

MQAIKANA KA YENGE

9.5.1916. Pietermaritzburg.

File 57, nbk. 1, pp. 3-28.

Also present for part of interview: Dunjwa ka Mabedhla

- 3 Mqaikana (alias Tomu) ka Yenge ka Nontshiza ka Mpumuza ka Makweta (Makweza) ka Sobangwa ka Luqa ka Gagatshe ka Nhlabitshileko [notice the 'k' instead of 'y' here] ka Lusibalukulu ka Dhlamini ka Mdhlovu.¹ I cannot go further. I know that Mdhlovu is the last, not Dhlamini, and that he is father of Dhlamini. I am of the Zondi tribe.

I am of the same age as the Tulwana (Mboza) regiment.² I am of the same age as Cetshwayo.³ [I reckon after three days talking with Mqaikana that he was born about 1830 or 1831, for he says on p. 19 of next notebook that he was *herding calves* when the first Ndondakusuka battle was fought, April 1839.]⁴ I know of the killing of Piet Retief. It happened some time after I was born.⁵

I was born at eMrolweni - name of a place (of forests) near Howick waterfall. That is where our chief Xesibe died. He was *followed in age* by Nobanda, the father of Teteleku, who again was father of my present chief Laduma.⁶

- 4 I was born *in the open country*, i.e. in the veld, for no kraals had as then been built. There were no kraals in the country at the time owing to Tshaka's wars. There were many wild beasts; these we lived on, especially *buffalo*, whose flesh was cut into *imqwaiba*; also *elephants*. That is, it was made into biltong (*umqwayiba*). This meat, when dried, was afterwards ground down and mixed with the fat of *hippopotamuses* and eaten by children when in that state. When a *buffalo* was killed, or an elephant, the men would have their belongings packed and all proceed to where the animal had been killed and there proceed to live for a time, erecting temporary shelters with branches where the dead animal was. And when a report came of another such animal having been killed, others would repair to it in the same way and erect temporary shelters there. When Tshaka killed off people in Natal, the great majority fled south to Pondoland. After a time, many returned, but were afraid at first of erecting huts, for fear of the Zulu *impis* coming, so they acted on the lines above stated.

- 5 I am of the Zondi tribe. The Zondi people *separated from the Dhlamini people*.

Laduma, my present chief, is the son of Teteleku ka Nobanda ka Ngwane ka Mpumuza ka [see for the rest as on p. 3]. The great Zondi chief is Mhlola (alias Magqubu) ka Mzimba ka Dibinyika ka Dhlaba ka Nomagaga ka Nsele.⁷ [On p. 27 Nsele is mentioned, but a different

man, of the emaKuzeni tribe.]

Another branch of the Zondi tribe is that of Bambata ka Mancinza ka Jangeni ka Magenge ka Nomatshumi.⁸

I belong to the section of which Laduma is chief. We are called the amaMpumuza, and this was done after our ancestor of that name.

I can *recite the praises of Xesibe, Ngwane, Teteleku, Mpumuza, Nobanda.*

Nomagaga and Dhlaba were both very prominent chiefs of the Zondi tribe. Nomagaga was buried at eNadi.⁹ Dhlaba was killed by Boers. He left his *impi* at eNadi and came with three men to *konza* Madhlenya near Pietermaritzburg, father of Hemuhemu.¹⁰ I do not know why he left his *impi* behind and came practically alone to Madhlenya of the Funze tribe. Whilst so *konzaing*, his *impi* made a practice of going out to steal some of the cattle which had been paid over to them by the Zulus. And when any particular theft was committed a report would be sent to Dhlaba who gave instructions as to how the cattle should be disposed of, i.e. kept.

A man, *Ndakayi*, who was a policeman, went off to the bush-country, there at eNadi. He came and found meat being cooked. He strutted about in an important way, as he had come from *chiefs* (i.e. Boers). Those of Dhlaba's people then struck him on the head. Ndakayi left the blood on his head and went back to the Boers. *He staggered along, having left the blood all over his head.* He came to his master (Boer) and reported what had happened. *'You Boers should be at war with Dhlaba; all Dingana's cattle are with him.'* Upon this two Boers (mounted) went to eNadi. They looked on from the top of a hill and saw that the cattle were very numerous; *there were great masses of them.* After satisfying themselves, they returned to say that *Ndakayi had spoken the truth.* Upon this, Dhlaba was summoned. Upon this, Dhlaba was tied up with *Bele of the emaNcwabeni people* - one's arm tied to the other's. *Bele lived very close to one another in the amaFunze tribe <sic>.* Bele had, previously to Dhlaba, *konza'd* Madhlenya. Upon being tied and arrested they were brought to Mgungundhlovu.

The name Mgungundhlovu was the name of Dingana's great kraal. This was burnt and destroyed by the Boers, so we natives called Pietermaritzburg Mgungundhlovu because the other had been destroyed, and when we (English) turned the Boers out and destroyed Pietermaritzburg we resuscitated it, and we continued for that reason to call it Mgungundhlovu.¹¹ I agree that Mgungundhlovu may be derived from the bend of elephant tusks.

The name Mgungundhlovu was given only after Dingana's great kraal had been destroyed.

8 The names of the three who came with Dhlaba to *konza* Madhlenya were Qambi, Zilwako, and another. As soon as Dhlaba was placed under arrest, the three men went to the iNadi to report *that the chief had been arrested.* The men of Dhlaba's tribe then took a large number of the very cattle they had stolen, and brought them as ransom for Dhlaba to the Boers! When the cattle appeared at Kettlefontein, the Boers ordered Dhlaba to be brought out of gaol and to be shot by an *ilau* with a gun.¹² He was shot near the Msunduze and below the gaol. The Hottentot shot Dhlaba just as the leading cattle were entering

Pietermaritzburg. Upon this Bele *was overcome by fear* and expired. The Boers then took all the cattle. After this Dhlaba's *people broke up* and came to Zwartkop location and there lived next to one another.¹³

9 Ngwane, father of Nobanda, was killed at the Tugela, near eNgome, on returning from a raid he had successfully made on the amaXasibe tribe, on the south side of the Tugela. He was walking some way behind the cattle that had been seized, with three others, when the enemy, seeing this, rushed up and stabbed him to death. He was killed during Tshaka's reign.

It was Nobanda who came first to live where Laduma now is. After Dhlaba's death, his (Dhlaba's) tribe came to live where Nobanda was at Zwartkop location. They did not *konza* Nobanda as, of course, they were the principal section of the Zondi tribe, but the two sections became independent of one another.

Nobanda, during the Tshaka wars, remained with Mtsholozzi ka Mato-mela ka Tshisa *of the Zuma people*, i.e. the amaNxamalala.¹⁴ Their *isibongo* is Zuma and their *address-name* is Nxamalala. Nxamalala is really the name of the district or people.

10 Nobanda was killed near eDhlokweni drift, on the Tugela, when whites went to attack Dingana (probably at Ndondakusuka). My father, Yenge, was after this fetched to come and act as guardian for Teteleku. I was quite able by that time to see and understand things. I was older than Teteleku.

When my father was acting for Nobanda the Boers arrived on the scene, and it was on their coming that we began to *accumulate a few cattle*. We got them by selling mealies, on the cob, to the Boers. We used to buy goats with pumpkins. If the mealie cobs, with their 'sheaths' on them, filled a tent waggon, i.e. up to the top of the plank sides, we were told to go and *pick out a beast for ourselves*.

Fodo after this induced the Boers to go and *attack* Ncapayi, the Baca chief.¹⁵ The cattle were all seized from the Bacas and brought back. The 'voorlopers' were all given a beast each for their services.

11 When the heifers were pregnant the Boers announced that *the British had come over the sea* and were at Durban.¹⁶ The Boers then armed and went to Durban. There they found but few troops. They shut them in.

.... <Praises of Mpumuza kaMakhwetha, Ngwane kaMpumuza, Xesibe kaNgwane, Nobanda, Teteleku kaNobanda, Nontshiza kaMpumuza, Yenge kaNontshiza, Luthuli kaNobanda, and Mthiyane kaNobanda omitted - eds.>

25 Macibise was an iBaca.¹⁷ I do not know her father. Her kraal was where Pietermaritzburg was. She was a chieftainess. People say *her impi used to fight fiercely*.

Tshaka must have got his power from the Almighty. His cunning was superhuman.

26 We Zondi are amaLala, having been so called by the Zulus who defeated us.¹⁸ By so speaking they *insulted* us.

We Zondi people, being Dhlaminis, *originated in the Swazi country* [vide p. 49, 50]. We left the Swazi country with Lusibalukulu. When he left the Swazi country Lusibalukulu was ill; he died along the way.

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His people then went on under Makata, the induna. At that time Dhlamini was still small; the people were led by the induna. When they came here (Natal), they assembled on a hill in a wooded area where all types of trees grew, both those of the bush-country and those of the open veld. I have seen the forest; I was on my way to the Bomvu country. There was an apportioning of places to live. It was said that we, the Nadi people, should go to the Nadi river. Then it was the turn of the Dunge people; it was said that they should build on the lower Mvoti, where the Funze people are. Then it was said that the
27 Kabela people should build below us Nadi people, there where they are today. It was said that the Ngcolosi people should go below the Kabela people to the emaNdhlalazi; the amaPepeta were to go to Ntunjambili, opposite the Ngcolosi.¹⁹ It was said that the Dhlamini should build where the Cunu people of Pakade are today;²⁰ it was said that Gwamanda should cross the Tukela and go and build at the eMzinga.²¹ Gwamanda is the ancestor of Miskofeli. Gwamanda fathered Sivunga, who fathered Nsele, who fathered Dhlomo, who fathered Nomagaga [see p. 5 - Nomagaga ka Nsele], who fathered Mmiso, who fathered Kukulela, who fathered Miskofeli.²² The people under Miskofeli (the Kuze people) are amaDhlamini. Bidhla, Kukulela, Mbazwana, Fodo ka Nombewu, and Sidoyi ka Baleni are all chiefs of sections of the Dhlamini tribe.²³

Dunjwa ka Mabedhla, of the Magwaza people (who is present for a few minutes), says Bidhla is to the Dhlamini tribes what Mhlola ka
28 Mzimba is to the Zondi tribes.²⁴

Dhlamini

- (a) Gcokoda ka Tshaka ka Bidhla ka Ngonyama
- (b) Mafohla ka Dhlanguana ka Bidhla ka Ngonyama
- (c) Miskofili ka Kukulela ka Mmiso ka Nomagaga
- (d) Zidunge ka Mbazwana ka Nomagaga ka <sic>²⁵
- (e) ... <sic> ka Fodo ka Nombewu

[Dunjwa leaves here.]

