Mtamvuna because land was set apart for him there by the Government. The land has since been turned into a farm. Mbobo is of Mnini's left-hand house (kohlo); the name of his kraal is eKwaliweni.

30.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 1-7.

Maziyana speaks.

- 1 I do not know Ntaba ka Myebu's praises. None of their people survived. They died during the iZwekufa, all of them, together with their chiefs. Nor do I know Myebu's.

.... <Praises of Dole, Mabona, and Mzoywane omitted - eds.>

- 4 Ticaka of the Cele tribe - he fathered Tshibane. He lived with the Tulis. He had followers of his own but decided to throw in his lot with Dole ka Sivuba. He abandoned (hlubuka'd) the Cele tribe. On the other hand there were Tulis who remained with the Celes in Zululand. The Celes who came across with the Tulis were only Ticaka and his followers. The Tulis were near neighbours of the Celes in Zululand. When the Tulis crossed into Natal they came from the Amatikulu, but they had previously moved from the Mtetwa tribe to the Matikulu. The two Tuli chiefs who crossed into Natal were Myebu and Dole, not Tshatwa, not Sivuba. These were followed, after an interval by the Celes led by Mkokeleli. The Celes, according to what Melapi says, came across from the Ngoye.¹²² After the Tulis and Celes had left, the territory recently occupied by them was taken possession of and built on by the Qwabes. The older generation tell us that the Tulis originated down the iziMfolozi rivers. I judge from the fact that Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli grew up in Natal - like Ntaba among the
- 6 Tulis - that the crossing into Natal of the Celes must have followed close on that of the Tulis. On referring to Dole's praises, it will be inferred that he crossed over as an old man, viz. 'the old, dried-up thing from the Mhlatuze'.

Mbende came to Mabona to ask him to send out a force on his behalf

as his brother Makasa (chief son of Ncwane) was wanting to attack and kill him. Mabona *sent out a force to attack Makasa*, but he was not killed. In those days there was no killing off or eating up of cattle as was the fashion in later times. Makasa moved his kraals, going to live some way up to the iNwabi hill, south of the Mlazi. Mbende then *swept away the kraals and built where Makasa, his brother, had been*. The two brothers after this *used to hold ijadu dancing competitions together - the country now being in a settled state - until Tshaka came and destroyed everything*.

- 7 Xoki was one of Myebu's eldest sons, probably the eldest. Others followed, then Ntaba, followed by others. Ntaba was not the eldest; he came some way down.

[As Ntaba was born near Port Natal and had sons and daughters when killed by Tshaka's forces in 1820 or so, this gives some idea of Myebu's arrival here. Say Ntaba was 50 when killed, this would make his birth 1770 and one might then say Myebu arrived in these parts about 20 years earlier, say 1750 and not prior to 1740.]

1.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 11-15.

- 11 Maziyana speaks.

I have seen Bovungana, son of Mbajuda ka Dole. He was my age. I grew up with him. I knew his mother, Masicauzele. She was a descendant of Europeans who, when Dole arrived at Port Natal, were settled here. Dole arrived finding Europeans here. They *went home to their own country*. Several remained who bore the mother of Bovungana. B.'s mother was *light in colour, like some of our people*. Her hair was *loose, i.e. unlike native hair, i.e. not tightly curled like the hair of our people*.

- 12 Masicauzele was the offspring of a bastela. Her maiden name was Mfelase. She died long ago at Pinetown, where she was then living. She had sisters and brothers. Mfelase had two sisters, one married at the place of Bikwane, the other to Magela ka Jombela. These two and their issue were killed off one night by the Zulus at the isiBubulungu. Mfelase had brothers; these too were killed off by the Zulu *impi during the iZwekufa*. Others were killed when Matubane was killed off in Dingana's reign. None of Mfelase's issue remains at this day. All Bovungana's kraal died off.

Mfelase was *ngerwa'd* by Ngcokwa of the Tembu people.¹²³ [Maziyana was reluctant to say anything about this, but, finding Mcotoyi had mentioned the fact, admitted it as true, and explained his reluctance by saying the fact was a minor one and that she was *ngena'd* not by a Tuli but by a Tembu man - by Ngcokwa.] She bore Nokuba. She married up the Mngeni river, on the south side, among the Nyuswa people (amaQadi). She is dead now. She had issue. I believe she has a lad, living at this day. I do not know his name.

