

MBOVU KA MTSHUMAYELI

10.2.1903, Tuesday - <evidence given 9.2.1903 File 71, pp. 83-5.
and 10.2.1903>

Also present: Jantshi, Ndukwana

83 Conversation with Mbovu and Jantshi.¹

Both Mbovu and Jantshi arrived yesterday, the former in the evening from Amanzimtoti Mission Station and the latter, on my special invitation, from Ndhlovu ka Timuni's tribe, Mapumulo Division.²

In a conversation I had with them this morning, Ndukwana being present, Mbovu said he was anxious to obtain permission to hold a gun; that, aided by the influence of Mr Titren, late Resident Magistrate, Umlazi Division, at the recommendations of his missionary, he had sent in an application to the Government - last year I think - which had been refused on the ground that the Government had already authorized the keeping of 100 guns by natives and did not propose to increase that number. The S.N.A.'s letter also took the opportunity of expressing appreciation of Mbovu's loyalty etc. etc.³ Mbovu cannot understand how his application came to be refused as he is loyal, and seeing he was born in the colony and passed all his life here, never having been convicted of any crime. He asked me to assist him in the matter. On consideration I said it would be better not to press the Government on such a matter, and the best way would be for the native people at some fitting time to lay what they deem a hardship before the Governor. M. went on to observe that the natives would have liked to help repel the Boers who invaded Natal in the late war but their assistance was not asked. A time will come when the British people, finding themselves in trouble, will be glad of the assistance proffered, but it will not be given as it will be too late.

Jantshi remarked that natives feel very deeply the being entirely ignored when laws as to their own management are being discussed by the legislature. The present plan is, as soon as some new Act is passed, affecting native interests, for the Government simply to instruct the various magistrates in different parts to inform native chiefs etc. of the provisions thereof. That plan is a bad one for it prevents natives from expressing their views. No man, under these circumstances, dares to criticize or even express his opinion, feeling that, acting individually, his words would carry very little weight. Such state of affairs is keenly felt, and the long list of present grievances recently compelled chief Ndhlovu to proceed to the S.N.A.

in Pietermaritzburg and ask 'where *uRulumeni* was' as he wanted to go and see him about these matters.⁴ Samuelson replied that *Rulumeni* was 'across the water'. I took the opportunity of pointing out that the Governor in his capacity of Supreme Chief is the proper person to see, and one who would be bound to listen to native complaints. It would not do to go behind him to the Government in England.

Jantshi added that Ndhlovu's grievance was that on account of the regulations compelling work on the roads members of his tribe went off to European towns and there remained, being afraid to return for fear of having to serve on the roads.

Mbovu, in a short talk I yesterday had with him (Ndukwana present), remarked that the land question was one they frequently discussed at their mission station but only in its local bearings. Mbovu and others are anxious to purchase and have in freehold, but the Government refuses this except under such conditions as that no purchaser shall be allowed to dispose of his land or stand to an European, not allow any European store to be erected on it, not to mortgage or in any other manner alienate it. He may keep it for himself and his children or sell to other natives. Under such circumstances only will title deeds be issued, and should any of the conditions be infringed the land shall forthwith revert to the Government etc. without giving compensation.

Mbovu is a Christian but Jantshi is not. I warned him as to what is in store for the natives of South Africa and said the *amakolwa* may yet live to regret they are striving so much to be like the white man. If the whole native organization is broken up then will the evils of European civilization be more manifest. M. said he was not so anxious to become an European. 'I am *umuntu* and I prefer to remain with the mass of the people.'⁵ Missionaries are constantly teaching us about the life to come whilst the present is lived without any kind of assistance from them or others.'

I met Mbovu some months ago. Jantshi is giving me information on old Zulu affairs.

- 85 In our conversation this morning (10.2.1903), Jantshi made the remark that a time will come when another wind will blow and a state of affairs different to what is now existing will be brought about. God will bring about this difference and in some way cause this change. When such day comes an end will be put to present modes of government.

Ndukwana afterwards said to me when alone with him that there is an idea prevalent among *kolwas* that God will destroy the world with a flood when a new race will appear in the land. In his opinion natives feel their grievances very heavily, so much so that (they) would like to go off and live in Zululand. He considers there is no chance whatever of their fighting the white man.

He seemed to regret that the natives of Zululand did not combine with those of Natal and repel the European invasion. I said that is not the point; it is that on the one side the European should recognize that he must live with the native as he has come to South Africa, and, on the other, natives, instead of regretting lost opportunities, must regard contact with European races as inevitable, and both sides co-operating together should strive to discover a single policy based squarely on fundamental principles of human nature.

7.2.1904, Sunday.

File 61, nbk. 36, pp. 1-17.

Also present: Mbovu ka Ndengezi-matshumi

- 1 Mbovu (Gam'dana) ka Mtshumayeli of the Makanya section of the Qwabe people.

Qwabe (chiefs): Meseni, Musi, Godolozzi (*umnawe*, i.e. younger brother of Pakatwayo), Kondhlo, Mncinci, Lufuta, Simamane, Kuzwayo, Sidinane, Mahlobo.⁶ (Pakatwayo had no heir. Pakatwayo was son of Kondhlo.)

(Qwabe chiefs): Zidumo (deceased), Mamfongonyana, Godide, Kondhlo.⁷

- Qwabe separated from Zulu. Zulu was of a junior house; Qwabe was of the big house. The two separated without fighting. Qwabe was Malandela's principal son, not Zulu. I have never heard of the white cow that was the cause of the quarrel.⁸

Mfunda (girl) ka Lufuta (the Qwabe chief) married among the eLangeni and there gave birth to Nandi, Tshaka's mother.

Simamane had Lufuta and Makanya as sons. Makanya had a son Mnengwa, who had a son Duze, who had a son Makuta, who had a son Mtambo (still living - head of the Makanya people).⁹

Qwabe and Zulu originally came from the emaCunwini tribe. I heard this from Pakade ka Macingwane ka Luboko of the emaCunwini people.

- 3 Pakade was about Mpande's age. The donga of Tatiyana was where Qwabe left Zulu and the amaCunu and went 'to the great reed-bed of the Mhlatuze', i.e. Qwabe. I heard this from Mabonsana ka Ndhlakode ka Kondhlo (Qwabe chief). The Zulus remained at the donga of Tatiyana because they preferred having herds of goats. The Qwabe came south to get to the lower, warmer country. I do not know where the donga of Tatiyana is. Mabonsana lives in Majiya's tribe near the Inyezane.¹⁰ He may be dead. Is a good informant.

Ikatazo is a medicine for colds. People of the olden days carried *ikatazo* and said, 'Ofe mkozi!'¹¹ They went about selling it (said by ancient Zulus. I do not know the meaning of the phrase.

- 4 Febana (Farewell) came with Nhlamba to Natal.¹² Nhlamba was a Xosa. He came with Farewell. His real name may be Hlambamanzi. Nhlamba had sons Pili (dead) and Mnkunzi (dead). He lived at the eMlazi, at eNwabi, in the country of Ndunge ka Xabatshe.¹³ Pili had sons; Matshikiyana is the chief one.

Singqungu, a white man, lived at Durban. He has a son at the Tukela, Tshali. [Was this Toohey? Most probably: see old B.Bk. 87 where name is given as Zingoongo.]

'The people with tall headrings (a ba zicocozide)' (means) the Pondos.

Mnini ka Manti ka Mzoywane ka Dole ka Sivuba of the Matulini people - the junior chiefs.¹⁴

- Matubana ka Jombela of the Tuli people. Boshongweni ka Fica ka Nkolongo ka Ncwana ka Myebu ka Tshadwa and Mnini disputed the succession. Matubana acted for Mnini on Manti's death. Mnini lived at the isiBubulungu.¹⁵ Matubana conspired to kill Mnini at an *umjadu* dance. Mnini's grandmother knew of this intention. She apprised Mnini and he ran off the same day to Tshaka. Tshaka then attacked Matubana and killed him.

MBOVU

When Mnini and Boshongweni *quarrelled*, Mnini was made chief. Mnini *fathered* Mqotoyi (alias Mcotoyi), who is still living, near the Mkomazi at the Msimbazi (white people say 'Umgababa'). Mqotoyi is about 64 or 65 years of age now.¹⁶

Mbovu alias Gam'dana ka Mtshumayeli ka Mnengwa ka Makanya ka Simamane ka Kuzwayo. I am of the age of the Sangqu regiment but was never *buta'd*.¹⁷

We live at Kwa Davati (name given by natives, not Europeans), a place of low-lying ground. (We) get out at Manzimtoti station.

- 6 My father lived at Matshwili's land.¹⁸ (He) lived south of the Tukela. Pakatwayo *attacked* Duze, saying he had come to (clean out his calabash (take out *amasi*), i.e. to eat up cattle). Nomo ka Kondhlo lived with Pakatwayo. Makanya was buried near the Msunduze on the south side. It was Mnengwa who *crossed over*. He lived at first near the Nonoti, Tugela etc.¹⁹ Here his son Duze was *attacked*. Nomo quarrelled with Pakatwayo, *disputing the succession*, for both were sons of one man. Duze helped Pakatwayo, so Nomo was defeated. He went to the Mtetwa. Duze died at the Nonoti, at Kwa Nyatikazi, a small hill. Duze was killed by Tshaka's forces.

- 7 Nqeto came to my father Mtshumayeli just after Tshaka had been killed and advised leaving and going to the *Amampondo country*. My father refused to do this. Nqeto then went off.²⁰

The Makanya people *crossed over* and came to Kwa Davati during Dingana's reign. This was after my father had come to live here first. Finding the Makanya did not follow, he went back although dissuaded from doing so. He was killed near Verulam (at the Mdhloti).

We Zulus and Qwabes came from the amaCunu tribe. I do not know where the amaCunu came from.