Per Mqaikana.

Zondi

- (a) Mhlola ka Mzimba ka Dibinyika ka Dhlaba
- (b) Laduma ka Teteleku ka Nobanda ka Ngwane
- (c) Funizwe ka Mancinza ka Jangeni ka Magenge

The name Zondi came from the fact that they disliked (*zonda'd*) a girl. They were called the people of Zondi because they had done wrong. This name was started after we had got to Natal, and when we separated from the parent tribe, the Dhlamini. We are informed that our great chief was Bidhla.

The reason of Lusibalukulu leaving Swaziland was a dispute, as far as I can hear.

10.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 1, pp. 29-54.

29 'Rock of Ntunjambili! Rock of Ntunjambili! Open for me that I may enter.'

An ancient story.

The very old women, whilst I was still a child, used to tell me of how people in former ages went to a house and knocked at the door, saying as above. After this the door would be opened by a *cannibal*, with very long hair. Owing to the fact of knocking at a door, and a door of a house, it seemed to me that there must be some kind of reality in the story; and possibly in the very remote past our ancestors had indeed come to some house like a white man's, knocked, and asked admission there. That is a thought which has often passed through my mind.

- 30 Cannibals. When Tshaka *destroyed the country*, people took to sleeping in the veld and wandering about, attacked by hyenas etc. Then other people started hunting human beings and eating them. In later years they stopped the practice. But those who resorted to it formerly are known and are pointed out, though they greatly resent being told they used to be cannibals.

.... <At this point in the original, Stuart records a series of statements made by Mqayikana on beliefs in the existence of a Deity. These we have omitted, as they are followed immediately by a repetitious and more detailed set of notes on the same subject - eds.>

- 31 Before missionaries appeared in this part of Natal we were in the habit of referring to a *chief above* (*inkos' epezulu*). For instance, several of us might be playing some game, using some thing or other to play with. Suddenly the thing being so used by one of the players would disappear, taken by one of those present, upon which the child
32 who had lost it would challenge one of the party with having taken it. If the one challenged had not indeed taken it, it would be necessary to prove his innocence by swearing. The first impulse would be to swear by the tribal chief, but the loser of the article might not be satisfied with such assurance, upon which the one challenged would hold near his mouth the first finger of his right hand pointed upwards, and after either slightly spitting at the top of the finger or pretending to spit, hold the finger up towards the sky, as if to indicate the *chief* (*inkosi*) said to be there. Such swearing would then be taken as conclusive.

<The paragraph that follows occurs as a marginal insertion on p. 30 of the original - eds.>

Even if he only blows on finger, first finger of right hand, unless left-handed person, then first finger of left, and point it upwards after doing so.

An ancient belief is that there is an *uNkulunkulu* or *Umvelingangi*, also called *uKulukulwane*; that he is a person, and the person who created all things, after pushing the ocean back and prescribing its limits.²⁶ This is the person who created men, animals, rivers, mountains, food and water. The earliest natives knew of his existence, believed in it, but could not say what this person was like.

Thus pure native belief was practically identical with that of *kolwas* in this regard.

- 33 *The Baca and Mpondo.*

These people used not to gird the loins (*binca*), but to use the red fruit of the *imfingo* fern. If this fell off they would tie up the

tip of the penis with grass. A man would then be regarded as wearing a penis-cover. They would sit before women in this condition.

When the *umkosi* was held annually (known by Bacas as *ingcube*), women would dress up, but the men would practically be nude. After the ceremony, when making homewards, the men would lie with one another's women. It was the custom to do this. Adultery does not seem to be an offence among them, except with particular individuals who resent it.

The Bacas are Zulus. *They are the people of Lufenulwenja.*²⁷ *They are the people of the vagina (msunu); it is small because it needs the vagina; the amavebi; the amawabana.*²⁸ These are their praises. When they give praise, as for food, they say, 'Ezulu.'

We pushed them on; they went on further, i.e. we Zondis, pressed by Tshaka's *impis*, pushed or drove or shoved them, the Bacas, further on. They formerly lived about Cedara and near Pietermaritzburg, i.e. land we now have.²⁹

34 Zondi customs - peculiar to tribe.

Taboo. We of Laduma's tribe do not eat hare.

At the birth of a child, i.e. when first carried, it is taken to the cattle enclosure. He or she is then cut on the tips of the little finger of each hand; the infant is also cut (scratched) on the cheeks, about the cheek bones, forehead, and on either side of the chin. Bleeding results. The child's face is then smeared with ochre; this is done so that the cuts should heal. This clay is put on only at the time of the child being cut.

This is the distinguishing mark (*upawu*) of the Zondi people. If the child is not done, it will cry greatly, and it may defecate indoors (i.e. void). The reason is it wants to be treated as above.

35 If a big man of the tribe dies, the matter will be reported with an ox to the chief, as to Laduma; this is the case even if the person who has died is in other parts. For instance, my father Yenge died in Kukulela's tribe; I handed over a young *iwaba* ox, and gave it to my chief, Teteleku. I was my father's heir. The ox is paid to the chief by the heir, and is paid even in the year following the death. It is said that he pays the *inhloko* beast, the *inhloko* beast of the person who has died.

I do not know if the practice is still conformed to. I have not heard of this being done in our sister Inadi tribe. I heard of its being observed in the Tembu tribe. Mantshinga, an *iduna* of the Tembu tribe, a man of some importance, died whilst he was *konzang* Sidoyi ka Baleni - died a natural death.³⁰ An ox was thereupon taken and paid to the chief, Nodada, of the Tembu tribe, i.e. his *inhloko* beast was paid.

Thus the Tembu tribe corresponds in this respect to our Mpumuza section of the Zondi tribe. I know of no observance of this custom by other sections of the Zondi tribe or among the Dhlamini people now under Miskofeli.

On my grandfather Nontshiza's death, an ox was paid over to Teteleku - i.e. his *inhloko* beast was paid.

36 The meaning of the practice is to report in that way the death of a man of high standing in the tribe.

Whilst we were still an independent tribe, if any man of importance

died and the beast was not paid, an inquiry would arise as to where he was *reported*, and if it could not be shown that the report had been made in accordance with custom, the person who was responsible for making the report would be put to death.

When the time arrived for our chief to *put on the headring*, the important men would each contribute an ox, and others in the tribe a beast each according to his means. These cattle would all be conveyed to the chief, and whilst *the putting on of the headring was taking place*, there would be eating of meat. After that was over, the rest of the cattle would remain with him as his property.

Our chief formerly used to *sew on the headring* with *sinew* which was fetched from another tribe by means of an *impi*. This practice has been discontinued since the coming of the white people. And as
37 regards *the performance of the preliminary first-fruits rituals (tshwamaing)*, our chief used to *perform them* with what was obtained from 'elsewhere' and not from members of the tribe.³¹

I formerly had a headring, but now being old, it has dropped off as there is insufficient hair to hold it.

Fodo.

I grew up in Fodo's district, some little way below Madonela's (Strachan's Drift), Umzimkulu.³²

Fodo received instructions from Dingana to encourage the re-populating of Natal. He was directed to assign land to those who came back to live here and to tell them to start *cultivating* again. Fodo accordingly gave out the land. Nobanda, father of Teteleku, is one of those who was given land by Fodo, viz. the land on which Laduma now is.

Kukulela was born in Zululand, and was carried into Natal as a
38 child after his father Mmiso was put to death by Dingana. Fodo was a son of Nombewu ka Gasa ka -- <sic> *of the Dhlamini people*. I knew Fodo well. He used to give us meat whilst we were boys. I grew up in his district.

When Nobanda was killed at Dhlokweni (Tugela), my father Yenge was sent for by the Mpumuza people; he then was living in Fodo's district. My father then, as already stated, acted as guardian for Teteleku.

Dingana told Fodo not to cross the Umzimkulu and occupy land there, for the land south of the river belonged to Faku, the Pondo king. Fodo was directed to regard the Mzimkulu as the most southern boundary of the Zulu kingdom.

The question of Nobanda going further from Zululand was discussed by the tribe. My father discussed matters with them. By that time the people had fairly settled down and tasted *amabele* once more, and so were disinclined to go from where they were, although there always
39 seemed to be a possibility of being attacked by a Zulu *impi* under Dingana. The tribe replied that in the event of Zulus arriving to kill or raid them, they would protect their chief Nobanda by carrying him off to Nomsimekwana's district near Table Mountain.³³ My father said, 'Alright! I, however, prefer to go further on.' So he decided to go and *konza* Fodo until such time as the danger of the tribe being attacked by Zulus should have passed, when he could return to the tribe.

Fodo formerly had his district just above the Mkomazi bridge, and where the Ifafa enters the Mkomazi. My father, taking me and his other children with him, first lived in that district. Whilst living there, Baleni, father of Sidoyi and 'brother' of Fodo, came to Fodo to ask for land to live on, for Fodo had been appointed by Dingana to *assign land to the people*. Upon this Fodo said to his tribe that he would
 40 give the district he was then living on to his brother Baleni and go and live at the Mzimkulu, where stated. It was upon this that all of us who belonged to Fodo left to live at the Mzimkulu.

It was because Fodo had instructions from Dingana to dole out the land, and also to go on and on occupying until he got to the Mzimkulu, that he gave up his district at the Mkomazi to Baleni. His wish was to occupy the very boundary of the Zulu kingdom, as by so doing he would better obey the king's instruction.

Fodo used to carry *genet skins, blue-monkey skins, and crane feathers* to Dingana. That is what he *paid tribute* with. He was not otherwise a hunter.

Dumisa ka Mvenya, father of Saoti, is the one who hunted *elephant* and so was able to set up his *umuzi*.³⁴

Fodo was told to encourage agriculture in Natal because Dingana had it in mind to attack the Pondos as Tshaka had done and get cattle there. What Dingana wanted to provide against was this. When his
 41 armies were on their return from attacking the Pondos he did not want them to return in a starving state, hence Fodo was to encourage planting of crops and to caution the people not to be afraid if they saw the Zulu army, for all the army wanted was to eat their *amabele* but not to kill them. Dingana said Tshaka's *impis* had come back in a famished state owing to Tshaka having cleared the population out of Natal.

The responsibility of assigning land to people came to be placed on Fodo through his frequent visits to Dingana carrying *genet skins, blue-monkey skins, and crane feathers*. At last Dingana inquired into his rank and gave him the orders referred to. He was told to *bring the amahobo out of the bushes*, i.e. those who were constantly living in hiding and possessed of no property.