- 13 By Ngcokwa, Mfelase also had a son, Majiya, alias Malau. He is now living at Mcotoyi's and is of Mcotoyi's age. He had put on the head-ring but has no head-ring now.

I believe Sicauzele's father was a European.

Malau is an *invalid*. He has sons. He is just like an ordinary native.

By Ngcuza, Mfelase had Sesiwa, a girl. She married at the Mngeni. She married at oZwatini. I believe she is now dead. By Ngcokwa,

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Mfelase also bore Mayawa, a girl, who married away at the Mtamvuna to Bulu ka Sobandeka.

Thus by Mbozela, Mfelase had Bovungana and Hlekiwe (girl). By Ngcokwa (she had) Majiya (alias Malau), Nokuba (girl). (Mayawa, Sinukane and Fumani were Ngcokwa's children, but by another woman, an ordinary native.) By Ngcuza (she had) Sesiwa (girl).

- 14 Hlekiwe bore Nyanga, Bala, Mkalelwa, Mbikose (girl). I do not know Mbikose. [See Mcotoyi's version, 16.4.1905.] Nokuba was by Ngcokwa, not Ngcuza.

Sicauzele and Boko were next to each other in age. They were not one and the same person; their descendants have always been separate. Sicauzele and Boko were the sons of Vondwe, this man being a white man - he was not a half-caste.

I do not know who the other Europeans were present here when Dole arrived. The old European kraal sites said by Mcotoyi to be seen at the Mfume are no longer visible - overgrown. Only old traditions.

Vondwe's descendants only escaped Tshaka's *impi* because they were living on the Bluff.

- 15 It was Matubane who got the cow from Magaye referred to last night by Melapi as having been got to cause women to bear children. The beast was got from him because he was related; his grandmother was Sivuba's daughter. At this time there were no cattle here (all seized by the *impi*) and that is why Matubane went to Magaye. I heard the stomach contents (*umswani*) of the beast were drunk by the women.

When the Celes crossed into Natal they found the land open to them. The Tulis had chased them all off to the abeNguni (Xozas). The Tulis crossed first, followed by, not simultaneously with, the Cele. Then the Makanya came. The Makanya had not crossed the Tukela into Natal when we came over.

Ntaba lived between the Mlazi and Mhlatusana. Tusi lived about Pinetown and then down the Mngeni towards the sea. Kwa Gobela kraal (Myebu's) was in Ntaba's district; this district extended to Ntshangwe (Inchanga).

I do not know what people occupying the lands which Myebu came to live on were evicted therefrom when the Tulis crossed over.

[Maziyana returns home. Paid 30s, to include fare home, viz. 2s 2d.]

Notes

¹The names given are those of the chiefs of a section of the Thuli people: cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506. Mcotoyi was another of Stuart's informants.

²The isAngqu *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.

³Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 533.

⁴*Isibubuluangu* is the Zulu name for Durban's Bluff.

⁵For Ntaba's position in the Thuli genealogy see pp. 263, 281 below; also Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506. The Mariannhill mission is situated near present-day Pinetown.