Silwane is the principal chief of the maCunu people. He lives chiefly in the Mvoti Division. (He is the) son of Gabangaye ka Pakade ka Macingwane ka Luboko.

- 8 Mmemi - a man living. Can *bonga*.

Simamane (*sibongo*). *Simamane of the mateku*. (May refer to the *amateku* - bays - near the Mhlatuze.)

Lufuta - is buried at Ezintondeni, across the Mhlatuze, near Mvundhlana ka Menziwa's land.²¹

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

Mlungu - Tshaka used this word. We used the word *abalumbi* at first, for Europeans *lumba* things.²²

The father of Mbovu is Ndengezi-matshumi.²³

The owner of the coast lands as far as Pinetown between the Mkomazi and Mgeni was Ntaba ka Myebu ka Tshadwa. Mnini's section was a minor one of the same tribe, which was Amatuli.

- 9 8 p.m.

Cannibals. There were some near Camperdown at Kwa Sonkovana, on the left of the railway going to Pietermaritzburg. Fica, the father of Botshongweni [see some pp. back] was nearly killed by cannibals.

He ran off because of Tshaka's wars. On the way he and some of his daughters were caught by *cannibals*. They were taken to the cannibals' home, where the daughters advised Fica to get away. He did so, being let out by his girls, who said they knew they were to be eaten but did not mind so long as their father was safe.

- 10 Fica died at the Ezimbokodweni stream beyond the Sipingo. He was accidentally killed by Kwehle, a man of his tribe, when out hunting. Kwehle threw his assegai with the view to stabbing an *umkumbe* buck (red, small buck); the assegai instead struck Fica who was carried home and died. Fica's children were taken by Mnini; he took Boshongweni and others.

Fica was not a *chief*, only an *umnumzana*. Boshongweni later on wanted to become chief over Mnini's tribe. Mnini objected on the ground that that section of the tribe did not belong to Boshongweni. This affair of Mnini and Boshongweni was inquired into by Mr Titren.

- 11 Mdava was also a *chief of the cannibals*. Sonkovana was also a *chief of the cannibals*. Bulawayo, still living, has the reputation of having been a cannibal. He lives in Tilonko's tribe, *the Embo*, but does not belong to the tribe really.²⁴ Bulawayo is, I believe, *of the Mbambo people*. Simemezi also has the reputation of having been a cannibal. He is dead. His sons live under C. Fynn at the Mzumbe, across the Mtwalume.²⁵

Cannibals came into existence because of famine, no food, no cattle.

Contact with Europeans.

- 12 Febana ka Mjoji, Gadeni, Sifile, Singqungu (Toohey), Mbuyazwe (Fynn).²⁶ <Praises of H.F. Fynn omitted - eds.> Febana (Farewell) was killed *in the Amampondo country* by Nqeto.²⁷ <Praises of Farewell omitted - eds.>

Gadeni. I know no *praises*.

Mbuyazwe and Sifile are names for Fynn. Wohlo is Ogle. Cato (was called) Kito.²⁸ Wohlo never went away as Fynn did to the Cape.

Mbovu ka Ndengezi says: I have heard girls call themselves *Mbuyazi we teku* after Fynn. It is done for fun, *when they are happy*.

Mis Kingi he father of Dick King. Captain Smith (was called) uSmidi. Dick King (was called) uMlamulankunzi.²⁹ <Praises of King omitted - eds.>

- 13 I herded cattle for the Boers at the time of Captain Smith being attacked by Boers. I herded to the south of Pinetown. Dick King and Ndongeni ka Xoki *of the Zulu* went to the Cape together when Captain Smith was besieged. Nkayana (still living) is the brother of Ndongeni. Ndongeni lives *at the place of Mbotshwa ka Kofiyana ka Mbengana of the Tshabeni people*.³⁰ He lives this side of the Mzinkulu. Ndongeni accompanied King to Grahamstown.

Mkizwana ka Nogumba *of the Tshangase people* lived this side of the Mgeni near Durban. He assisted Smith with cattle. He afterwards became Sir T. Shepstone's first *induna*.³¹ He was sent *to the Amampondo country*, got cattle from Faku, and sold them for dogs on the road. The Pondos sent to Pietermaritzburg to complain, and Mkizwana was dismissed. Mqundane, alias Jantshi, then became *induna*.

Wohlo lived not far from Clairmont on the Bluff side. Mbuyazwe could speak Zulu well. He was stout, not tall, not short.

- 14 After Mqundane left the indunaship, Ngoza ka Ludaba of the Emaqa-nyeni people became induna.
 Natives residing at Natal were directed by the Boers not to put on the headring so that they should be separate from the Zulus and could easily be distinguished. Men who had rings were directed to cut them off as soon as they came here.
 We crossed over with Mpande in 1839 (*dabuka kwe goda*).³² I could milk at this time.
 [I reckon the age of Mbovu (Gam'dana) at 75.]
- 15 People only get 10 cattle for children and one for the *mqoliso*.³³ Rank is not studied, Official witnesses and those who register *isibalo* workers are only allowed 15 cattle as *lobola*.³⁴ The Government does not inquire into the rank of officials recommended by the chief. I am of rank and yet am obliged to get only 10 head. I am of rank; I am the offspring of a chief and therefore should get more cattle. The Government only increase *lobola* where the man is engaged in doing government duty, The fault is not with the chiefs but with the Government, The chief is obliged to pick a man sometimes who is of no rank, and yet owing simply to his doing government work and being known at the court house he is made not only equal to but above those of rank, who are regarded by the Government as ordinary people. This law oppresses us where it is not fitting.
- 16 It is not fair for an official witness to be paid by increasing the *lobola* of his own daughter. He is doing government duty, and so should be paid by the Government for the work he does. He should not be paid by means of his own daughter.
 The Government finds employment for cripples, men who lose arms or legs. They are appointed to open gates, i.e. take tolls, look after railway gates. Native interests however are not looked after in this way. No such care is taken in regard to them.
- 17 Our great bank is cattle. In Zululand a man achieved status through being a great warrior, and was rewarded.
 Chiefs no longer govern rightly. They go alone to the magistrate, and leave *indunas* etc. behind.

8.2.1904

File 61, nbk. 36, pp. 17-24.

Also present: Mbovu ka Ndengezi

We Qwabe spoke of ourselves as '*the great reed of the Mhlatusze*'.
 The Amanzimtoti has nice clear water, even when other rivers are dried up; it has nice pools; its water is noticeably clear.

When Somsewu came people were living in the bushes, i.e. about the Mgeni and Berea, about the Mlazi, Ilovu and Mkomazi.³⁵

Wohlo had the largest native following at the Bay, for Mbuyazwe went to the Cape.

Missionaries, Mbovu ka Ndengezi says, are now returning mission reserves to the Government as they cannot manage them.

- 18 Tshaka heard from Nhlamba that Hintsu existed, the king of the

Gcalekas. The Gcalekas are abaNguni. Tshaka wished to engage in war with this king. I am an Inguni. The Pondos seem to me like Abambo and amaSwazi.³⁶

.... <Note on proverb omitted - eds.>

Grievances. (Per) Mbovu ka Ndengezi.

19 Was it not right to keep money from natives? Money was brought by Europeans. We had none. Natives should not have been given money because they do not know its use. They should be paid in clothing and cattle. But coolies, Arabs, and Chinese understand money. Let contracts exist between them. What is wanted from us is money. After we have worked, the money we earn is taken from us in every way. Our needs are increased and we are pressed in every way. We then go out to work and wages are reduced. We have our own necessities to meet. We would be content without money. We will also work for *hoes*. Let *pieces of paper* be with Europeans. We cannot *invent* things. We know nothing of paper. How do we, how can we, know anything of these innovations?

We do not complain of being punished for crime; we appreciate protection.

People want all to turn out; they do not want natives to remain at home. They have no interest in their welfare.

20 Money causes crime, thefts etc. If there was no money with us nothing would be wanted of us. Our people cannot work; they have not been taught. The great thing wanted of us is money. Although natives cannot (work), are not used to work, they should work as far as they are able.

The Government *built the country* with money. Without money we would have become cannibals.

Only big people *made presentations (etula'd)* to the king. Only big people married *isigodhlo* girls.

Government is expanding, every few years. The Government resembles Tshaka, for he never got tired. *Its army is money*.

21 We *hunt down* people to see what they eat (*isitshimeyana*).³⁷ *Sugar-cane destroys the land*, for spying is done on us to see how we consume the treacle. People were at first fined £3, now £10. People buy 6d worth of treacle and yet if it is found in their possession they are heavily fined for *isitshimeyana*. 'Natives will *become criminals*.'

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

24 Pakatwayo's regiments were the Izengqana, Izilinda, uBede, Izinkonde (big regiment) and others.

Pakatwayo's kraals

ukuDabuka - name of kraal in which P. was buried.

eMtandeni - chief kraal.

oDwini - belonged to Mncinci.

eNtoyeyeni - Nomo's kraal; *it contended* with the Mtanda kraal.

Mmemi ka Nguluzane (chief: Mtambo) is a good informant.

ULovu is a famous ox. I do not know where it was, at eMtandeni or oDwini or Ntoleleni. *It was small in stature, with large horns*. This

MBOVU

ox was the cause of the quarrel between Ntoleleni kraal and oDwini kraal, i.e. between Pakatwayo and Nomo, both Kondhlo's sons. It may have been the ox of the gourd, of the *tshwama* ceremonies, seeing it was the cause of so great a quarrel.³⁸

8.2.1904

File 61, nbk. 37, pp. 1-3.

Also present: Mbovu ka Ntambama

- 1 Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli. Present Mbovu ka Ntambama (Ndengezi-matshumi - *his praise*).