Nobanda sent Nondabula ka Mandangu and Mhlaluka to Fodo to ask for
 42 land on which to live.³⁵ It was then that Fodo gave the land Laduma is now on.³⁶ Madhlenya, father of Hemuhemu of the Funze tribe, was assigned land at eFabe at the Umlaza river, at forests. The amaFunze came to where they now are because Nobanda had not sufficient people to occupy it - *it remained empty*.³⁷ All the land Mhlola is now on was formerly given by Fodo to Nobanda.

When Tshaka's *impis* raided Natal a great many people fled southwards. Nobanda, with a few people, however, remained in Natal and took refuge with Mtsholozu of the Zuma people, then living in what is now the Bomvu district near the Umpanza.³⁸ Nobanda was still a boy at that time.

Our chief Xesibe was killed at Mrolweni.³⁹ [See p. 37 of next note-book for elaboration of this story.] His people, chased by Tshaka's *impi*, went off towards Pondoland, where the Pondos resisted their
 43 entry. They then turned back. My father Yenge was among them, I not being born at that time. My father returned and lived at Emrolweni, and it was there that *buffalo, elephant and hippopotamus*

were eaten, as related yesterday. The land was not Xesibe's. He was then on his way towards Pondoland.

- Baleni, Nombewu, Mdingi ka Langa of the *Gambu* people, and Xesibe - these men combined together when fleeing because of Tshaka's *impis*. They collected their cattle, and, whilst passing through Natal, captured cattle belonging to other tribes. It was after he had seized some cattle in this way that Xesibe was attacked and killed, as related yesterday. After Xesibe's death my father was in charge of the migrating tribe. The Pondos opposed them, fought, and turned them back. They came back and lived on land this side of Pondoland. They lived there a while, and, after finishing their cattle, they returned as
- 44 stated to Mrolweni, i.e. not far beyond Howick Falls and where there are large forests, forests which begin at ePasiwe mountain near Greytown and extend towards the falls.

Nombewu was killed by the Bacas, due to what Mdingi did. What Mdingi did was this. He *attacked* the Baca chief Sonyangwe, father of Mdutshana and Tiva, and killed the first-named. The attack took place at night. Mdingi so planned that his men were to pretend that Nombewu's people were attacking them and not those of Mdingi, and this they did by shouting out some such words as 'Wentani?' (for 'Wenzani?') in order to give the impression that the people attacking were of Nombewu's tribe, whereas they were Mdingi's.⁴⁰ They also called to one another by names of people of Nombewu's tribe. Thus when people woke up, i.e. those being attacked, they, hearing these words etc., concluded it was Nombewu who was attacking.

- 45 After this, Ncapayi ka Madikane ka Kalimetshe, i.e. of the Baca or amaWushe tribe, hearing of the death of his relative, came to mourn. He told the Bacas not to mourn, *for he would do the mourning by means of his dead brother's impi*. They ate *amakubalo* medicines etc., and after that Ncapayi suddenly *attacked* Nombewu and put him to death.⁴¹

As regards the return from Pondoland, Yenge my father was the first to do so; he came to Emrolweni. Mdingi returned about the same time, but was soon killed by Magaye of the *Cele* people. Chiefs do not afford refuge to one another. My father returned with very few to this country, for of the original people who left Natal many had been forced from want of food to go to Ebunguni and anywhere.⁴²

- 46 Whilst Nobanda was living with Mtsholozi amongst the *Nxamalala*, he married a girl of the Funze tribe. Mapengana, one of the Mpumuza people, was called on to pay the *lobola* cattle. Mapengana was a man who used to *trap leopards* in the Zulu country, and for his success in catching them he would be paid in cattle. He paid five head of cattle as *lobola*, but more were wanted, and Mapengana was asked to give them. He said he would not go and give away all his cattle to *lobola* the wife of one who was not his chief, for in his view the chief was Nomlala, for whom Mapengana had gathered together *amahobo* [i.e. those wandering about without homes or property] and placed them under him, thinking he thereby made him chief. Members of the tribe remonstrated, pointing out that all the cattle he had were the chief's, for the *medicine* (*uburungu* or *ubulawu*) with which he managed to secure the *leopards* was obtained from the tribal chief.

The woman so married was Teteleku's mother.

This man Mapengana is one of those who had gone with Nobanda to go and live among the *Nxamalala* after Tshaka's *impis* had begun to disturb and ruin the population in Natal.

47 The members of the Mpumuza tribe then said, 'Mapengana will report in the Zulu country about the chief, and they will kill him.' This was reported to my father Yenge, and that Mapengana was in favour of Namlala becoming chief, whereupon my father gave orders to *bring up the chief*, Nobanda, bring him to where he, Yenge, then was, viz. at eMrolweni. My father said, 'Mapengana evidently wants to repeat what he once did to the heir of Xesibe,' viz. Jingose, by trying to burn him by setting *the long grass* alight. Jingose, like Nobanda, had been left among the *Nxamalala*. Mapengana, it seems, called Jingose to assist him to *burn off the grass round the grain baskets in order to protect them from fires*. He then went with him to a very steep hill, placed the child about half-way up the hill, and then set alight to the grass at the base of the hill, when it blazed upwards towards where *the child* was. The child was burnt to death.

48 Mapengana, later on, invited Nobanda and Yenge to come and get *amabele* from him, for in the *Nxamalala* tribe cultivation used to go on. His object in inviting them was to kill the two, for had he done so, the man he favoured, viz. Namlala, would have become chief. Hence he tried to *decoy* them. They, however, went into the thorn country in which Mapengana was living. It so happened that Noyehe, father of Nongamulana, discovered they were to be killed, so he left Mapengana's as if to *go and relieve himself*, and when he got into the *bush-country* he started running in the direction he expected Nobanda and Yenge to come from. He met and warned them to turn back at once. 'They are armed there; they intend to kill you'. They then turned back and so escaped, and came back to Mrolweni. It was shortly after this incident that word came of Fodo having been appointed by Dingana to allocate land to the people who had gone into hiding in consequence of Tshaka's *impis*. It was then that Nondabula and Mhlaluka were sent to Fodo to ask for the land. And it was when Fodo gave Nobanda permission, that he and his tribe came to live where they now are.

49 The land Laduma is on now formerly belonged to the amaBaca and other amaZotsho tribes, like Macibise.⁴³ The amaZotsho are so called from the fact of cutting the face as the Bacas do, i.e. lines down both cheeks as well as the little finger. When Tshaka pressed on us in the neighbourhood of the Tugela we came southwards and *pushed out* these Baca tribes, seizing their cattle and *amabele*.

The people who never left their original lands are the amaKabela now under Gayede, for when Tshaka's *impis* appeared they went into the forests and waited till Tshaka's *impis* left. They know nothing of this part of the country, for they have never had occasion to move from where they are.⁴⁴

We originated with the amaKabela, amaNgcolosi, and amaPepeta peoples, also with the amaDunge. All the three tribes last referred to were obliged to quit their former districts; the amaKabela alone remained. All the tribes named are blood relations of ours, i.e. we Zondis, and we *originated with them under Lusibalukulu*, as before referred to [pp. 26 et seq.].

I don't know where Lusibalukulu was buried. The forest which the

50 people who came with Makata sat by and looked at the land thereafter to be occupied by them, according to the allocation thereof to Lusibalukulu's sons - this *forest*, I say, is not far from Greytown and close to the Mpanza valley. It was at this *forest* that the land was *apportioned* to the different sections. There used to be very ancient pieces of *pot* and *bones* at this *forest*, which went by the name of *the forest of Dhlamini*. I visited this; it is well known. I saw it when I went to see Somhashi of the amaBomvu.⁴⁵ It is very close to the Pakwe hill and on a ridge apparently connected with that hill. The people in the vicinity could point it out now.

Lusibalukulu left Swaziland with our ancestors before the Embos did so. The Embo people themselves admit having left *after* we did. The Embo people formerly did not intermarry with the Swazis. It was Ngunezi, chief of the Embo tribe, who brought that state of affairs to an end by marrying a Swazi girl who was brought down from Swaziland and became his chief wife and mother of Tilonko.⁴⁶ She was
51 *lobola'd* with 100 head of cattle. The girl in question was a child of Mswazi.⁴⁷

The Embos are also called amalala by the Zulus.

When Makata arrived [*vide* p. 26] - and he must have arrived with a considerable body of people, though I do not know the route they came by - the land he came to round about the Pakwe was quite unoccupied. We hear of no tribes that were turned out by them from there.

I do not know which people arrived in these parts first, the Ngcobo clans or the Dhlamini ones. I cannot say where the Ngcobos came from.

Ngwane died before Nontshiza (my grandfather). Upon this, Nontshiza *crossed* the Tukela and went to the *emaKuzeni* people, where Ngwane's chief wife had come from. Her name was Zwelibanzi, daughter of Dhlomo, of the *emaKuzeni*. The *amaKuze* were living across the Tukela where Kula's tribe now is, i.e. in Msinga division.⁴⁸ That is where Tshaka
52 had gone to, viz. to Nomagaga, the Kuze chief. It is said Tshaka was *caused to be in want* by his father Senzangakona. He passed by Nomagaga's where a *pot* was carefully washed - a nice *pot* - and he was given *boiled grain* in it. This attention he much appreciated, wondering how it was that Nomagaga divined he was the son of a chief.

Nontshiza was accompanied by Zwelibanzi and other members of the Mpumuza tribe, but Xesibe was left behind. The object seems to have been that Zwelibanzi should build a kraal among the *amaKuze*, but they returned with her - the kraal was not built. Nontshiza then went to *konza* the Nxamalala chief, accompanied by a number of our tribe. He died there, and to this day the descendants of those who accompanied him are living in that tribe. Our tribe formerly lived *between the Ngome and the Nadi* - that is where my father Yenge was born.

The Zondi chief at the Ngome was Magenge. The people turned him
53 out for some reason. He then *lived in destitution* for some years. He went from one chief to another in order to learn *about the medicines of chiefship*. After he had wandered for a long time he came back, not to his old tribe, but to that of Mpumuza. It so happened he arrived as our chief, Xesibe, *reached puberty*. Our people then asked him to *doctor and strengthen* Xesibe, and promised, if he did so, to reward him by re-appointing him chief of his old tribe. He proceeded to do

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what he could, and succeeded in doing all that the amaMpumuza desired. It was then decided that the Mpumuza *impi* was to be got ready to convey Magenge back to his tribe. Magenge was himself required to doctor the *impi*. He did so, and accompanied it to the eNgome. On getting there, the *impi* saw no one to oppose them; all had run to take refuge in the bushes. The invaders gave out they had not come to kill anyone and that all were to return. All they wanted was to see Gcinwa, the man who had displaced the rightful chief, Magenge. And so all came back, but Gcinwa made off and *lived in destitution*. Thus Magenge became chief once more.