- ⁶Myebu was father of Ntaba.
- ⁷The reference could be either to the Ndunge who was chief of a section of the Cele living in the Umlazi division, or else to the Ndunge who was chief of a section of the Qwabe living in the Alexandra division.
- ⁸The names in these two columns are given as they occur in the original.
- ⁹These two sentences occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 24. *Izwekufa* is derived from *izwe*, nation, or people, and *ukufa*, to die, be destroyed.
- ¹⁰The uFasimba *ibutho* was formed by Shaka c.1816-c.1818 of youths born in the late 1790s.
- ¹¹Shaka was assassinated in September 1828. His mother Nandi died in August 1827.
- ¹²Francis Farewell, who led a party of British hunters and traders to Port Natal in 1824.
- ¹³Captain W.F.W. Owen conducted a survey of the south-east African coast for the Royal Navy in 1823. The journal of his voyage was published in 1833.
- ¹⁴Mathubane, who was closely related to the Thuli chiefly line, was at this time the chiefdom's regent: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 503, 506.
- ¹⁵Cf. the account of Farewell's first visit to Shaka in Fynn, *Diary*, ch. 5.
- ¹⁶Mbulazi (Mbuyazi) was Henry Francis Fynn.
- ¹⁷James Saunders King and Nathaniel Isaacs arrived at Port Natal in 1825. Isaacs's praise-name literally means 'the one who waddles; off he goes at speed; the echoes of the cliffs at Ngome'.
- ¹⁸Isaacs has left an account of this incident, which occurred in February 1827; see his *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 88 ff. The isiKhwebezi is a tributary of the Black Mfolozi.
- ¹⁹Sotobe of the Sibiya people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*. For an account of his embassy to Port Elizabeth in 1828 see Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 616 ff. An *iphini* was a low-ranking official.
- ²⁰According to Isaacs the interpreter who accompanied Sotobe was Jakot, or Jacob, a man originally from the eastern Cape who had taken service with Shaka. See Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 118.
- ²¹Shaka's forces attacked the Mpondo in mid-1828.
- ²²This sentence should presumably read: 'It was found the men were Tshaka's, but they did not kill off Matiwana as supposed; he was defeated by a European force'. Matiwane kaMasumpa of the Ngwane people invaded the Thembu country in what is now the north-eastern Cape in mid-1828, at the same time as Shaka's forces were attacking the Mpondo. His following was broken up by a combined force of Thembu, Xhosa, and British.
- ²³Wohlo was Henry Ogle; Jana was John Cane; Damuse was Thomas Halstead; Diki Kingi was Richard King.
- ²⁴Nqetho kaKhondlo, chief of the Qwabe, seceded from the Zulu kingdom soon after Dingane's accession in 1828, and fled with his following to the country south of the Mzimkhulu.
- ²⁵The murder of Farewell and his companions by Nqetho took place in September 1829. See Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 168-9.
- ²⁶Nhlamba, or Nhlambamanzi, was the Zulu name for the man Jakot iden-

tified in note 20 above.

- ²⁷The incidents described took place in the period 1829-31. For variant accounts see Fynn, Diary, pp. 179 ff; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 260 ff.
- ²⁸According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 495, Dabeka's section of the Qadi fled from Dingane across the Thukela in the late 1830s.
- ²⁹Maziyana later on relates that the iNjanduna was an *ibutho* originally formed by the Cele chief Magaye and subsequently appropriated by Shaka. See p. 294 below.
- ³⁰Maquza's evidence appears in the present volume.
- ³¹Sikhunyana kaZwide of the Ndwandwe people invaded the Zulu kingdom in 1826. For an account of Shaka's counter-attack see Fynn, Diary, ch. 9. On the 'uSuthu' cattle, cf. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 329.
- ³²Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made at least two attacks on Shaka in the period c.1818-c.1819.
- ³³For further information on Lukilimba (Lukulimba) see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 525-6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 57-8; Fynn, Diary, ch. 16.
- ³⁴We have been unable to identify Jemuse. S. Beningfield settled in Natal in 1840.
- ³⁵In the original, Stuart has scored out a set of telegraphic notes which appear at the top of p. 15. We have omitted these as they appear in extended form in the paragraphs that follow.
- ³⁶Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 53, 673, gives Sigwebana as a son of Senzangakhona. The Ndulinde is a hill west of present-day Gingindlovu.
- ³⁷*Isikhonzi* means one who has *khonza'd*.
- ³⁸Stuart indicates that the next two sentences, which occur in the original on p. 16, should follow on at this point.
- ³⁹The book referred to is Isaacs's Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, London, 1836.
- ⁴⁰I.e. the Cele.
- ⁴¹Magaye was chief of the Cele; Zihlandlo was chief of the Mbo (Mkhize); Mathubane was regent of the Thuli; Sambela was brother of Zihlandlo.
- ⁴²Zulu kaNogandaya of the Ncwane people had won fame as a warrior in Shaka's time: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 101-2.
- ⁴³Mpande seceded with a large following from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839. Khangela (modern Congella) was a locality on the shores of the bay at Port Natal.
- ⁴⁴The reference is to a battle fought at Ndondakusuka on the lower Thukela in April 1838 when a force from Port Natal invaded the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁴⁵Captain T.C. Smith led a British force from the Mpondo country to occupy Port Natal early in 1842.
- ⁴⁶Shaka attacked the Mpondo in 1824 and again in 1828. He accompanied his army on the second of these expeditions.
- ⁴⁷Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*.
- ⁴⁸*Ithlambo* literally means 'washing', and was a term applied among the Zulu to the cleansing ceremonies which marked the end of a period of mourning. The reference here is to the campaign against the Mpondo in 1828 after the death of Shaka's mother Nandi in 1827.
- ⁴⁹Ntshangase is the *isithakazelo* of the Biyela people, who were