Lufuta's grave is at eZintondweni at the place of Nongedi's people, at the place of Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana's people, across the Mhlatuze not far from Dondota (where the old magistracy used to be).³⁹ Mncinci is buried where the Bumba enters the Matikulu. I fancy Simamane is buried somewhere near where Lufuta is.

Mnini (of the Bluff) told me that his tribe, the amaTuli, were pushed by the Qwabe from Zululand and driven on to Natal. The amaTuli lived near the Matikulu,

- 2 The amaMbili and amaCele (Mtetwa) were others chased off by the Qwabe from Zululand. The abakwaCele chiefs now are Ndunge, Bekameva (at the Mzimkulu), Magidigidi (across the Mzimkulu) - chief heir.⁴⁰

Ndunge ka Xabatshe ka Mande ka Dibandhlela ka Tshabeni ka Mkoceleli ka Langa. Bekameva ka Xabatshe etc. etc. Magidigidi ka Magaye ka Dibandhlela ka Tshabeni ka Mkoceleli ka Langa.⁴¹

The amaTuli tribe are related by marriage to the amaCele tribe. MaSivuba married among the Cele; she bore Dibandhlela, father of Mande. The amaTuli are spoken of as *abalanda* to the amaCele tribe.⁴²

Mtshwetshwe, heir to Magidigidi, is still living.⁴³

Zibula left and went to the Mpondo country - the eldest son of Magidigidi.

- 3 Vubukulwayo is a son of Kondhlo.

It seems, seeing where Lufuta is buried, that the Qwabe tribe lived on terms of amity with the Mtetwa tribe in those early days. The Dube people were living near the coast when the Qwabe went down to live at the Mhlatuze.

9.2.1904

File 61, nbk. 37, pp. 3-4.

Also present: Mbovu ka Ntambama

Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli and Mbovu ka Ntambama.

Ndondakusuka is the name of a kraal of Zulu ka Nogandaya of the *Nawana* section of the Qwabe people.⁴⁴ Ndondakusuka is between the Msunduze and the Tukela, rather above the Inyoni.

John Cane, called Jana, may have had a native name among his own native followers.⁴⁵ He had a kraal, esiNyameni, between the Mtwalume and the Mzumbe, below Hlokozi hill. The kraal esiNyameni is still existing.

- 4 Kofiyana lived about the Mgeni.⁴⁶ Kofiyana was a son of Mbengana of the Tshabeni people, at the Mzimkulu. Kofiyana's successor nowadays is Mbotshwa.⁴⁷ Mbotshwa is a chief and is the son of Kofiyana. I knew

MBOVU

Kofiyana - a tall man; he *put on the headring* afterwards; he was dark. One of Kofiyana's daughters married Dubuyana ka Sirayo *of the Nyuswa people*, and from this union Deliweyo was born. Deliweyo is dead. He lived at oZwatini, beyond eNanda, near Verulam.

7.8.1904

File 61, nbk. 38, pp. 1-2.

- 1 Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli ka Mnengwa ka Makanya ka Simamane ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo of the Qwabe tribe.

I think Nandi's father was Mbengi, not Mgabi.⁴⁸

Magambukazi alias Nonkolokotwayo *is of the eLangeni people* - chief: Ndube.

Makedama, Mbengi, Mgabi - Magambukazi would settle this.⁴⁹

Tshaka had *put on the headring*. Tshaka was tall.

I think Lufuta (Qwabe tribe) was father of Tshaka's mother Nandi.

Tshaka was born at home.

He cut *headrings* off men and made them *kleza*.

Boiled maize, curds, meat - but beer not allowed by T. as caused people to be weak.

He cut open a woman *who was pregnant*.

He killed his mother for hiding one of his own children.

People's eyes were examined; if no tears, *they were* killed.

- 2 *The purification rituals after the death of his mother Nandi* - many killed. Ngunuza *of the eLangeni people* ran away to the Mpondo country because afraid of being killed *in the rituals*.

Nqeto *used to spit* in Tshaka's presence. He refused to be *ruled* by Dingana as he said he was T.'s equal. He stood with T. *at the umjadu dance*. Nqeto ka Kondhlo.

There was no cultivation.⁵⁰

Bear children in all directions.

Oppressive orders - *obstructed government*.

Why are we being sent away to another *campaign*? We shall not have time to build our own kraals. This is why T. was killed. The Balule *campaign*.⁵¹

29.8.1904

File 61, nbk. 37, pp. 5-7.

- 5 Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli.

Bobobo [see *Inncwadi ye zi Zulu*, published by Cullingworth, Durban, p. 50] was known to me.⁵² He belonged to the Tembu tribe. He lived *up the Mlazi* (Mlazi, not Mlaza), *in the Embo country*, not far from Thornville Junction.⁵³ Bobobo was also called Mlomowenguqo, the name of Zihlandhlo's regiment - Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo ka Sidweba ka Langa.⁵⁴ Zihlandhlo belonged to the Embo tribe. The tribe sprang from the Swazis. I do not know the cause of the separation. The Embo people formerly lived at the Tukela, on the north side, below Nkandhla, near the Nsuze, and also at the Mamba river. They were routed by Dingana and came to live at the Mlazi.

- 6 Bobobo used to proclaim either that girls should cut and mark themselves, or that children were to be weaned, i.e. on a particular year. He might say beer must be made and drunk in the field. Now that Bobobo

is dead the idea of the *inkosazana* has arisen. The *inkosazana* pursues the same methods as Bobobo. This custom appears to have sprung from Bobobo.⁵⁵ I saw Bobobo in the forties. I did not see him after leaving the Embo tribe, with which for a time I lived after coming into Natal at the time Mpande did so.⁵⁶

Ngoza ka Mkubukeli, chief of the baTembu tribe, would not take *curds*, even his own *curds*.⁵⁷ People used to *make an oath*, 'If the chief should eat *curds*.' Ngoza lived at the Tugela and Mzinyati. When *driven out* he ran to Pondoland, where he was attacked by Faku and routed. He died where Sigau's Eqawukeni (kraal) is.⁵⁸

- 7 Zihlandhlo's son was Siyingele. This man's son was Ngunezi; his sons are Tilonko and Sikukuku.

The Cele people came from the Mtetwa tribe. The Ngcobo came from the amaFuze, whilst from the Ngcobo came the amaNyuswa.

Why not allow the *mkosi*? - it does no harm.

Ntombaze was the name of Zwide's mother.⁵⁹

11.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 13-19.

- 13 Mbovu only present.

'Yeti' is only a salutation and is used to *abanumzana* at their homes, not to kings or chiefs. I do not know the derivation. Nor does it appear to be cognate with 'bayete'.⁶⁰ 'Yeti' is a word used on meeting a person of some standing, on first coming face to face with him. But then Pakatwayo's, Mpande's etc. *praises* begin with 'Yeti'.

[Why can it not be that the king, having conquered all the Yetis, combined them under the plural form Bayeti?]

- 14 Mqawe ka Dabeka ka Dube ka Silwane (amaQadi tribe) came from the Ngcobo tribe.⁶¹ Deliweyo ka Dubuyana ka Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele of the Nyuswa tribe - also Ngcobo.⁶² The Ngcobo has many tribes from it. Swayimana ka Zipuku ka Ntuli ka Mavela - of the Ngcobo tribe.⁶³

Mqawe is the *junior brother (mnawe)* of the house of the Ngcobo. The big man was Deliweyo.

The Ngcobo people are descended from the amaFuze. Fuze may have been the name of a man. Hemuhemu was the chief of the amaFuze tribe, up the Msunduze near Mzimba's chief.⁶⁴ Hemuhemu ka Madhlenya - I do not know further.

Deliweyo ka Dubuyana ka Sirayo is the great chief of the Ngcobo tribe.

Ngcobo

Dubuyana ka Sirayo - chief

Mqawe - of the *left-hand house* of Dubuyana's people. The *left-hand house* to Mqawe's house is that of Kadupi ka Nomazocwana ka Ndela - amaNgcobo.⁶⁵

Nqume ka Mgabi ka Mapoloba ka Mbele of the Mlambongwenya section - across the Mzimkulu.

Sirayo and Mgabi *disputed the succession and separated*, Mgabi being defeated.

- 15 Mqawe is of the left-hand side of Dubuyana's house, and Mqawe's left-hand house is that of Kadupi.

Swayimana is of the left-hand house of the people of Sotobe ka Dikwayo ka Mkalelwa of the Ngcobo people.⁶⁶ Ntuli, Swayimana's grandfather, is junior to Mkalelwa.

Singqila ka Boma is also a chief of the Ngcobo tribe; he lives near the mouth of the Mzimkulu. Singqila (living) is always leaving his tribe and tending to disintegrate it.

Mqawe's tribe is called the amaQadi.

Bacela ka -- <sic>, Tayi ka -- <sic>, of the Ngcobo tribe. Tayi had no children.

Mbozane is near the Mdhloti; Tshangaza is near the Mdhloti. Both are chiefs of sections of the Ngcobo tribe.⁶⁷

- 16 The amaTuli are very old residents at Port Natal. They were driven from the north coast near Zululand by the Qwabes when they came south on leaving the amaCunu district. The Tulis intermarried with the Cele tribe, living near the Tugela, Natal side, and were neighbours of the amaMbili, amaKomo and amaKwela.

The Cele tribe came from the Mtetwa tribe of Zululand.

The amaMbili chiefs appear to have died out. Large numbers of people went north to the Nguni country [Lake Nyasa].

Mqotoyi ka Mnini ka Manti ka Mzolwane ka Dole ka Sivuba.⁶⁸ The Cele chiefs are *borne* by girls of Sivuba.

Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo of the amaMbili tribe. Ngoyi appears to have no children. The amaMbili people seem to have attached themselves to the Tuli and Cele tribes.