Magenge was father of Jangeni, father of Mancinza, father of Bambata, the notorious rebel.

[Note. I find that Nongamulana ka Noyehe of the Zondi, whose evidence I took in part on 7.5.1906, corroborates Mqaikana. Nongamulana's words are: 'The people of, Gasa (our ancestors) and the amaKuze originated at the Pakwe hill, at the forest of Dhlamini. An *impi* was armed and went to ask for rain at this bush - an old custom of our tribe. (Cattle would be driven and killed there - added by Mqaikana, 11.5.1916.) That is where we separated from the amaKuze.' See my pocket book no. 1, p. 30a.⁴⁹ The pedigree is: 'Nongamulana ka Noyehe ka Nomanzele ka Mjongozi ka Mmangali ka Nondaba ka Tetane ka Gasa', and Nongamulana also gave: 'Bambata ka Sobuza (Mancinza) ka Jangeni ka Magenge ka Nomashumi ka Nondaba ka Tetane ka Gasa'. Neither of these links into the Mpumuza people as given by Mqaikana (see pp. 3, 5, 27). I should think Nongamulana, if still living, is about the same age as Mqaikana, perhaps a couple of years younger.]

- 55 [Who is the woman authority Laduma referred to? What other authorities are there? I want Laduma to come and see me with view to his appearing before Science Association.]⁵⁰

11.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 1, pp. 55-60.

Nongamulana ka Noyehe is slightly older than I am. I *follow him in age*. I do not know if he is still living.

We amaMpumuza *link up* with the Inadi (Ngome) people under Mhlola (alias Magquba) in Luqa, our great ancestor [see p. 3].

We Mpumuza *separated from the main house* with Luqa, who was of a smaller house. I have also heard that Nondaba [see p. 54] came from Luqa, but the point is very hazy.

I believe that the three sections of the Zondi tribe, i.e. those headed by Mhlola, Laduma and Funizwe, all meet in Luqa, Nondaba, I believe, being the son of Nsele [on p. 5] in Mhlola's pedigree, and Nondaba being a son of Luqa <sic>, though the chief son.⁵¹ Beyond Luqa, I fancy, the ancestors of the three sections are identical. At the same time I see that there is a difference in the pedigrees as given by me and Nongamulana when we get back to the ancestors of Nondaba.

- 56 Deliwe ka Ndisa of the Zondi people of Nongamulana. This woman can speak very well on tribal matters. She lives near Laduma, and is about the age of the Isangqu regiment. Jokovu ka Ndisa - this man has a bad leg. Perhaps Deliwe could still speak coherently.

I do not know where Luqa died and was buried. I never used to ask our ancestors where those who bore us died, i.e. the very ancient ones. The old people of course used to speak. Laduma no longer asks us old people ancient history, as our chiefs used formerly to do; he concerns himself only with affairs connected with Europeans. I used to listen to old people speaking, telling us what they chose, but we did not specially interrogate them, much less commit to paper.

- 57 Kukulela was *buried by us* - i.e. my 'father'. We *lobola'd* Miskofeli's mother, a daughter of Langalibalele, Nkomose.⁵² She was to be *lobola'd* by an *ibuto* of Kukulela. I was one of that *ibuto* - the name of the regiment is uMbongo.

- My father went to live in Kukulela's district under that chief, taking his family, including me. This was after Teteleku had grown up and assumed the chieftainship. I said yesterday my father was guardian for Teteleku for some time. When he (Yenge) went with the whole of his *umuzi* to *konza* Kukulela, he built his kraal near the Inhlavini (Inhlamvini) river which joins the Ixopo and enters the Mkomazi. He afterwards got ill and came to the Mbubana, i.e. the small Mbubu hill in Teteleku's district, in order to be doctored.⁵³ He however did not recover and died at the Mbubana, where he was buried. I did not come back at once to rejoin the Mpumuza tribe, but stayed two or three years before doing so.

My father was in some way concerned with the cattle which Mawa ka Jama brought into Natal, i.e. in restoring them to Mpande.⁵⁴ Mqaikana can give an account of this.

The story of Nongqaoase [Nongqause?].⁵⁵

One day a girl went to the stream to fetch water. When there, she heard dogs barking, cattle lowing and bellowing, and men talking loudly with one another, all of which sounds emanated from the reeds, for neither dogs, cattle nor men could be seen. After listening to it all, and wondering what it all meant, the girl went home and reported what she had heard. 'You are telling lies,' the people said. 'Go back again to draw water there.' She came back to report that the speaking she had heard was to the effect that everyone was to *get rid of* the *amabele* they had, as also all their cattle, for they would get new *amabele* and new cattle, which would issue forth out of the river in question, and the country would become new.

- 59 On hearing this, some men decided to go and see for themselves what was being said. They went and found that what the girl had said was true. Upon this the rumour that *amabele* and cattle must be got rid of was noised abroad, and proceeded to be generally acted on far and wide. People wasted their *amabele* and stabbed all their cattle, but nothing issued from the river to replace what had disappeared. A famine seized the whole country, causing the people to scatter far and wide in search of food. Two came to my father Yenge, for he was still acting for Teteleku, to beg for food. Another, Macongwane, a young man of about 18-20, went to Kukulela's, where he lived and afterwards died. The people scattered in all parts in search of food. This was known as *the famine of Nongqaoase*. The whole thing was *incomprehensible (insumansumane)*. *The nation was scattered; I don't know if it ever really gathered together again. We forgot what this matter was caused by.*

The name amaLala came from the Zulu, for they conquered the land. They then called us amaLala, just as you Europeans call us amakafula, for people that defeat others insult them.⁵⁶

The amaCube were called amaLala because they worked iron. I have heard that iron was treated with the fat of humans to make it workable.

60 We Zondis were said to be 'the people of the dried meat' (a be s emqwaibeni) for we were amahobo, who made dried meat.

The Cubes used to work iron for the whole country; hoes were got there. The iron-working went on in other tribes, but not on so general a scale.

The amaCube are not connected by blood with the Zondi people. Bambata could not have gone to Sigananda because he was related to him, but because Sigananda was an iduna in the Zulu country. [See my History of the Rebellion, p. 209.] I don't think Sigananda went to konza Mancinza because he was a relative of his.⁵⁷

My belief is that the name amaLala came from the Cubeni people, i.e. the iron-smiths. One often said, 'I am going to the Lala; I am going to have iron worked,' i.e. he may have found a piece of iron and then want to take it to the smith to work it.

Christianity.

I cannot make out how our people can be converted to Christianity, for those who say they are kolwas indulge in illicit intercourse and takata - they commit all sorts of offences unknown to us. This makes me wonder what kind of belief this is they have adopted. There are many girls and young men... <continued below - eds.>

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File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 1-24.

1 [Mqaikana continues.]

...who throw over Christianity and revert to our ways of living. They give up their clothes and resume their old ones.

We laugh at those who come back in this way, saying, 'Are you not well, that you go and say you will do the work of Nkulunkulu, and now you are throwing all up? If you go in for a thing you should stick to it'. They then reply that Satan has caused them to return to their old ways of living.

I live up the Msunduze river. There are many of Laduma's people there who have resumed wearing loin-covers, having formerly been Christians, both girls and boys and even men, old converts.

I think the reason must be that they go to give themselves to the Lord, but when they do go it is too much for them; they fail to see any daylight in what they take up. Missionaries have come to ask me to convert, but I have refused on the ground that God created me as I am, told me to wear the loin-cover, and did not tell me to lead a life different to what I am leading. I tell kolwas who speak to me that what I want to do is to learn to read and write, and had I gone out to work for Europeans that is what I would have made a point of learning. That is what I really desired. My father stayed with Sir T. Shepstone, and carried messages for Sir T.S. to Mpande on several occasions.⁵⁸ I however did not have as much even as that to do with Europeans.

I liked the idea of writing from one to another, to say what I

wanted without going myself. Had I learnt to *read and write* I would have regarded that as sufficient for my needs. To become converted
 3 *causes* wrongdoing of all kinds and of unknown kinds. These *kolwas* talk a lot about *Nkulunkulu* but *they do not understand his affairs; they do not know them properly.*

The tendency to return to former ways of living seems to be on the increase, though it has for long gone on.

I hold that I was created by *Nkulunkulu* and directed to grow up where I am, grow up there and not to *take up other ways, ways which will lead me astray.* That is what I feel.

I understand *Nkulunkulu's* law; it is wrong to do this and that. But *going astray* always goes on, just as with our chiefs a man finds sometimes that he *goes astray.* With *Nkulunkulu* too it is so.

If a native does not *understand the ways of you Europeans*, who are now masters of the country, *then he is bound to go astray in matters of Nkulunkulu in the sky.* [The meaning is: As in ordinary life a native who adopts European ways is liable to err, how can he be expected not to err in respect of the higher life?] For instance an
 4 European will say, 'Do this thus,' but I fail to do it as the European knows to be right; my failing is due to not knowing what the European really wants. Well, if there is so much failure to follow European directions in respect of everyday affairs, how can we do otherwise than suppose there will be failure to know how to conform to the higher laws? I have never been arrested and punished (fined); I have always tried to do right and succeeded in following the law. *It is enough if one heeds the word of those in authority.*

I am familiar with my own mode of life and know its laws, but if I leave it and go into new ways of living as *kolwas* do, I would find myself perpetually going astray as they do.

A *kolwa* tends to regard himself as being a white man, and to do nothing that appertains to his own people (*uhlanga*), but in that very
 5 act a man *goes astray.* He fancies he is greater than a member of the ordinary *uhlanga*, for he looks on himself as a privileged person, viz. one who converses with God himself.

If a white man does wrong, his fault is not of so serious a description as that of a native, or to put it differently, the opportunities for wrong-doing present themselves far more frequently to natives, who are unsophisticated and do not know *how to read and write*, than to Europeans, who do.

When we kill a beast nowadays we do not *praise the ancestors.* We simply remain silent, for if we *praise the ancestors* our own children who have become *Christians* will not partake of it. Thus we do nothing in the shape of praying on such occasions. This surprises me, for who but God told us of the *ancestral spirits*? But we are told not to *declaim their praises* - for to do so is a thing of Satan.