- closely related to the Zulu royal house.
- ⁵⁰The names given are those of female *amabutho* formed by Shaka.
- ⁵¹The Mpondo referred to certain peoples living to the north of them in what is now Natal as abaMbo.
- ⁵²*Uthango* (pl. *izintango*) literally means fence.
- ⁵³Mkhokheleli was an eighteenth-century Cele chief: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 544.
- ⁵⁴*Isichaka* means a poverty-stricken person, one without livestock.
- ⁵⁵The evidence of Mkhohlengana and Mkhothana will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁵⁶The Berea is the ridge overlooking Durban bay.
- ⁵⁷For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 7 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- ⁵⁸By ebuNguni the informant probably means the Xhosa country.
- ⁵⁹Mcotoyi? The latter was chief of the Thuli in the Umlazi division.
- ⁶⁰For Klaju's ancestry see p. 265 above.
- ⁶¹The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 12. *Ukuchwaneka* means to place on a spit.
- ⁶²At the battle fought near the mouth of the Thukela in April 1838 a section of the Zulu army virtually wiped out a raiding force from Port Natal. See note 44 above.
- ⁶³Mangcingci was S.B. Benningfield.
- ⁶⁴John Robinson played a prominent part in Natal public affairs in the late nineteenth century, and in 1893 became the colony's first Prime Minister.
- ⁶⁵This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 14.
- ⁶⁶The iziGqoza were the followers of Mpande's son Mbuyazi, who was defeated by Cetshwayo, his half-brother and rival for the succession, in a battle at Ndondakusuka near the lower Thukela in 1856. Some of the followers of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele were involved in a skirmish with Natal colonial forces in 1873.
- ⁶⁷For discussion of the term Ntungwa see the works cited in note 57 above.
- ⁶⁸On this expression see also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 176.
- ⁶⁹The syntax of this statement is not made clear in the original; we reproduce it with punctuation as given by Stuart. *Ugwayi* can also mean snuff.
- ⁷⁰*Isiyendane* (pl. *iziyendane*) is 'hair dressed so as to hang in long, twisted strings' (Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 712). The word was used by the Zulu as a name for the Hlubi and certain other peoples.
- ⁷¹Presumably what is meant here is that these peoples were insultingly referred to by others as fish-eaters.
- ⁷²Donald Strachan was a farmer and trader in East Griqualand, and magistrate for Adam Kok at Umzimkulu or KwaMadonela, 'the place of Donald'.
- ⁷³Mshweshwe was chief of the Cele people in the Alfred and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ⁷⁴Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- ⁷⁵For discussion of the term Mbo see the works cited in note 57 above.