Kongwa ka Mazomba was chief of the amaKomo tribe, but has no issue apparently. They are living in the Cele tribe, also in the Makanya tribe.

- 17 The amaKwela formerly lived near Magula hill on the Matigulu river in Zululand. The Qwabes drove them from there. They say their chief was Magula, the same name of the hill at the Matigulu.

Vubukulwayo is a son of Kondhlo. [Mentioned in account of Qwabe tribe in Bird's Annals.]⁶⁹

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

- 19 Duze *fathered* Makuta and this man *fathered* Mtambo who is still living and head of the Makanya section, i.e. of the supporting house (*qadi*) of the Mtandeni.⁷⁰

13.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 41, p. 1.

- 1 The creation of native councils.⁷¹

I do not quite approve of these councils on the ground that they would not satisfy the younger generation.

Sigcau and Lerotholi (Mtshwetshwe) are badly influencing Dinuzulu.⁷² Dinuzulu is alright himself.

I do not think people would show any opposition if brought into force.

I no longer belong to the old generation. I am a seed that has

dropped to a new state of civilization. I take but little interest in former affairs.

16.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 41, pp. 1-22.

Nowadays the country belongs to the new generation - *abatsha*.⁷³ We have mixed up; old habits and customs of the Zulus are dying out.

- 2 We do not *hold the unkosi ceremony*. Formerly those who were Christians lived on mission reserves; now they live in among ordinary natives. The old ways are therefore dying out. New laws etc. have come in. The missionaries belong to us and cause our old ways to die out, especially as we do not *hold the unkosi ceremony*. Cases were heard by our chiefs; now the Government does so. Formerly only murders and important cases were tried by the Government, but now even common assaults are tried by the Government. The children too are no longer ours, for we may not demand what cattle we wish. The Government ordains that only those who are holding government offices may receive 15 head of cattle for their children.

- 3 I think dying out of old customs is bad because a different method of governing us will come in force, something we do not know. We will give up a way we (do know). The many ask, 'When shall we rest?', for one day it is said, 'The Government says this,' and when we seek to reply we are told the matter is finished. People regret this, not having an opportunity of speaking. We say, 'What kind of representations of ours will the Government listen to?' The younger generation twit us by saying that we old people gave in to the white people. We deny this. 'The Government found us walking one by one, killing one another. You, who have since multiplied, will reply to the Government. We were individuals, and (there were) few of us. Even if you young people reply to the Government you will not be able to turn him.' We ask, 'Have you ever heard the Government invite us to speak and, after hearing us, act on our advice? Even when you, who are now numerous, even if you show temper, the Government does not hear, and is not replied to.' We say, 'Do you not see the Government's messengers (magistrates); do they ever invite you to send forward men to go and make representations to the Government? No, you won't succeed in *turning back* the Government. Finding us arriving with wounds, due to stabbing one another, the Government gave us food and places to live on, and we stayed. No, our children, even if you reply you will derive no satisfaction from the Government. We were *given protection (tolwa'd)*; we did not come and *choose a husband*. No one *who has been tolwa'd* comes to his *chief* and *seeks to change his mind*. All this which you complain of, viz. the *isibalo*, emanates like everything else from the Government. We are not satisfied, but even though dissatisfied with our mode of living, we cannot question, for he is to us what a man is to his wife. I am a woman at the feet of the white people. Our words cannot come into competition with those of our master. The country is his. A white man comes suddenly and informs us, 'This land you live on is mine; I have bought it.' We however were the previous occupiers, but yet the white man says we must pay him rent, and yet we must also pay the Government.'

We are all dogs on account of our children, in spite of the fact

that we *lobola'd* their mothers. You say we must not receive *lobola*. We of hereditary rank are of no account, for we have been set on one side, and those (are) appointed to Government positions who happen to commend themselves to the Government. You have made copper of us whereas we should be of gold (i.e. rank). We are told we are entitled to only 10 head, whereas we are entitled to more. Only those who hold

6 Government positions may demand more cattle. We can and do say nothing; *we keep our feelings hidden, for we were defeated*. If my chief appoints a man to *register isibalo workers*, or to *register girls*, such gets more cattle for girls than his chiefs or natural superiors. Our things formerly *were held in respect*; no one would appropriate them because afraid of us. Now there is no check or restraint and people do what they like.

We only question the chiefs, not the men who follow each. We fail to see there are men quite apart from the chief who have a right to speak.⁷⁴

You will not allow me to have a gun. And yet I am well known. Why am I not cut a shield as a mark of distinction or reward?

We have done away with all hereditary rank and social distinctions.

7 I am like a dog, for (even I), after a long connection with the Government, am not permitted to have a gun.

Mtambo says to me, 'But you old people are to blame for not having made strong representations at the time Sir T. Shepstone introduced the law fixing the amount of *lobola*.'⁷⁵

A chief is installed by his own people; therefore he should not be the only one singled out to receive high *lobola*. Others too are of high rank and they should be considered. By not allowing me to have more cattle I am unable to maintain my authority and claim people's respect. They jeer at me by saying, 'We are all equal now. Who are you to speak

8 in this way?' When Henrique Shepstone with Tom Bennett came to see the land when the Makanya and the Mapumulo had a dispute, Shepstone warned me that I would be responsible, and not the boy Mtambo, if any row occurred.⁷⁶ Here then I was regarded as a responsible man and rightly so, but am otherwise treated as a mere commoner.

Meseni would not, if invited to become one of the Native Council, send to Mtambo and let him know what is going on. This is seen in his action in regard to Musi's heir when H. Shepstone had (to send) to Mtambo and Zidumo.⁷⁷

Dinuzulu, I hear, writes to Basutoland (Lerothodi), Rhodesia etc. and to America, which I consider most injudicious. Sigcau of Pondoland is another.

9 History of the Makanya and Qwabe tribes.

The Makanya section came about in Simamane's time, and arose by the act of this chief. The chief son was Lufuta, and Makanya the lesser one. Makanya *followed Lufuta in age*. Lufuta *left*, going off with *the chiefship*. Makanya was appointed over a certain number of people at his father's kraal. He did not quarrel with Lufuta. A quarrel occurred in Pakatwayo's day. Pakatwayo crossed the Tugela into Natal, the Makanya people being here (having built). The Makanya left behind Sitibane ka Makanya, his *eldest son*. P. came across with troops to *attack*, saying *he would cause the gourd of his place to be filled*. He came to seize

cattle but failed, owing to resistance. He was defeated and ran off. He might have been killed but for the fact that fighting in those days was different to what it became under Tshaka. This was before T. came to the throne.

Nomo, *the eldest son of Kondhlo*, fought with Pakatwayo and defeated him. P. was obliged to take refuge in the bushes, and there stayed till they were obliged to eat skins. At this point Kondhlo sent to the Makanya people, saying, 'What do you mean by looking on?' *The Mnguni 'who is like the rays of the sun'* (i.e. Mnengwa) armed, and took his forces to Kondhlo's assistance, whereupon Nomo was defeated.⁷⁸ Pakatwayo then built the Mtanda kraal.... <Praise omitted - eds.>

Nomo was chased off to the Mtetwa tribe. That tribe turned against him. He returned and came into Natal across the Tugela low down to attack the Makanya people who were then living between the Nonoti and the Tugela (some being in Zululand). Near the sea, on the Nonoti, Nomo attacked some of the Makanya. The Makanya armed, resisted, and caused Nomo to return back into Zululand. Not many Makanya people were killed. Nomo then went to the Mtetwa to give his allegiance. He there met Tshaka who had begun to distinguish himself as a warrior. *The body-servants of the chief (Pakatwayo) were taken by Sopana and his people - Sopana ka Mncinci ka Lufuta*. Sopana took these body-servants to the Nomo people, who gave them to Tshaka. I think Nomo went with T. when he was made chief of the Zulus. When T. afterwards defeated Pakatwayo he did not kill him, nor did he seize his cattle. He gave them all over to Nomo.

Vubukulwayo ka Kondhlo and Godolozi ka Kondhlo, as soon as Pakatwayo was defeated, left and joined Zwide of the Ndwandwe tribe. In that tribe the question was asked as to which was the greater of the two. There were two answers. Some pointed to Vubukulwayo, others Godolozi. Thereupon Zwide said, '*Beat these fools; they are undecided.*' They were then turned out, some coming back empty-handed without weapons, others flying to Swaziland.

We ought to be grateful that these cruel times of the past are no more. The white people have with their key locked that all up and established a lasting peace, but the young generation, oblivious of the past, may want to try and create unrest.

We Makanya did not hold the *tshwama* or *umkosi* ceremony. Permission was asked of Pakatwayo across in Zululand. He then held the *umkosi* ceremony, and after finishing would say, 'Let my younger brother now hold the *umkosi*; let him cook the gourd, eat it, and lick the drinking pot' - the gourd of chiefship.

We Makanya lived with Tshaka near the Nonoti and ruled with him. The reason of our leaving Dukuza and coming to where we now are arose after the death of Tshaka.⁷⁹ No sooner did T. die than Nqeto *gunya'd*, i.e. held aloof from Dingana. Nqeto came to my father and said, '*Never shall we live under Dingana, now that Tshaka is dead.*' He also went to Magaye ka Dibandhlela, chief of the Cele tribe, whose mother Siwetu was daughter of Kondhlo of Odwini kraal and so belonged to our tribe. Magaye said, '*This evil-doer (itshinga) will kill me on the road.*' My father said, 'Did we not contest with Nomo, defeat him and establish Pakatwayo? He, Nqeto, wants to put us to death and take our people from us.' Nqeto thereupon left. He armed and prepared to flee. He went

round near my father who, with his people, fled to the coast bushes and there took refuge. Nqeto's troops - *iziNqume* is the name of one of his regiments - took our food and cattle.