6 The men no longer say anything about this. We *were overcome* in the old days in this affair. We saw that *this matter would destroy the people*, for if our children become *kolwas* they will separate from us and carry others with them, and when we men, in wishing to conform to government orders, issue them to our people, they will resist us, either because they are *amakoowa* or are followers of *amakoowa.* They prevailed over Teteleku and Hemuhemu, and they complained, saying that everyone will *go over to the kolwas*, leaving no one who can be called a subject of the government; but the Europeans said, 'Leave

them, these *kolwas*; do not interfere with them.'

- 7 The reason those who 'turn back' give for returning and throwing over Christianity is that they cannot see where they are making for; they go too fast.

When *kolwas* die and are buried I hear nowadays that ghosts (*izi-poki*) hover about the graves of the deceased. There are very many of those graves. A 'fire' is said to burn over the grave and to be visible, and this fire is the *isipoki*. The *kolwas* say that this means that the person buried there has not gone to heaven; he has been shut out; he is down in hell. The order was that he should burn there on the grave so that all people should see him.

The natives are themselves the missionaries nowadays that set about to convert the natives.

There are different habits among the different denominations, e.g. Roman Catholics allow the meat of a beast that has died to be eaten, but Protestants will not eat it. No meat is eaten by Roman Catholics on Fridays.

- 8 We cannot imagine how Mvelinqangi communicated his will to the Europeans, for we do not see how paper could have come down from the sky. All we know of is Mvelinqangi, not of any one or any message from him. I of course know the *chameleon* and *lizard* story.⁵⁹ The *kolwas* say the *lizard* was sent by Satan and the *chameleon* by umVeli-nqangi.

My own children are [taken down at the request of Mqaikana]:

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1 Bubesi - the eldest, he is the only one in his house | |
| 2 Tinsila - the only one in his house | |
| 3 Makwenkwe | |
| 4 Mudundu | } in one house |
| 5 Mnkuku | |
| 6 Mpisi | } in one house |
| 7 Joni | |

i.e. 7 in all; all these are still living. Some have died - I do not mention those.

- 9 I had five daughters. One died; the other four married. Three of these husbands are dead, hence only one has her husband living. There are no *kolwas* among my children. Joni's and Mudundu's wives are *kolwas* but Joni and Mudundu are not *kolwas*. The marriages were not in accordance with Christian rites.

I am very sorry indeed I never learnt to write. Had I learnt, I would have put down all my father told me, and read it nowadays. I allowed this to escape me.

- 10 Fodo. I said yesterday Dingana said he was not to cross the Umzimkulu. He did cross later - this was done by Sir T. Shepstone. The Bacas were then killed by amaMpondo. They crossed over and came to Natal, and when at the Mzimkulu, Fodo attacked and killed them. Shepstone heard of this, for the government order was that there was to be no killing. Upon this Sir T.S. sent out an *impi* and 'ate up' Fodo's cattle.⁶⁰ Fodo escaped to the other side of the Mzimkulu; he went to the amaXameni country - the name of that extra-colonial territory. If a prisoner got free, if he escaped and got there, he was not searched for there. The name amaXamu means people who kill one another,

who do not yet have any laws.

When Sidoyi killed Mshukangubo he *escaped* and went to Fodo.⁶¹ Sidoyi died a natural death in the *emaXameni* country; his people are still there today. Afterwards Adam Kok arrived in that part and was given land. He was killed in a carriage accident - thrown and killed.⁶²

- 11 *Izivivane*.⁶³ These exist in all parts of the country. Everyone throws a stone, after spitting on it, onto the pile.

Lugaju. His brother Sondaba went to Zululand to fetch Ngoza ka Mkubukeli of the Tembu people, in order to run off with him to Pondoland. Ngoza was killed there in Pondoland.⁶⁴ Sondaba fetched him because *Lugaju's mother was a daughter of Mkubukeli* (father of Ngoza). On being called, Ngoza arrived in the Nxamalala district with his *impi* - the district now occupied by the Bomvus near the Tugela. (Mafahleni is now the Nxamalala chief.) *Ngoza put up there*. Sondaba contemplated going forward with his people. Whilst there, they kept sending men to attack Xesibe, our Mpumuza chief, but he opposed them by force. Their intention was to capture our cattle and make off to Pondoland with them. When Sondaba wanted to move off southwards, *Sondaba's people refused* to move, and appointed Mtsholozzi as chief. Sondaba accordingly went off only with a portion of the tribe. Mtsholozzi, like Sondaba and Lugaju, was a son of Matomela. Sondaba went off, leaving Mtsholozzi as chief over the remainder.

- 12 Ngoza was then killed by the Pondos. Sondaba then returned to Natal with his younger brother Lugaju. He returned to the Nxamalala country. When he got there, Sondaba's arrival was reported to Mtsholozzi. Mtsholozzi said, '*Go and kill him*.' They did so. Lugaju ran away, and took refuge among the Inhlawini tribe (under Baleni). He, Lugaju, stayed there. After a while Mtsholozzi told his brother Mangcengeza to go and *lure Lugaju into coming to him*. He duly went off. Mangcengeza went and said to Lugaju that he was to return, as the men of the Nxamalala tribe wanted to put Mtsholozzi to death and appoint him in his place. On this, Lugaju agreed to accompany
- 13 Mangcengeza back to the Nxamalalas. On the way Lugaju's stomach troubled him. He was given medicinal herbs (*amakambi*) to drink and so allay the pain, but nothing seemed to do him good. It was then said he had better go back, and on doing so he began to mend. When he got well again he returned, and when he rejoined them *the stomach again troubled him*. When this happened a second time as stated, he returned to the Inhlawini. Upon this, Mangcengeza was accompanied by Lugaju's brother, Ngqama. Mtsholozzi asked if Mangcengeza had come with Lugaju. He said not, because of having been troubled with his stomach. 'Then why didn't you stab him?' said Mtsholozzi. 'Those were not our instructions.' Mtsholozzi then gave orders for the killing of Ngqama, whereupon he was killed.

- 14 The Nxamalala people now said to their *chief* (*inkosi - iwosi* according to their dialect), '*Mangcengeza greatly deceived Lugaju by saying that he would put the chief to death*.' They accused Mangcengeza of having allowed Lugaju to escape by saying he had a sore stomach. Upon this Mtsholozzi gave orders for the killing of Mangcengeza, but some friend of Mangcengeza heard what was contemplated and ran off to warn him just as the *impi* was about to start on a journey

to attack him. Mangcengeza tied up a few belongings and left at once, leaving his cattle behind, and went to *konza* Madhlenya, of the *ema-Funzeni* people. He afterwards died there, but his children are still living there. He was also a son of Matomela.

- 15 Mtsholozhi was afterwards killed by Dingana. His *people scattered*, except a few whom Lugaju collected and went to where Mtsholozhi used to live. When he got there the *amaBomvu* came up with the *amaTembu* of *Mbulungeni ka Mbadu ka Ntshiba* (Mbulungeni is father of Mbila), and attacked the *amaNxamalala*, who were very few. The latter were defeated. The *Bomvus* then occupied and built on the *Nxamalala* land. Lugaju escaped, *in a state of destitution*, and went back to Baleni, among the *Nhlangwini*, where he was before. When the Boers came, after their fight with Dingana, they heard that Lugaju was attempting to establish himself on the west of Mbubu (Zwartkop); they at once made for him. He escaped and again went to the *eNhlangwini*.

It was only after the Boers had been defeated by the British that Lugaju was appointed chief and allowed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to occupy land - near the forests leading from Mbubu.⁶⁵ That is still part of the tribal territory, but *Mafahleni kaLugaju* (but he *fathered* for *Sondaba*) lives near *Impendhle*.⁶⁶

- 16 Lugaju died at Cedara where *Mafahleni* has *kraals* and at which he stays when visiting *Pietermaritzburg*.

Fodo. When Fodo left the *Mkomazi* to settle at the *Mzimkulu*, we planted. When the *amabele* flowered, *locusts came*, and there was hunger. We then came back to our old *kraal* sites and gardens in the *Nhlangwini* tribe to get food. We got seeds there. We planted them, and when those *amabele* were red the *impi* of *Wohlo* and of *Mbuyazi* went against the *Zulu*.⁶⁷

- 17 *Amalawu* came to *Nobanda* (*Mpumzu* chief) to hunt buffalo.⁶⁸ *Nobanda* asked where they had come from. They said, 'We come from *Port Natal*.' 'Who are the people at *Port Natal*?' 'There are black people who have *konza*'d to them.' 'Whose?' The *lawus* said, 'People of the *Cele* and of the *Qadi*.' 'And I, if I went there, would I be given protection?' They said, 'They would give you protection.' He went down-country to *konza* there at the bay. When he got there he was asked if he was a chief. He said yes. 'Where do you live?' 'At *Mbubu*.' 'We shall give you protection. But you have come here just as we are going out to make war. Go and prepare your *impi* for battle. We are coming soon; we shall pass through your country on our way to the *Zulu* country.' When Mtsholozhi was killed by the *Zulus*, *Zulu amaduna* went to build a *kraal* in Mtsholozhi's district. The *Port Natal* forces went and attacked the *Zulus* in what was Mtsholozhi's district. They surrounded and seized the cattle. The *Zulus* there reported to Dingana that the king's cattle had been captured by the white people at *Port Natal*. 18 Dingana said, 'Follow them; keep a watch on them. They will return because they have tasted good things.' They spied on them. After a little, the *Natal* forces went off to attack in the *Zulu* country. The spies went and warned Dingana in good time that the *impi* was coming. Dingana sent out his *impi*. One went off to *Mzilikazi* and another to deal with the *Natal* forces; thus it went in two directions.⁶⁹

The *Natal* forces went forward and crossed by the *Dhlokweni* drift (the one down-river). They found a *kraal* across the river full of *Zulu* spies, who were armed. They attacked that *kraal*. But the very

shots the white men were firing at the Zulu spies served as a warning to the main Zulu body that the white men had come. This happened whilst it was still very early and dark. The Zulus (the main body) moved forward whilst the whites were busy with the kraal referred to. The Zulus attacked from three directions. The Natal forces addressed themselves first to one, then another. At last they concentrated their fire in one direction and forced a way through, when some escaped. The balance were killed by the Zulus. Those killed included Nobanda.