- ⁷⁶Qudeni mountain overlooks the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi from the east.
- ⁷⁷The names are those of the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefs. Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ⁷⁸For discussion of the term Nguni see the works cited in note 57 above.
- ⁷⁹The Manyane joins the Thukela near present-day Jameson's Drift; the Mfongosi joins the Thukela a few kilometres upstream.
- ⁸⁰Magidigidi was chief of a section of the Cele.
- ⁸¹Phobana was Frank Fynn, brother of Henry Francis Fynn senior. *Bastela* is a corruption of 'bastard'. Fodo was chief of the Nhlanguini in Shaka's time.
- ⁸²Hintsa was chief of the Gcaleka section of the Xhosa from early in the nineteenth century to 1835.
- ⁸³Mande was a brother of the Cele chief Magaye.
- ⁸⁴Ntungwa is one of the *izithakazelo* of the Khumalo people.
- ⁸⁵I.e. in the south-east of Zululand. John Dunn was a hunter and trader who lived among the Zulu from 1857 until his death in 1895.
- ⁸⁶Nyambose is the *isithakazelo* of the Mthethwa people.
- ⁸⁷Literally, 'They descended with a grain basket', and 'They descended by means of, or on account of, a grain basket', respectively. For discussion of the historical connotations of these expressions see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ⁸⁸*izilulu* is the plural form of *isilulu*.
- ⁸⁹The roots of the *ikhathazo* herb were used as a medicine for colds.
- ⁹⁰Or Bushman's river.
- ⁹¹Mthambo was possibly the man of that name who was chief of the Makhanya in the Umlazi division.
- ⁹²Chief of the Qwabe in the early nineteenth century.
- ⁹³*Isilomo* (pl. *izilomo*) means a 'man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king a foremost man at court' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362).
- ⁹⁴Mkhokheleli was chief of the Cele.
- ⁹⁵An *umdaka* (pl. *imidaka*) was a roughly made brass ring used for trade and from which ornaments were manufactured.
- ⁹⁶According to Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 27, 399, the *ubedu* (*ubhedu*) and *umnaka* were neck-ornaments of specific design.
- ⁹⁷According to H.F. Fynn (cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 124), the Ifenya was the Bluff area of present-day Durban.
- ⁹⁸This note appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 7.
- ⁹⁹The reference is to J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, London, 1857.
- ¹⁰⁰IzinKumbi ('locusts') was the name which H.F. Fynn gave to his adherents.
- ¹⁰¹The *isizinda* was the homestead which, after a father's death, was occupied by the son who had been delegated to take charge of, and care for, the dead man's establishment. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 418-19.
- ¹⁰²I.e. Stuart's informant. For his paternal descent line see p. 289 below.
- ¹⁰³Makhasane, chief of the Mabhudu Tsonga, died in the early 1850s.
- ¹⁰⁴It is not made completely clear in the original whether Mkhwici was the brother or the son of Mande.

- ¹⁰⁵I.e. in 1839.
- ¹⁰⁶This may be the same person as the Ndunge named in genealogy B.1.1 above.
- ¹⁰⁷Somsewu was the Zulu name for Theophilus Shepstone. The *induna* referred to was Ngoza kaLudaba of the Majozi people.
- ¹⁰⁸The umXhapho (imBhube, uMpunga, uHlwayi) was one of Mpande's *amabutho*. Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was chief of the Mandlakazi in the time of Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu.
- ¹⁰⁹Qalizwe was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹¹⁰The word 'Nansi' used by the boy who aroused Shaka's anger seems to have been a dialectical variant of 'Nandi', the name of Shaka's mother.
- ¹¹¹This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 18.
- ¹¹²Nobamba and Dukuza were Zulu royal *imizi*, the former situated in the country south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi, and the latter, at the time of Shaka's assassination, near present-day Stanger.
- ¹¹³Shaka's assassins were his brothers Dingane and Mhlangana and one of his senior attendants, Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people.
- ¹¹⁴The reference is to Shaka's campaign of 1828 against Soshangane near the Bhalule (Olifants) river.
- ¹¹⁵For other accounts of Mzoboshi's relations with Fynn and the whites at Port Natal see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 61; Fynn, Diary, chs. 15, 16.
- ¹¹⁶Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane people; Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe.
- ¹¹⁷Macingwane kaJama was chief of the Chunu people. Ngonyameni was the name of one of his principal *imizi*.
- ¹¹⁸See Fynn, Diary, p. 60.
- ¹¹⁹Enslopee is rendered as Mhlophe in modern orthography. The reference is to Isaacs's Travels and Adventures, p. 19. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 568, describes Mhlophe as 'Shaka's trusted spy'.
- ¹²⁰The *umhlubulo*, or rib of meat, was the perquisite of the *ikhohlo* or left-hand house. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 258.
- ¹²¹We have been unable to establish the precise connotations of the terms here used. They seem to refer to various sections of a chief's household, *isoka* probably meaning the left-hand house, *inqwaba*, a section of the great house, and *ekumene*, the right-hand house. It was a common practice among the Zulu and neighbouring peoples for the male heir in each section to establish a separate *umuzi*. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 418-20; Krige, Social System, pp. 39-41; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 119-20.
- ¹²²Melapi was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹²³*Ukungena*, literally 'to enter', here means to take as a wife the widow of a deceased male relative in order to produce an heir for his house.