- Nqeto then came to Magaye, but the *Cele* people would not permit him to go. *Magugu* appeared, 'he who is like the one with the skin cloak'.⁸⁰ He attacked Magaye at his Emdhlazi kraal, the idea being to force him to join in his proposed flight. Magaye himself strongly desired to go with Nqeto. He cried tears when the *men* restrained him from going.
- 15 Nqeto then seized their stock and crossed the Mgeni, *upstream*, where Mqawe now lives. When Nqeto saw the Zulu come in view he *caused his men to sound on their shields* (beating shields together), and ordered his men to *chant a war-song*. They *did so*, and *went up onto the high ground* near Botha's Hill, between Pinetown and Botha's Hill. Before leaving, Nqeto's men had fought with the Zulus at oDibini (Nqeto's kraal) at the Tugela in Zululand. My father's principal wife, Mamadunjini, was killed on this occasion. She had left with the idea of going home to Nqeto's tribe, to Pobana ka Madunjini ka Mpande. She was killed by the Zulu *impi* before she had even reached Nqeto's kraal; she was in the act of walking up to the place. Notimese (Nompisi) was a girl with the above woman at the time. She had a very large assegai
- 16 wound in her right thigh (outer). I have seen her and seen the wound. Nqeto went and cut *the tail-tufts* of a lot of cattle stationed at Tshaka's *cattle posts*, cattle which were still living, and caused his troops to *adorn themselves* with them.

- When Nqeto *went up to the higher country* as stated, and had gone across the Mlazi, he halted, and gathered his men together, but the Zulus were upon them. A battle took place. I have myself seen these old assegais. Nqeto's people were not defeated, and the Zulus, though in view of the cattle, did not take them. Nqeto then went off. He was an *evil-doer* like Tshaka. The Zulus failed to turn the cattle, and Nqeto got away to the Msikaba, where Sigcau ka Mqikela ka Faku lives, i.e. the Pondos. Nqeto went along *breaking up peoples*, killing and
- 17 cutting them to pieces. Later on he put to death Europeans - Xalatshe, who fired at Nqeto with a gun and struck him on the upper leg.⁸¹

Nqeto would make up a regiment of men and women, alternate *companies* (*viyos*), so as to give the impression that he had a large *impi*. Nqeto was like T. in temper. He conquered the many surrounding tribes in Pondoland, whereupon an expedition set out against him. This man Xalatshe fired at Nqeto as he stood among his men, who were at the time all seated, and struck him as stated. When he put his hand on his thigh, and, wiping, saw blood, he shouted, '*Let the Ndimbili attack!*' - a regiment. '*Let the iziNqume attack!*', whereupon Xalatshe was put to death.

- 18 Xalatshe, an European, maybe a Boer, was father of Hanisi.⁸²

Nqeto was always on the move, a marauder. He never *built shelters* and (never) made people *cultivate*. And yet he left with only a small section of the Qwabe people. He fought merely with his head. (His spirit or temper was the cause of his success.)

Faku *gave praise*, receiving Nqeto as one of his children.⁸³

The Amangwane people, who had remained behind when Matiwane returned only to be killed by Dingana, went and *konza'd* Nqeto, as they ate cattle.⁸⁴ Nqeto now created another regiment, the Umzimvubu (composed of Amangwane).

Nqeto was tall and *dark* (*nsundu*). He would stand with Tshaka *at an*

umjadu dance.

- 19 I think Nqeto would certainly have fought with the white people had Dingana not become engaged with the Boers, for he would not go in for peaceful occupations. He disturbed the country as Tshaka himself had previously done, and although he was hundreds of miles from Zululand, and where he was free from attack by Zulus, he would not plant crops but depended on marauding expeditions.

- Some of the Makanya people went off with Nqeto; some returned when they had got as far as the Embokodweni river. Those who remained were those under my father. Those who went were under Bece ka Sobinda ka Makanya, also Mapinda ka Zibopo ka Makanya. When the great fight above
20 referred to took place *up the Embokodweni*, others of the Makanya returned to us, but others went on with Nqeto.

- Nqeto, as soon as he got to the Mzimvubu, was attacked by Faku. He went to seize some cattle, and was allowed two days to do as he liked. Meanwhile the Pondos mustered in great force and said, 'Let us see where this leopard will escape now.' They then fought. The iziNqume cut their way through into the Umzimvubu river, where there were numerous hippopotami which seemed as though they too were on the Pondo side, for they attacked the forces which crossed just above where the tide was felt or seen, and caused the water to be coloured with blood.
21 The remnants returned to Nqeto, who had remained at home, to say they had been killed off. Nqeto now set off for quite another part, probably to the north-west to the Bacas high up the Mzimvubu, whom they turned out of their homes and occupied them. The Bacas sent *spies*; these were caught. They said, 'Even though you catch us they will come tomorrow, *the forces (amabandhla)* of Ngcapayi and Madikane ka Kalimetshe.'⁸⁵ The next day these men came but there was nothing of an *impi* to fight against, so Nqeto's men scattered, leaving the cattle to be seized by the Bacas, for the Pondos got none of them. Nqeto thereupon went off practically alone, dying in the north. He was reduced in the same way that Cetshwayo was at the last reduced.

- Note by Mbovu. Why do you stir up these old graves? When the tribe
22 is still standing and flourishing it is something, but now we are broken and scattered. *War is talked about* when the heart is light and cheerful, when the future is in some way assured; but to talk over things dead and gone appears painful and unnecessary. We rejoice greatly that England has brought about a state of peace, but owing to non-recognition of tribes and the members composing them, their ranks and distinctions, hereditary and due to personal effort, we feel that we are becoming dead indeed.

The Makanya people were given *chiefship in the correct manner*. The section was properly appointed.

24.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 41, pp. 22-4.

- The Makanya, Cele, Amapumulo, *the people of Hohlo*, the amaZuba (Tuli), Amanganga, abakwaNyuswa, Abambo, Amasomi, Nsukwana's Abatembu section, and the amaNgcolosi are tribes known to me in a general way.
23 The Amanganga *separated from the Qwabe in ancient times*. The abakwaNyuswa originally came from the Ngcobo tribe. The Embo people say

MBOVU

they originated in the Swazi country.

Large tribes in Natal: Embo, Ngcobo (Nyuswa, Qadi, amaNgongoma), Tembu, Cunu (Majola, Kanyile, Lembede, Ndawonde), Kuze (Dhlamini), Cele, Bomvu, Ngwane, Nxamalala, Qwabe (Makanya).

24.9.1904, evening.

24 The amaBomvu tribe cut the top joint of the little finger, left hand. The amaBomvana in the Cape Colony also cut this finger. Their chief is now Gwadiso. The cutting of this finger is the mark by which the Bomvu people are distinguished.

The amaNgcolosi people cut the tip of the left little finger (inside) should the child cry. I saw this among these people at the Mgeni. The blood would then be dripped into *cowdung* (fresh).

The amaPumulo people cut a child that cries on both cheek bones - slightly. They *dabula* them, i.e. make slight marks. This practice is dying out. When a child cries too much it is said to be needing or wanting an *upawu*, or mark, and is thereupon cut.

'The child is crying; it is crying for the *izinqwamba*,' i.e. in the Cele tribe. A young steer would then be killed for it. The *izinqwamba* are strips of hide (calf) cut thus:



rubbed well with fat to make soft, then with *ochre*. They are thereupon bound round the child about the chest thus:



There may be as many as eight strips. They go round to the back. This is the *distinguishing mark* (*upawu*) of the Cele child.

24.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 42, pp. 1-9.

1 Mbovu continues.

The reason for the *izinqwamba* coming to be used among the Makanya people is because of their intermarrying with the Cele people who use this particular sign. This custom is no longer observed. This was done to prevent a child from crying. Sometimes a child would be simply bound round the right wrist with these *cut* strips of hide. After this had been done the mother might partake of the flesh of the beast. If she ate the meat before putting these strips on, the child would keep crying and annoy her. These things are not done on account of the *ancestors* but simply to prevent the child from crying and troubling the mother. The belief is that a mother should not eat of *any* meat until she has put these strips on. If a beast has been killed at a neighbour's and some is given, then before the mother partakes of it she should beg for *uhlonze* or a piece of hide of the slaughtered beast, and after cutting that into thin strips and *cutting* and *softening* it and rubbing it with *water in which meat has been cooked*, put it on

the child's right wrist.⁸⁶ She may then expect a little peace. But if the child is one that is always crying, the custom is to kill a small beast specially for it, and it is of that beast that *izingwamba* are made.

I know among the Embo people one of our Makanya girls married one of their men. After a time a messenger arrived from the husband's kraal to say he had come to ask for a rib (*ubambo*), by which was meant a beast. This beast was given, the custom being thereby complied with. It was taken and slaughtered at the husband's. I do not know why it should be called the *ubambo* beast or for what purpose it is given.

- 3 The Qwabe people marked themselves with three or four rows of *incisions*, beginning on the small of the back, both sides, and going up five or six inches; also at the base of the stomach, both sides, and going up a few inches. The Embo people did not do this. Both males and females did this. This was not a *distinguishing mark* but from inclination. This practice was however very common among the Qwabe people.

The Qwabe people do not eat *fish* or *pig* (tame). The *fowl* is also not eaten, also (not) the *cane rat*, *rock rabbit*, *ucakide mongoose*, *umhlangala mongoose*, *baboon*, and others.

The *baboon* was eaten by Nomsimekwana of the Nyamvu tribe. They called it *imbutumete*.

The true head of the Kuze people, who are known as Nhlanguwini, is Bidhla.⁸⁷

- 4 The amaTuli tribe.