My father was at Fodo's at the Mzinkulu. I was with him - *I herded calves* at that time. [This fixes Mqaikana's age.] My father, knowing of the Mpumuza *impi* having *gone out*, went to Mbubu to see if it had returned. He saw people returning *one by one*. He asked where the chief was; they said they did not know if he would or would not come. They said they were badly attacked by the Zulus and it was a case of each for himself. They said they had had no food until they got back to the tribe. They reported that their *impi* became *as if blind*.

It was discovered by my father that a couple of men of the Mpumuza tribe had *takata'd* the *impi* and *made it as if blind* when it started forth on its expedition, with the result that their chief was killed. The men in question ran off and took refuge in Njeje's district this side of Table Mountain.⁷⁰ My father sent to tell Njeje not to be surprised at anything that he might do in his ward in the way of *removing* something, giving his story and asking him not to warn the men. The chief did not warn them, with the result that men were sent, and they put to death the offenders.

After this my father was recalled with his kraal from Fodo's, and became guardian and acting chief for Teteleku as previously related.

.... <Praises of Fodo kaNombewu omitted - eds.>

He, Fodo, used to *make oath*, 'Dingana, Vezi!'⁷¹ He never *made oath by the chiefs of his own people*. He was *left-handed*; he held assegais and all else in the left. He was quite short, and *bewhiskered*, and he wore a *plume* in the middle of his forehead; he had very thin arms about the wrist. He was *very fond of making war*. He always wanted to fight; he was always *talking of war* with his men. He used to *praise his notable warriors*. He said, 'Dingana, Vezi! Weu! Weu!' He was *dark brown* (*mnyama*), not *light brown* (*mpofu*). He would have been of the Umkulutshana regiment, not the oldest however, but the middle lot. When Tshaka *destroyed the land*, Fodo was old enough to fight in battle. He was never *butwa'd* in the Zulu country. He wore a *headring* after the same fashion of the Zulus.

Sidoyi ka Baleni ka Nongcama ka ? <sic> was *dark brown* (*mnyama*). He had very prominent eyelids, and *bulging eyes*, *as if stung by bees*. He was the same age as myself. Sidoyi was taller than Fodo and of medium build. The Dhlamini generally are not heavily built men.

.... <Praises of Sidoyi kaBaleni, Khukhulela kaMiso, and Laduma kaTeteleku omitted - eds.>

When Matiwane ka Masumpa was chased by Tshaka, he went with his tribe to the Xosa country.⁷² He was there attacked by the white people and the Xosas (for Matiwane passed above the Pondo country).⁷³

He was defeated, and many of his people killed. He returned with the object of *konzaing* Tshaka, but on his way back he found Tshaka had been killed, so he came to Dingana who had him put to death. The spot where he was killed is called Kwa Matiwana, and that is where shortly afterwards Piet Retief and his party were killed.

- In the fight with Matiwane, a lad, Maya, was captured by the troops. This lad was of some rank. In time he joined the Kipkolo [Cape Corps?], which was composed of amaLawu.⁷⁴ He was in this corps and came with Major Smith to Durban in 1842.⁷⁵ He returned, and after some years he came to Natal and lived among the amaNgwane tribe on the south side of the Mkomazi and opposite Mafahleni's people on this side.⁷⁶ Maya received a pension for many years from the Cape government. He is dead now.

In the old days before Tshaka the tribes lived in Natal much as they do nowadays; that is, they only fought when a particular cause of quarrel had arisen, and then they would fight in a humane way. They would simply burn one another's kraals and refrain from seizing cattle. Cattle raiding was started by Tshaka. Women and children too were not killed. *It was not the practice to stab women who were unarmed*, for such killing was done by Tshaka. Men however, killed one another.

Mourning ceremonies, burial etc. of Fodo and Kukulela.

- Fodo died a natural death, south of the Mzimkulu in *emaXameni* (i.e. in Nomansland). I was on a visit to Fodo's kraal. I was present when the *mourning ceremony* was held. It began instantly, the same afternoon of the death occurring. The grave was dug at once in the cattle kraal and the body was interred the same evening. At the same time messengers were sent out in all directions to say the chief was dead. Upon this, all the Inhlangwini people gathered at the chief's kraal, eGugwini, or Kwa Nomgobo, and all were fully armed with shields and assegais, for there was great fear lest, being so close to their enemies, the Pondos, they should be attacked. That is why the body was so quickly disposed of. No sooner did death occur than loud lamentations were started by all members of the tribe.

- There were no *ritual burial victims* (*umgando*).⁷⁷ Fodo's heir was Makwehlela. He was still young at the time of the death. The grave, being that of a man, was large, for into it were thrown all Fodo's belongings - *loin-covers*, *dancing dress*, etc. These were placed on either side of the body and up against it, though not in front or behind. The grave is in this form:



The body is put in the hollowed out place, C, and at A it is closed up. The body was covered in a black - jet black - ox skin.

I thought it a strange dispensation of Providence that I, who had grown up in Fodo's district, and with his assistance, should, after many years absence, happen to be at his kraal just when he died. Thus I knew my chief whilst alive and when he died.

The body was buried quickly for fear lest the Pondos should attack,

31 and come to the grave and *cut pieces off* the body - for that is a great practice among natives. They would have disinterred and mutilated the body and *worked evil on us* with it. I had my assegais and shield with me. I and the doctor I was with slept two nights at the kraal, the second one being the day of the death.

The loud lamentations went on continually throughout the night. I got no sleep at all, nor did I care for any food. Next day a body of men from Sidoyi (for at that time he had fled from his district in Natal, having killed Mshukangubo [in 1857]) came in sight, accompanied by girls, whereupon the lamentations, which had died down, were started afresh in a very loud way, although this was after the funeral. My friend and I left before the lamentations had come to an end. In these lamentations the words were, '*Maye babo! Maye babo! Where will we find protection now that the chief is dead?*' Women, children, and men took part. The mourners walked to and fro, passing one another, here and there, within the precincts of the kraal.

People continued to live in the kraal for about two years, and then shifted to another site.

32 Kukulela was buried on the fifth day after his death and when the whole of his great tribe had gathered together. I was present, but there were no loud lamentations as in Fodo's case. Nor in that of Teteleku were there loud lamentations - people cried quietly. At Kukulela's we all had *shields and assegais*. Miskofeli was still so small as to have to be held by the hand.

The grave was first started by Kukulela's *eldest son*, and afterwards came the child, Miskofeli, who took the hoe and struck the soil two or three times as if digging. After this the grave was dug. It was dug before the day of actual burial, but a guard was specially kept on it. The reason for the deferred burial was to enable all the tribe to assemble.

33 After Miskofeli had dug the grave a little he stood nearby until the grave was dug right down. Had he been older he would have dug the grave a little more than he did, i.e. struck four or five times; as it was, he had to be helped, being young.

Kukulela was tied up with a black skin - of an ox. Had Europeans not been in the country there would have been *ritual burial victims* (*umgando*), for a chief is not *buried alone*. A *chief must not remain there by himself*. Those killed were men, not women.

After this burial a *ritual hunting party* would go out. First there would be a '*black*' *hunting party*, i.e. one still in mourning and not doctored. After doctoring, there would be a '*white*' *hunting party*. This would then go forth and raid some tribe's cattle. This was a very general custom.

34 Hlubi custom. The Hlubis informed me that when their chief died, the eyes of the woman who was the chief's favourite would be *blinded*, as well as those of the principal *inceku*. It is the custom, as with the Swazis, to bury their chief in a cave, that is, in a place not dug by hand. In this cave not only the body, but the blinded woman and *inceku* would be put. Food would be left for their use in the cave. The mouth of the cave would then be blocked up with stones. The living creatures there would of course not be able to get out and not even be able to find the food left there for them. And thus they would

die in the same place with the corpse of their chief.

I heard that the eyes were taken out in each case.

13.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 25-53.

The campaign against the Kuze people, in which Nomagaga was killed.

Nomagaga was killed by Mdingi ka Langa (Mdingi was the father of Mshukangubo).⁷⁸ Nomagaga fought with the impi of Ngoza.⁷⁹ It is said that he remained on one side of a ridge with his cattle and womenfolk, while his impi was fighting on the other side of the ridge. Mdingi
35 then encountered Nomagaga, and saw that he was alone with the womenfolk and the cattle. Mdingi then set on his own impi, which killed Nomagaga, who had remained alone with the cattle. Nomagaga's impi, which had been fighting with the other, heard that their chief was dead, and fled. Thus it was defeated by Ngoza's people.

Ngoza ka Mkubukeli and Nomagaga ka Dhlomo ka Nsele had been fighting alone. For Ngoza made war while on the march; he was passing by on his way to the Mpondo country. He was fleeing from Tshaka. When people heard that Tshaka had become king, Ngoza of the Tembu people, and Macingwane, and then Matiwane, all fled.⁸⁰ Matiwane went along the Drakensberg. On the way some of his people lost toes from the cold. Tshaka had not yet made war; he had not yet fought with Zwide.
36 They saw him in the isitundu medicines (medicines made by the diviners for the king to wash with).⁸¹ Diviners in those days still had medicines, unlike those of today, who collect money and doctor with nothing.

As far as I can make out, Macingwane was the first to flee into Natal from Tshaka; then came Ngoza, then Matiwane. [Sir T. Shepstone says Matiwane was the first.]⁸²

The fight between Ngoza and Nomagaga ka Dhlomo of the Dhlamini people took place in Nomagaga's district, for Ngoza was then fleeing from Zululand and from Tshaka. He attacked Nomagaga because he was in want of food (cattle) for the journey. Mdingi was understood to be friendly, whereas he played the traitor, and seized the cattle. Mdingi kept the cattle. He associated himself, i.e. entered into a treaty, with Baleni (father of Sidoyi), Nombewu (father of Fodo) and Yenge (my father).

37 My father was in charge of the Mpumuza people, for Xesibe had been killed, as previously related, and Nobanda (still a child) was put with the Nxamalala people. Jingose (Xesibe's heir) was put with the same tribe, and there burnt by Mapengana, as previously related. [See p. 47 of foregoing notebook.]

Mdingi, Baleni, Nombewu and Xesibe, finding themselves exposed to the Zulu attacks, entered into an alliance, with the object of forcing their way through towards Pondoland. They left their respective tribal lands in the thorns. (Nombewu and Baleni up to that time had lived on the lands now being occupied by the Cunu people.)⁸³ Leaving those parts, the confederacy made their way to Mrolweni (near Howick), where a chief, Mbangambi, of the amaBele people, was living. They decided to loot their stock. The impi dispersed for the purpose. Xesibe, then happening to be alone, saw a few calves being herded on
38 a hill. He went towards the hill in order to seize them, but there

were some of the enemy there who immediately began to chase him. He ran hard until but one kept up with him, and this man, drawing in closer, flung his assegai and struck him a deadly wound in the back, after which, perceiving some of our tribe nearby, he ran off and fled. Xesibe died almost at once and was buried.