Mnini (chief) took Botshongweni and Veleswini, the children of Fica ka Nkolongo ka Ncwana ka Myebu. This happened long before the Ndondakusuka battle.⁸⁸ Mnini took the children to look after as they had been left by their father Fica. This Fica had come by his death accidentally. He went out to a hunt of *izinkumbe buck*, *bushbuck*, and *duiker*, when, in trying to stab an *umkumbe* buck, a man Kwehle stabbed Fica, who died shortly after being carried back home. The children mentioned grew up with Mnini, who *ngena'd* their mother.⁸⁹ When Botshongweni grew up (Mnini used to give him the *insonyama*), he was desirous of taking over the whole tribe, including that over which Mnini ruled, to be ruled by him.⁹⁰ Mnini said, 'No, I have brought
5 you up and you must not turn round and ask me to give up my people to you. If you want to rule, go and build elsewhere, and form your own tribe.' The *dispute* increased. A case came on before the European authorities, and Mnini got the best of it. Mnini said to Botshongweni, 'Your father came down here to the Zuba section of the tribe to which I belong. He came from the north after being eaten by cannibals and wandering about. He grew up here after escaping from the cannibals. He left my section and went away to build at the Ezimbokodweni river. I am only doing to you what I did to your father. I befriended you and enabled you to build up your own tribe.'

Fica's *umuzi* was known as eMtintanyoni. Mnini, though he belongs to the amaTuli tribe, belongs to the Zuba section which, as we have seen, had separated itself from the other body of amaTulis under Fica.

- 6 White people were at first called *abalumbi* - the word *umlungu* has come into vogue later on - for they *lumba'd* things. [But Isaacs in 1835 talks of *abelungu*.]⁹¹

The great chief of the amaTuli was Ntaba ka Myebu. His kraal was on the lower country beyond Pinetown and on the Mbilo stream. They also lived up to the Mgeni and the Mkomazi. We Qwabe people pushed the Tuli and Cele people, also the amaMbili, amaKwela, and amaKomo tribes, from between the Mhlatauze and the Tugela into the coast district of Natal. This happened probably when the Qwabe came south after leaving the Zulu people. The Tuli and Cele people, however, probably pushed out or away other tribes in these new lands. I do not know their names or where they went to. As for the amaMbili, amaKwela and amaKomo, these
 7 are to be found scattered among the Cele, Qwabe and Makanya tribes, for they have lost their individuality. The Cele people are an offshoot of the Mtetwa tribe of Zululand.

Cele tribe. Dibandhlela ka Tshabeni was the *chief*. Dibandhlela appears to have a second name, Mdinsilwa. He was the son of a Zuba girl, i.e. from that section over which Mnini subsequently became chief. [See above.] Magaye was the son of a girl of the Qwabe tribe. I do not know if Dibandhlela was born in Natal or Zululand.

I fancy the amaKomo people must be part of the amaTuli people, for their kraal sites are among those of the Tulis. I cannot see any other land occupied by them.

8 Tuli tribe. Matubana was the son of Jombela of the Zuba tribe (amaTuli). [See above.]

The amaTuli people are amaLalas.⁹² Matubana was in charge of the Zuba section on behalf of the child Mnini. One day it was decided to have an *umjadu* dance among the Zuba people. Mnini at this time was growing up. Matubana was jealous of his approaching coming-of-age, and arranged that he should be put to death. Some old *woman*, however, heard what was intended, so she went at once to Mnini and told him to leave at once, as they intended to kill him. He left and went to Tshaka, and told T. all about it. T. then sent an *impi* and put Matubana to death. Mnini now became chief. I know he had to look after some of Tshaka's
 9 oxen whilst still with Tshaka. Mnini, it is said, was once severely struck by Tshaka for some offence, possibly in regard to not herding properly.

Matubana might have been a brother of Manti's, i.e. of Mnini's father.

When Botshongweni found he could not succeed in gaining chieftainship over the Zuba section, which as we see had become independent of the Tuli tribe, he left and *konza'd* the Izinkumbi tribe, viz. Pobana's [Fynn's brother - William Fynn?]⁹³

25.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 42, pp. 9-17.

Mnini died somewhere about 10 years ago.

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

A tribe does not increase, in my opinion, where there is only one
 10 chief. Growth is brought about by offshoots, e.g. the Ngcobo tribe, which has the following independent sections, amongst others: the Nyuswa, Qadi, Ngongoma, amaOsiyana, amaTshangase, *the section*

(*Umlwandhle*) under Sotobe ka Dikwayo ka Mkalelwa, *the section* under Swayimana ka Sipuku ka Ntuli ka Mavela. There is also a section under Bacela (deceased), formerly under a relation of his, Tayi (mentioned in Tshaka's *praises*), just as a river is filled by small tributaries. Our Makanya tribe has become small and contracted because we are confined to 'one little ridge'. The proper process is to leave the main body in a peaceful way and go and build on a fresh site. The same principle is observed by Europeans, viz. Ladysmith, Eshowe, Stanger, Verulam, Harding, Ixopo, Richmond, Greytown etc. All these are off-shoots either of Pietermaritzburg or Durban. If only Durban had been built, there would have been no increase.

- 11 Disputes about succession is what tends to destroy tribes, for the members kill one another. It is due to expansion and desire for expansion that fights for land so frequently take place.

The Qwabe people are very numerous (among the people of, Mqawe (amaQadi), Mbozane (Ngongoma), and Dubuyana (Nyuswa). Dubuyana (deceased) is the true chief of the Nyuswa tribe. He lived where the Mona stream enters the Tongati. His son was Deliweyo, also deceased. I do not know the name of his heir or regent. The Qwabe people have settled in the tribes named, and numbers of others on the South Coast, due to being broken up by the Zulu *impis*.

- 12 The Embo people came from the Insuze district. They lived on both banks of the Tugela. Bambata ka Tshabase, *induna of Zihlandhlo*, was the first to *cross over*, also Bacwali ka Magaba, also Msengi, *the eldest son of Sambela (who followed Zihlandhlo in age)*. They left their district (the Embo district near the Insuze) and came into Natal. Bambata and Bacwali lived near Richmond, on the left bank of the Mkomazi. Msengi went and lived at eNhlazuka hill. (Mqolombeni is there as chief now.) They left somewhere about Tshaka's day, and were the first to come and live where the large sections of the Embo tribe are living near Richmond.

Zihlandhlo's section came and lived with Bambata when the Boers were fighting the Zulus.⁹⁴ Njana ka Mtinkulu *of the Mpunga people* came to live with Bacwali, and Sambela's followers went to Msengi.

The Embo people thus are quite recent arrivals in Natal. They say they came from Swaziland.

Ngwenyeni ka Bambata is still living - an authority on Embo matters. Would catch train at Camperdown.⁹⁵

Amalala. Among the tribes that are amalala are the Nyuswa, Ngcobo, Qadi, Cele (originally Mtetwa), Tuli, amaDunge, amaPumulo, amaPemu, Hlongwa, Bombo, Malangeni, amaNgcolosi, Mpumuza, Zondi. There were no amalala in Zululand except such as happened to be *given protection (to'wa'd)*.

- 13 Abanguni: Qwabe, Makanya, Cunu, Zulu, Biyela, Langa, Ntombela, Magwaza.⁹⁶ (The Zulu tribe were once spoken of as amaNtungwa because from the north.) Mandhlakazi.

Amantungwa (*those from up-country - aba senhla*): amaBele (upon the Buffalo river), Kumalo, Amabaso, Ntuli, Sitole, Tembu.⁹⁷

I do not know if the Amacube and Butelezi belong to the Abanguni or Amantungwa. [They are amalala says Sigananda in 1906.⁹⁸ See my other notebook.] The Ntungwa people were on the north. I do not know what

the Mtetwa would be, but the Cele, now said to be amaLala, originally came from the Mtetwa. The Dube, Mbonambi and others also belong to the Mtetwa.

I do not know what class the Ndwandwe and Nxumalo belong to.

The amaLala are the inhabitants of Natal in the coast districts.

- 14 Ndongakusuka was a kraal belonging to Zulu ka Nogandaya of the Qwabe tribe.⁹⁹ Zulu was of the Ncwana section of the Qwabe tribe. Ncwana is the one referred to in Pakatwayo's *praises*. It is probable the name Ndongakusuka is from that of the kraal given.

Ibuba is a disease like *ujovela* and is prevalent in Natal.¹⁰⁰

Authorities wanted: Mmemi re Qwabe tribe; Ngwenyeni ka Bambata re Embo tribe, coming of to Natal; Mqotoyi ka Mmini re Tuli tribe and names of fishes; Magambukazi re Langa; Faku ka Koto ka Msomi ka Mbengi re Langa tribe (*pays tax* at Ixopo under Chief Miskofeni - amaKuze); Sonsukwana ka Mfiti ka Soga ka Mbengi re Langa tribe (*pays tax* at Ixopo under Chief Miskofeni - amaKuze); Momololo ka Msomi ka Mbengi re Langa tribe (lives at the Mtwalume, high up, probably pays at Ixopo - do not know his chief).

It was in respect to the great massacre of the Qwabe people that Tshaka is said to have caused dongas to be filled with corpses. So vast was the massacre that the whole people left Zululand to settle in Natal, Pondoland and elsewhere. There is nowadays no section of the Qwabe tribe in Zululand. On seeing a member of the Qwabe tribe in Zululand, some old woman of the amaCunu tribe is said to have expressed the greatest surprise, believing, as the slaughter was so thorough, that every one must have been killed.

- 15 [I see on p. 23 of *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs etc.*,¹⁰¹ compiled by direction of Col. Maclean, the following, which is an extract from Rev. H.H. Dugmore's paper: 'Such a term (despotism - J.S.) may be applicable...to the tyranny of Tshaka, the head of the amaZulu, who would order a number of his people unarmed to catch a hippopotamus alive, and be obeyed, too, so far at least as the attempt was concerned, although it involved the certain and wanton sacrifice of many lives'. Mbovu has not heard of this.]

The iFenya is the wet or damp or moist country, i.e. the Bluff lands, the grounds occupied by Mmini. It is said to be land where crops are easily grown.

- 16 Mdhhlaka's father was Nceti [Ncidi - per Mmemi¹⁰²], i.e. Mdhhlaka, Tshaka's *induna*. [At Esiklebeni.] I do not know the names of Tshaka's *izinduna* in charge of the *impi* to Pondoland.¹⁰³ Tshaka *attacked* twice in Pondoland. First Nhlamba (Hlambamanzi) told him Hintsa had a regiment called the Inkonyane which, on starting, would be in the act of moving off all day - it moves off *company by company*. Tshaka was surprised at this and wanted to see this regiment. He sent out spies and an army past Howick, above Pietermaritzburg. This army merely seized cattle belonging to the Pondos. The army entered Siyoyo's district, emaCwereni. The people, seeing T.'s *impi* as large as a forest, ran off,

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leaving many of their cattle to be taken.

The later *expedition* was a deliberate attack on Faku. Tshaka's forces did not *hurl their assegais* but Faku's did.

There is a law or recognized custom among the natives regarding warfare, a law transgressed by Tshaka, to the effect that the victors must not spoil and seize the country of their foes, nor kill women and children.

- 17 This was the rule prior to Tshaka's day, and corresponded in a way to the agreement of Geneva re explosive bullets and other cruel acts.

The country was not taken. Tshaka, however, established colonies like Europeans.

10.11.1904, evening.

File 61, notebook 49, pp. 19-21.

Also present: Ngidi

- 19 Mbovu returns. 10.11.1904, evening. Ngidi present.

- 20 Tribes to inquire into: Embo, Qwabe, Zulu, Langa, Mtetwa, Ndwandwe, Cunu, Ngcobo, Tembu, Cube, Ntuli, Tuli, Cele.

Mkamangana can speak for the Embo tribe. Ndunge best to advise for the Cele tribe. Mqotoyi can speak for the Tuli tribe.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

Mbovu believes Tshaka killed Nandi. Ngidi disbelieves this, although he knows Nandi tried to save a child and was overcome with fear when reprimanded by Tshaka.

Fynn is said to have worn a loin-cover (*umutsha*) in Tshaka's presence.

.... <Praises of H.F. Fynn omitted - eds.>

- 21 Early Europeans: Kamungana, Febana ka Mjoji (Farewell), Mbuyazwe, Kolise, Wohlo, Pobana, Gadeni, Singqungu, Diki (King) or Mlamula-nkunzi.¹⁰⁴

13.11.1904, Sunday.

File 61, nbk. 49, pp. 21-4.

Men to be examined: Lokotwayo ka Manzini ka Magalela of the ama-Nganga tribe, offshoot of the Qwabe tribe; Ndunge ka Manqaba (brother of Xabatshe ka Mande ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli ka Langa ka Sondi). Manqabe is also a son of Mande of the Cele people.

I think the Cele tribe originally separated from that of the Mtetwa.

The tribes Qwabe, Langa, Zulu and Cunu all seem related to one another.

The Ngcobo (Nyuswa) seem to be related to the Abambo, who in their turn came from the Swazis. I am not sure of this.

I have heard that the amaTulis originally came from the Komo, a hill near the Insuze stream at Nkandhla, Zululand. They then came and built near the Bluff.

- 22 Mafingo ka Mkakasana is an elderly man and could be used for Makanya affairs.

I do not know where the Mtetwa tribe came from. It seems to be senior to the abaTembu and Nxumalo tribes. They seem to have sprung from one and the same source. They may have come down from the north between the Black Mfolozi and Pongolo.

The Zulu, amaMbata, Butelezi, and aba kwa Makoba seem to have *come down* along the same route, viz. down the White Mfolozi. The tradition I have heard is that the Langa, Cunu, Qwabe and Zulu *originated* at the source of the Mhlatuze, and that we came from aBesutu, but I do not know what Besutu this refers to. This idea of coming from the Basuto is certainly prevalent.

23 I hear the Iziyendane people, of somewhere in the north, originated about the same time as the Qwabes, Zulus etc. I do not know where Ziyendane come from but Tshaka had a regiment of Ziyendane who cut only red shields.¹⁰⁵ They had no *ikanda* that I know of. I know he *made war* with them. Many went off with Nqeto when he ran away. Others probably went off towards their homes. The *Iziyendane of Nonzama*, their chief - '*it does not go in; it goes in by force*', i.e. the penis only goes in by being forced in. They are amaNtungwa, i.e. *together with the Besutu*. The Iziyendane were *in the forefront of the army* in Tshaka's day, i.e. the first men to attack - in the van. They had a reputation for *fighting*.

As the amaXoza are known as abeNguni, so I think they originally came from the Qwabe, who are also known as abaNguni.

The Zulus are spoken of as coming from Sibiya, the Langa ancestor.

24 It is curious that the Qwabe should be called Mnguni whereas the Langa, Cunu, and Zulu are not so called. The three latter are abaNtungwa. The amaNganga section of the Qwabe tribe *came down* the Mhlatuze with us. I cannot understand why the Abambo should have come to build where they did, seeing they came from Swaziland instead of coming between the Pongolo and White Mfolozi.

Nxaba ka Mbekane ka Msane I think *departed* from Zululand before Sotshangana. After the latter came Somveli.¹⁰⁶

An *impi* of Tshaka's *went to fetch* Nxaba and the cattle he had taken at eCwebeyeni, i.e. *in the amaNhlwenga country*.¹⁰⁷ Makasane, the Tonga king, ordered his troops out, seeing Nxaba fleeing with cattle, and wanted them to seize the cattle.¹⁰⁸ They replied, '*Leave us alone, son of Mxali ka Tembe; we shall fetch them at dawn, when there is dew.*' They did not go, so the Zulus came up and seized the cattle. These were Tshaka's troops. It was Tshaka, not Dingiswayo who caused Nxaba to leave. Both Nxaba and Sotshangana made their way through Tongaland. Sotshangana's followers were the Nxumalo, i.e. Ndwandwes. Sotshangana ka Zikode ka Malusi, and Zwide ka Langa ka Malusi.¹⁰⁹ [13.11.1904]

Notes

¹Jantshi kaNongila was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.

²Ndlovu kaTimuni was chief of a section of Zulu.

³The political head, or Secretary, of the Department of Native Affairs in Natal from 1899 to 1903 was F.R. Moor. The civil service head, or Under-Secretary, of the department from 1893 to 1909 was S.O. Samuelson.

⁴*Uzulumeni* (*uhulumeni* in modern orthography) is the Zulu word for

government.

- ⁵*Umntu*, literally a person, is here used to mean a black person.
- ⁶These names are in reverse chronological order, starting with the most recent chief. Cf. the line of Qwabe chiefs in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 209.
- ⁷These names, like those in the preceding list, are in reverse chronological order.
- ⁸Cf. the accounts of Qwabe and Zulu origins in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19-20; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 208, vol. 2, pp. 84, 255.
- ⁹Mthambo was chief of the Makhanya in the Umlazi division.
- ¹⁰The Nyezane is a stream between Gingindlovu and Eshowe.
- ¹¹On the expression 'ofe' or 'hofs' see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 176, vol. 2, pp. 45, 97.
- ¹²Francis Farewell led a group of white hunters and traders from the Cape to Port Natal in 1824. Nhamba or Hlambamanzi, alias Jakot or Jacob, was a man from the eastern Cape who achieved some prominence in the service of Shaka and Dingane. On the circumstances of his arrival in the Zulu kingdom in 1823 see Fynn, Diary, pp. 52, 53.
- ¹³Ndunge was chief of the Cele in the Umlazi division.
- ¹⁴Cf. the Thuli chiefly genealogies in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506; Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 265, 283 ff.
- ¹⁵I.e. Durban Bluff.
- ¹⁶Mcothoyi was chief of the Thuli in the Umlazi and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ¹⁷The isAngqu *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.
- ¹⁸Mashwili kaMngoye was chief of the Mthethwa people in the Mapumulo division.
- ¹⁹The Nonothi is a stream north of present-day Stanger.
- ²⁰Nqetho kaKhondlo of the Qwabe led a secession from Dingane's Zulu kingdom soon after Shaka's assassination in September 1828.
- ²¹Mvundlana kaMenziwa, head of the Biyela section of the Zulu royal house, had won fame as a warrior in the time of Shaka.
- ²²*Umlungu* is the Zulu for white person. The noun *umlumbi* (pl. *abalumbi*), meaning worker of wonders, inventor, trickster, derives from the verb *ukulumba*, to work wonders.
- ²³Ndengezi (praise-name: Ndengezi-matshumi) kaKhuzwayo of the Mdlalose people was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 107, vol. 2, pp. 52-3.
- ²⁴Tilonko kaNgunezi was chief of the Mkhize or Mbo in the Umgeni division.
- ²⁵Charlie Fynn was chief of the iziNkumbi people in the Alexandra and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ²⁶Febana was Francis Farewell, Gadeni was Captain Allen Gardiner, Sifile and Mbuyazwe were names for Henry Francis Fynn senior. The Toohey referred to is probably D.C. Toohey.
- ²⁷The murder of Farewell by Nqetho took place in September 1829.
- ²⁸The references are to Henry Ogle and to either Christopher or George Cato.
- ²⁹Captain T.C. Smith led a British occupation force to Port Natal in 1842. Dick King achieved fame for his ride from Port Natal to Grahams-town in May-June 1842 to summon help after Smith's force had been besieged by a force of Boers.
- ³⁰Ndongeni kaXoki is well known in Natal popular history for accom-