It was two, three or more years after the flight of the Cunus and Tembus that the confederacy in question was formed, and the reason for its formation was because by that time Tshaka had defeated Zwile and the rest of the Zululand tribes, and was contemplating a direct attack on the tribes south of the Tugela.

39 Tshaka's *impi* did actually attack Xesibe in his original tribal lands. Xesibe and his people got into a natural fastness and successfully defended themselves for a whole day, morning till night. When the Zulus had withdrawn for the night, Xesibe said to his people, 'It is impossible for me to fight two and three more days with the Zulus; they are much too powerful.' Upon this he quitted his stronghold. It so happened that just before attacking him, the Zulus had seized a large number of cattle from the Nadi tribe (i.e. the sister tribe of the Mpumuza people). Xesibe came across these and, seizing them, put them with his own. His people remonstrated, saying that he ought to give them back to the Nadi people, but he said, 'No, I have only captured what had already been captured by the Zulus; therefore they are rightly my property.' However he was afterwards, though on the same day, prevailed on to give them back to the Nadi people, then in hiding in the adjoining forests. All were given back, although Xesibe had *intercepted* them when actually being driven off by the
40 Zulus.

No sooner did Xesibe quit his district with his people, than he made for that of the Nhlanguini under Nombewu and Baleni, where the Cunus are now located. It was then that the three agreed to enter into a league as stated.

When, on the following morning, the Zulus came to renew the attack against Xesibe at the stronghold, they found it completely deserted.

Xesibe, Nombewu and Baleni induced Mdingi (who by that time had killed Nomagaga) to join them, which he did. He lived then in what is Umsinga division. As soon as the confederacy was formed, they moved south to Mrolweni, where they plundered Mbangambi's cattle as stated, and where Xesibe was killed.

Nomagaga's son Mmiso *konza'd in the Zulu country.*

41 It was quite plain to the confederacy that the Zulus were about to attack them all, all the way down the Tugela to the amaNgcolosi people, their chief then being Nkuku.⁸⁴

.... <We here omit rough notes the substance of which is incorporated into the passage that follows - eds.>

Macingwane, the Cunu chief, used to fight with Senzangakona and his people, though the fighting never went further than burning one another's kraals. When Tshaka, however, appeared on the scene, Macingwane saw he was no match for him, so he decided to quit Zululand. He made his way to where Pietermaritzburg now is, and attacked the girl Macibise and her people. But Macibise offered so stout a resistance that Macingwane was obliged to give up the idea of capturing her cattle. He turned his attention northwards to Cinso, an

42 *iduna* of Macibise's tribe *living up the Little Msunduze*, who however was a petty chief. Macingwane killed this man and seized his stock. Macingwane now made across the Mkomazi to the high land south of the Mkomazi, where he attacked the amaNtambo people and defeated them. He then occupied their lands. He had his kraal at a hill and forest called iGqunu, *in open country*. He built about the Ifafa river and established his uMungu regiment in the same district.⁸⁵

Later on, Tshaka appeared on the scene with his army, which he personally accompanied, taking up a position on the Pateni hill as the army went forward to attack Macingwane.⁸⁶ Macingwane, finding he was no match for Tshaka, immediately moved off with his stock, women and children across the Mzimkulu and Ingwagwane to a district about Insikeni mountain, where there was a forest.⁸⁷ The cattle and children, also the *impi*, took refuge in the forest. Before the mountain was a plain on which the Zulu army drew up and where it was *given its instructions*. Macingwane himself went and took up a position on the very top of a mountain, going to a point, and from there he observed Tshaka's tactics. Tshaka himself was with his forces - for he never failed to accompany them in person until the occasion of his assassination, when the army was away in the north-east. The Zulus then moved forward and *tshaya'd ingomane*, i.e. simultaneously struck their shields loudly, and so loudly that the cattle in the forest became terrified and emerged into the open. This was the signal for closing in. The Zulus entered the forest, fought and defeated the Cunus, killing off even women and children without exception. In the meantime, Macingwane, seeing the game was up, came down the mountain and fled to Pondoland. Thus Tshaka got the whole of the Cunu cattle.

44 It was in this battle at Insikeni that Ludaba, father of Ngoza, Sir T. Shepstone's *induna*, was killed.

Whilst Macingwane was still living in Zululand he used to be in the habit of putting his sons to death. He would appoint his chief son, and because he did not suit him for some reason, he would put him to death. Another would be appointed and the same thing done to him. Seeing this, his son Mfusi, advised by his mother, eloped and went to *konza* Tshaka. Macingwane felt he must get him back, in order to kill him, so he sent an ox to Tshaka as a present, with a request to hand over the boy to him. Tshaka said to Mfusi, '*Look at that beast. What cattle does it resemble?*' Mfusi looked hard at it and said, '*It looks like those of Macingwane.*' Tshaka then said, '*It is sent in exchange for you, in order that I should hand you over to them, so that your father can kill you.*' Tshaka refused to give up Mfusi (who eventually died in the Zulu country). The ox of course remained with Tshaka, for it was a gift, and Macingwane would never have dared to fetch it back.

45

When Macingwane was about to die, he directed Pakade to take the articles of chiefship and deliver them to Mfusi.⁸⁸ The things were an axe, assegais, the pot of chiefship for cooking the gourd, the '*isonke*' of the chief, made of copper. He said to Pakade: '*Carry these things to Mfusi, but do not yourself remain there. Do not konza. You must go on to the Embo people and konza Zihlandhlo.*' Pakade accordingly took these things to Mfusi and delivered them, and then went to *konza* to the Embo chief.

[Mandlakazi ka Ngini says he believes that Zihlandhlo's mother

was a girl of the Cunu people - 22.5.1916.]⁸⁹

The axe is what is used to strike the bull at the *ukutshwama* ceremony.⁹⁰ The bull may be of any colour. The chief strikes the back of the neck of the bull when it is being held down by the young men, i.e. a regiment. They must catch and hold it, even though it pokes.

The assegais are for the chief's personal use, and of course on his death must pass to the heir.

The pot for cooking the gourd was a small one - say about 10 inches in diameter. I saw Fodo's, Ngunezi's, Kukulela's, Teteleku's and Lugaju's pot for cooking the gourd, for I visited all these from time to time when the *ukutshwama* ceremony went on.

Isonke - this seems to have belonged only to the amaCunu, and was copper. It was apparently worn, though I do not know if round the neck or the arm. I never saw one. I know not if there was a number of articles (copper) collectively called *isonke*.

I remember as part of the formalities observed when Langalibale's daughter's wedding with Kukulela was being arranged,⁹¹ that, prior to the arrival in Kukulela's district of any girl from Langalibalele's, a number of men came carrying *ubedu*, i.e. a copper ring, as thick as a stick, and worn round the neck. This *ubedu* was first brought to Kukulela's *induna*, who killed an ox for the bearers thereof, and when they were conveyed to Kukulela himself, he killed an ox for them. They left the ring with Kukulela, and the thing is in the possession of the tribe to this day. No one ever wears it - it is very heavy.

The ring was carried to Kukulela without any preceding negotiations having taken place. They really came to ask if he would be prepared to marry Langalibalele's daughter. Kukulela agreed, notified his approval, and the men returned to Langalibalele. Shortly after, the bride-elect, accompanied by girls, came to marry.

As soon as the men bringing the *ubedu* arrived, Kukulela sent out and informed the whole Kuze tribe, who replied that they approved, and would look on the girl as their *inkosi* (i.e. the chief wife and so the mother of their chief-to-be).

We uMbongo regiment *lobola'd* her - her *lobola* was 80 cattle.

The bride-elect fell ill, and got so bad and remained ill so long in spite of every effort of the doctors, that Langalibalele reported to Kukulela, suggesting that the girl's own younger sister, one who followed her in age, should go and marry K., and if the first choice should recover she would go and marry as arranged. When the elder girl heard of this, although ill, she resolved to go and get married, being averse to her younger sister going off and starting the chief house in her absence. Consequently she went, ill though she was, and went through the wedding ceremony, all of which had the effect of so far improving her health that she soon completely recovered.

As regards the younger sister, Langalibalele claimed a further 20 cattle, calling them the 'carrying-skin' (*imbeleko*). These cattle were duly handed over, having also been obtained from the uMbongo regiment, but the marriage of the girl did not occur until after Langalibalele had had his people broken up [1873], when Kukulela fetched and married her.

The elder of these girls is still living; the younger is dead, after bearing three sons. Miskofeli, the present chief, is son of the elder girl. Her name is Nkomose; the younger one's name was, I believe, Nomgwaqo.

- 50 After Macingwane was crushed and ruined at Insikeni, he followed in the wake of the Zulus and the cattle they had taken from him. Those of his people that remained went off and *konza'd* Mfusi, who was in favour with the Zulus. Macingwane himself, with half-a-dozen to a score of followers, made his way to the abakwaMadango people, living somewhere in the north-eastern portion of Natal, though not so far up as where the Hlubis used to live. Here he tried to *konza*, but was killed, because '*a chief is not given protection; he is killed*' [entered in book of proverbs], which was practically the rule in former days.

Macingwane's original district was in Zululand and quite close to that of the Zulu tribe.

- One of the petty chiefs Macingwane fought with was Mpongo ka Zingelwayo (one of his descendants is now living in Natal).⁹² The *tsibongo* is Ndhlovu. Mpongo fought with such determination as to avoid being defeated by Macingwane. To get the better of him, Macingwane had recourse to doctors. He *doctored* him in such a way that he *lay with his sister*. This caused him to get ill. He was afterwards consumed by a leopard.
- 51

Macingwane's heir Mfusi, who, as already explained, had run off to *konza* Tshaka, finding that members of the Iziyendane regiment were eating from *calabashes of people* of his tribe, beat several of them with a stick. This was reported to the king, probably Dingane. Mfusi, afraid lest he should be put to death for what he had done, sent quickly for his brother Pakade. Pakade came when Mfusi said he saw that he would be put to death, and (Mfusi) advised Pakade afterwards to collect all that remained, meaning the people and tribal property, and then *fetch a girl*, daughter of Mbucu of the Embo people, and marry her on his behalf, to the end that she should bear the chief, i.e. successor of Mfusi. Mfusi was soon afterwards killed. Pakade married the girl in question who bore Zimema and two other sons. Zimema

- 52 accordingly was Mfusi's heir.