- panying Dick King on the first stage of his ride from Durban to Grahamstown. In 1898 the Natal government rewarded him for his services on this occasion by presenting him with a piece of land on the north bank of the Mzimkhulu river ten or twelve kilometres north-west of Port Shepstone. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 4, 6. Mboshwa was chief of the Shaba people in the Lower Umzimkulu division.
- ³¹Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- ³²Mpande seceded from Dingane's kingdom with a section of the Zulu people in 1839. The event came to be remembered among the Zulu as *ukudabuka kwegoda*, i.e. the breaking of the rope (that held the nation together).
- ³³The *umqholiso* beast is the 'beast given by the bridegroom's people to a bride on the day after her wedding, to be slaughtered for the feasting of the bridal-party' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 540).
- ³⁴*Isibhalo*, derived from the verb *ukubhala*, to write down, to register, was the Zulu term for the system of forced labour employed by successive Natal colonial governments.
- ³⁵Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone.
- ³⁶Hintsa, son of Khawuta, was chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa from the late 1790s until his death in 1835. For discussion of the terms Nguni and Mbo see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 3 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, vols. 1 & 2, index.
- ³⁷*Isishimeyana* is an intoxicating drink made from treacle.
- ³⁸On the *ukweshwama* harvest ceremonies, see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 511-13; Krige, Social System, pp. 250-2.
- ³⁹Mgitshwa kaMvundlana of the Biyela people lived near the Ngoye hills at the time of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ⁴⁰Ndunge was chief of the Cele in the Umlazi division, and Bhkameva of those in the Ixopo division.
- ⁴¹Cf. the Cele chiefly genealogies in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 544; Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 68, 232, 233, 309-10.
- ⁴²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 348, gives *umlanda* (pl. *abalanda*) as 'term applied by any member of the husband's family...to any member of the wife's family (except her father and mothers...)'.
⁴³Mshweshwe was chief of the Cele in the Alfred and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ⁴⁴Zulu kaNogandaya was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time.
- ⁴⁵John Cane hunted and traded from Port Natal in the period 1824-38.
- ⁴⁶Khofiyana kaMbengana was a refugee from Shaka who took service with the British traders at Port Natal and accumulated a number of adherents.
- ⁴⁷Mboshwa was chief of the Shaba people in the Lower Umzimkulu division.
- ⁴⁸Nandi was Shaka's mother. Disagreement exists as to her paternity.
- ⁴⁹I.e. the identity of Nandi's father.
- ⁵⁰Stuart's notes at this point become so terse as to be difficult to interpret. Our translations may be misleading.
- ⁵¹The reference is to the unpopular expedition against Soshangane which Shaka organized in the latter part of 1828. In September of that year, while his army was still away, he was assassinated.
- ⁵²We have been unable to identify this person.
- ⁵³Near Pietermaritzburg.

- ⁵⁴Cf. the Mkhize (Mbo) chiefly genealogies in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118, vol. 2, pp. 90, 205, 279.
- ⁵⁵We have been unable to identify this 'custom'; the reference may be to rule by a woman (*inkosazana*).
- ⁵⁶I.e. in 1839.
- ⁵⁷On the abstentions from milk and curds (*amasi*) practised among the Zulu see Krige, Social System, p. 383; Raum, Social Functions of Avoidances and Taboos, pp. 336-77.
- ⁵⁸Sigcawu, son of Mqikela and grandson of Faku, succeeded his father as chief of the Mpondo in 1888.
- ⁵⁹Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century.
- ⁶⁰'*Bayede!*' was a salutation applied to the Zulu king.
- ⁶¹The names given are those of the line of Qadi chiefs: see Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119, vol. 2, pp. 47, 52. Mqawe was chief of the Qadi in the Mapumulo, Umgeni, Lower Tugela, Indwedwe, Inanda, and Impendle divisions.
- ⁶²Cf. the Nyuswa chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119.
- ⁶³Swayimana was chief of the Nyuswa people in the Mapumulo, Umvoti, and New Hanover divisions.
- ⁶⁴The Msunduze river, which runs through Pietermaritzburg, rises in the hills to the south-west. There is a railway station named Hemuhemu 30 kilometres south-west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ⁶⁵Kaduphi (Gaduphi) was chief of the Ngcobo in the Ixopo and Alexandra divisions.
- ⁶⁶Sothobe was chief of the Nyuswa in the Indwedwe and Inanda divisions.
- ⁶⁷Mbozane was chief of the Ngongoma people in the Inanda division.
- ⁶⁸The names are those of the line of Thuli chiefs: see notes 14 and 16 above.
- ⁶⁹The reference is to J. Bird, The Annals of Natal, vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, p. 150.
- ⁷⁰Mtambo was chief of the Makhanya in the Umlazi division. Mthandeni was the name of an ancestral Qwabe *umuzi*: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186.
- ⁷¹The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5 had under consideration the question of representation of African interests through councils.
- ⁷²For Sigcawu see note 58 above. Lerothodi, grandson of Moshoeshoe, was paramount chief of the Sotho in Basutoland from 1891 to 1905.
- ⁷³Literally, the new ones.
- ⁷⁴'We' in this context presumably refers to the Natal government.
- ⁷⁵Presumably a reference to the marriage regulations introduced by the Natal government in 1869: see Welsh, Roots of Segregation, ch. 5.
- ⁷⁶Henrique Shepstone, son of Theophilus, was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1884 to 1893. T.R. Bennett was resident magistrate of Lower Tugela division from 1891 to 1894.
- ⁷⁷Meseni was chief of the Qwabe in the Mapumulo, Lower Tugela, Indwedwe, and Inanda divisions. His¹ father Musi died in 1892 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186).
- ⁷⁸Mnengwa was chief of the Makhanya.
- ⁷⁹Shaka was assassinated at his Dukuza *umuzi* near present-day Stanger in September 1828.
- ⁸⁰Magugu was presumably another name for Nqeto.

- ⁸¹Xalashe was presumably Nicolaas Lochenberg, a fugitive from the Cape colony who established himself as an ivory-hunter in the Xhosa country in the late 1790s. He was killed in a skirmish with Nqeto's Qwabe in mid-1829. See Holt, 'Nicolaas Lochenberg', Africana Notes and News, vol. 11 (1953-5), pp. 3-9.
- ⁸²Hans Lochenberg, who became an interpreter to the Wesleyan missionaries working among the peoples of what is now the Transkei.
- ⁸³Faku was chief of the Mpondo.
- ⁸⁴Matiwane kaMasumpa, chief of the amaNgwane, was put to death by Dingane soon after the latter's accession to the Zulu kingship.
- ⁸⁵Ngcaphayi and his father Madzikane were chiefs of the Bhaca.
- ⁸⁶*Uhlonze* is the skin from the front of a beast's head.
- ⁸⁷Bryant, Olden Times, p. 366, gives Bhidla as chief in the 1820s and 1830s of the ekuNene section of the Dlamini, to which the Khuze and Hlangwini are closely related.
- ⁸⁸Ndondakusuka is a locality on the north bank of the Thukela near its mouth. Two battles were fought in the vicinity in historical times: the first in April 1838 between a Zulu force and a cattle-raiding expedition from Port Natal; the second in December 1856 between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, sons of Mpande who were contending for the succession to the Zulu kingship.
- ⁸⁹The verb *ukungena*, literally to enter, here means to take to wife the widow of a deceased male relative in order to raise a house for him.
- ⁹⁰The *insonyama*, or meat covering a beast's ribs, was the perquisite of the head of the *umuzi*.
- ⁹¹For the meaning of *abalumbi* and *abelungu* see note 22 above. The reference is to Nathaniel Isaacs's book, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, London, 1836.
- ⁹²For discussion of the term Lala see the references as for note 36 above.
- ⁹³Phobana was Frank Fynn, brother of Henry Francis and of William. The Fynns' African adherents were known as the iziNkumbi.
- ⁹⁴I.e. in the period 1838-40.
- ⁹⁵This paragraph occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.
- ⁹⁶For discussion of the term Nguni see the references as for note 36 above.
- ⁹⁷For discussion of the term Ntungwa see the references as for note 36 above.
- ⁹⁸Sigananda kaZokufa, chief of the Cube, was another of Stuart's informants. The original notes of his evidence appear to be missing from the Stuart Collection.
- ⁹⁹Zulu kaNogandaya was a notable warrior in Shaka's army.
- ¹⁰⁰Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 50, 725, gives *ibuba* as a type of syphilis, and *ujovele* (= *izembe*) as 'certain disease...appearing as dysentery, bleeding from bladder, bleeding from the stomach, kidney diseases...'.
¹⁰¹J. Maclean, Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs, Cape Town, 1866.
- ¹⁰²Another of Stuart's informants: see his evidence in this volume.
- ¹⁰³Shaka launched an attack on the Mpondo in 1824 and another in 1828.
- ¹⁰⁴Respectively Captain Allen Gardiner, Francis Farewell, Henry Francis Fynn senior, James Collis, Henry Ogle, Frank Fynn, Captain Allen Gardiner, D.C. Toohey, Dick King.
- ¹⁰⁵Bryant, Olden Times, p. 590, gives iziYendane as the Zulu name for people of the Hlubi and related clans.
- ¹⁰⁶Nxaba of the Msane people and Soshangane of the Ndwandwe both fled

northwards from the Zulu country with bodies of followers in the early 1820s. Somveli, a son of Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa, also fled northwards to escape Shaka's rule.

¹⁰⁷*Inhlengwa* (pl. *amahlengwa*) was a derogatory name applied by the Zulu to the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples.

¹⁰⁸Makhasana(e) was chief of the Mabhudu branch of the Tembe Tsonga from the early nineteenth century to the 1850s.

¹⁰⁹Cf. the genealogies in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 161; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 64, 354.