In later years there was a dispute as to the succession between Silwane and Zimema. The matter was investigated by the government, when the authorities asked Zimema why he had failed to claim the chieftainship when Gabangaye's son, Silwane, was appointed.⁹³ Zimema replied that he felt he had a good case, for he was the true successor to Macingwane himself. The government decided in favour of Silwane, but said those who wished to join Zimema could do so and go off elsewhere with him. Zimema admitted he could not contest ownership of the land Silwane was on, seeing that his (Silwane's) grandfather, Pakade, had procured it by his personal ability and did not inherit it from Macingwane. Zimema thereupon left to try his fortunes in Pondoland.

- The way in which Pakade came by the land the Cunus are now living on is this. When Dingana attacked the Embo tribe under Zihlandhlo, Pakade who, with his following, formed part of the tribe, escaped at the time of the attack. He made his way to that part of the country recently occupied by the Inhlanguini tribe under Nombewu and Baleni, i.e. they lived there during Tshaka's reign. Here he found recently
- 53

arrived a petty chief, Ngotshana, of the amaBenseni people. He attacked and killed him, and proceeded to occupy the land which, since (being) deserted by the Inhlangwini, had remained vacant. When Pakade arrived he and Ngotshana showed contempt for one another, with the result already indicated.

Upon his obtaining the land in question, Pakade was rapidly joined by sections of the Cunus from all parts, including of course those who had come to live under Mfusi after the defeat of Macingwane at the Insikeni. It was no doubt with the assistance of Mfusi's people that he succeeded in defeating Ngotshana.

14.5.1916. Sunday.

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 54-8.

54 Mqaikana ka Yenge continues.

See Ngoza ka Mkubukeli's praise, 'He "ate up" Nomagaga ka Mpumela'. These were Dhlamini people. The present chief of the section is Zidunge ka Mbazwana ka Nondaba ka Mpumela.⁹⁴ Nondaba was a younger brother of Nomagaga. Nomagaga died without issue so the heir came from Nondaba, viz. Mbazwana.

.... <Praises of Mqayikana kaYenge, with notes, omitted - eds.>

57 The 'egg of the injelwane'. When I was a lad, herding, I heard the leader among the herdboys send one of our number off to head off the cattle. In his absence a small hole was dug; into this the senior boy would void and then cover it up with earth. On the return of the boy in question, the senior would say, 'Go and dig up my bird's egg over there,' pointing at the spot where the hole had been dug. The boy went, began to dig, and immediately came upon the faeces. It would then be said, 'It was done by the egg of the injelwane.'

I cannot say what *injelwane* is in this case, or what connection *injelwane* here has with my praise. I don't know if *injelwane* is a bird or an animal. I never heard it said it was *inungu* (or *ingungumbane*) [vide Bryant].⁹⁵

Horses. We saw horses for the first time at the time of the breaking of the rope (*ngo ku dabuka kwegoda*).⁹⁶ The Boers had the horses.

58 Tshaka, on one occasion, when his troops were at the Sibululungu (Port Natal),⁹⁷ asked his *indunas* how it would be if his troops, when attacking or when dancing at the royal kraal, were to imitate the waves which came breaking in onto the shore, one after the other. The *indunas* said it would be an excellent arrangement. The warriors were accordingly ranged to front the oncoming breakers and told to imitate and stab them or stab at them as they came up. This they accordingly did. And when they got back to the royal kraal, they adopted evolutions which resembled those of the sea they had observed.

Tshaka made two attacks on the Pondos.⁹⁸ In one of these his Mkandhlu regiment was very severely punished by the enemy. However, Tshaka succeeded in capturing many cattle.

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File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 59-63.

59 *Dweba ka Gwile of the Dhlamini section of the Zizi people.*⁹⁹ When this man wanted to go out into the veld to relieve nature, *grass mats* would be laid down the whole way, to prevent his treading on the bare earth. Again, whenever he came outside of his hut to where the *men* were, he would ask, 'What hill is that over there?' when the men would say, '*It is the iSandhluluba.*'¹⁰⁰ This question would be repeated daily. That was the only work he ever seemed to do. Later on, Matiwane attacked his tribe and he was obliged to flee. Owing to his sedentary habits, he was unable to walk, so had to be supported by men, one under each arm, and helped along. Eventually he was overtaken by the *impi*. They came to where he was concealed and was unable to get away owing to never having trained himself to walk. Matiwane's people promptly put him to death.

60 Dweba's district was all about Estcourt. I don't know where Matiwane was living at the time.

[Notice that Dweba was of the Dhlamini section of the amaZizi, and so it is different to the old Dhlamini tribe so often referred to by Mqaikana.]

Dweba's people built their cattle-folds of stones.

I can give no information of the amaZizi people.

The Zizi dialect is similar to ours; they say, '*Wentani?*'¹⁰¹ Thus I conclude they must have come from the same part of South Africa that we did, viz. Swaziland. They are not of the amaBaca race.

There are various sections of the Bele tribe: (a) Zulu ka Mancoba, of the *emaBenseni* people, i.e. part of the amaBele; (b) Qunta ka -- <sic>, the Bele of the Kubone people, of the Ntuli people; (c) Ngobizembe ka Mkonto - Mapumulo; (d) Ndhlela ka Sompisi - was of the Ntuli tribe, i.e. of the Bele people.¹⁰²

The Beles are very numerous. *The kings ruled through them in the Zulu country. They produced amaduna, like Ndhlela.*¹⁰³

61 Mqaikana agrees that *praises* touch but slightly on affairs. They do so because, when originally composed, the matters referred to were well-known, hence it was unnecessary to do more than touch on them, but afterwards the matters pass out of later generations' remembrance and only the praises remain, the allusions in many instances being lost. *Praises* are like photographs; they correspond to Europeans' photography. I told Mqaikana that I had myself thought of this very thing, and that is why I had collected so many of them.

Description of Mqaikana (alias Tomu) ka Yenge: A man about 85 or 86 years of age (same age, he says, as Tulwana or Mboza regiment), walks stooping; dark, brown or bronze complexion; rather Romanish nose; no headring - fell off some time ago owing to loss of hair; front teeth gone, though plenty of others; grey hair and beard, latter rather under chin and about 1½ inches long; very intelligent, recollects affairs well; knows very little of Zulu affairs proper, but strong on Nhangwini, Kuze and Mpumuza matters. He also knows much about Nxamalalas and Cunus. He lives some way up the *Msunduzana* river and his nearest way is to catch the train from the direction of Donnybrook.¹⁰⁴ Laduma lives near Sweetwaters station.¹⁰⁵ Mqaikana's own *praises* appear on p. 54. Mqaikana is a man who has evidently passed most of

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his time among the Nhlanguini (under Fodo ka Nombewu), the Kuze Dhlamini (under Kukulela), and the Mpumuza (under his own father, Yenge, and Teteleku).

I sent Mqaikana back to Laduma today by train (3.30 p.m.) in company of Madhlula (messenger), giving him an 18s 6d rug, 3s shirt, 2s 6d (coin), as well as a 5s present for Laduma. I had already paid 3s 6d to a previous messenger on this account, and Madhlula will also get the same, whilst money spent by Laduma on rail fares will also be refunded. So Mqaikana's evidence has cost about £2, and 6s for food (meat, bread and snuff). In addition, I got Allerston to take Mqaikana's photograph; this will come to another 5s or 6s.¹⁰⁶ [Laduma next day sent me a fine pot and refused to get refund of rail fares.]

- 63 From my present experience with Mqaikana, and with many other old men, I reckon that one could get down most of the information of value it is possible for a man of 80 or so to give within seven to ten clear days. It is hard work, for the man taking down as well as for the old man, but it can be done without much inconvenience.

Notes

- ¹The passage in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ²Formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.
- ³A recent estimate gives Cetshwayo's date of birth as 1832: see Guy, 'Cetshwayo kaMpande', in Saunders, ed., Black Leaders, p. 75.
- ⁴The statement in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The battle referred to was fought in April 1838 (not 1839) near the mouth of the Thukela between a Zulu force and a cattle-raiding party led by white hunter-traders from Port Natal.
- ⁵The killing of Retief and his party of Trekkers took place in February 1838 at Dingane's emGungundlovu *umuzi*.
- ⁶Laduma kaTeteleku was chief of the Mpumuza people in the Estcourt, Impendhle, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umgeni and Umvoti divisions. The Mpumuza were an offshoot of the Zondi people.
- ⁷Mhlola kaMzimba was chief of the main section of the Zondi people, with adherents living in the Impendhle, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umgeni and Umvoti divisions. He died in 1923.
- ⁸Bhambatha kaMancinza played a leading role in the Natal rebellion of 1906. He had been chief of a section of the Zondi, with adherents living in the Krantzkop, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umgeni, and Umvoti divisions.
- ⁹The Nadi stream flows from the south to join the Thukela near the latter's confluence with the Mzinyathi (Buffalo).
- ¹⁰Madlenya kaMahawule was chief of a section of the Fuze.
- ¹¹Dingane's emGungundlovu *umuzi* in the country to the south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi was set on fire by the Zulu themselves after the Boer victory at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838.
- ¹²Kettlefontein is a locality on the hill known as World's View which overlooks Pietermaritzburg from the west. *Ilau (ilawu)* is the Zulu word for a person of Khoisan-European descent.
- ¹³Swartkop location lies to the south-west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ¹⁴Msholoz(a) was chief of the Nxamalala (Zuma) people.

- ¹⁵ Fodo kaNombewu was chief of a section of the Nhlanguwini people. The attack referred to was probably the one made by the Boers in December 1840 on the Bhaca who lived to the south of Natal.
- ¹⁶ A British force under Captain T.C. Smith occupied Port Natal in May 1842.
- ¹⁷ Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 256, gives Machibise as the woman chief of a section of the Nqondo people.
- ¹⁸ For 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*, vols. 1, 2, and 3, indexes.
- ¹⁹ Ntunjambili is the Zulu name for Kranskop mountain.
- ²⁰ Phakade kaMacingwane was chief of the Chunu in Natal from the late 1830s until his death in 1880.
- ²¹ Msinga mountain lies north-west of the Thukela-Mzinyathi confluence.
- ²² The names are those of the line of Khuze chiefs. Cf. the Khuze chiefly genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 367. Miskofeli (Msikofeli) kaKhukhulela was chief of the Khuze in the Ipoleta, Ixopo, and Upper Umkomanzi divisions.
- ²³ Bhidla kaNgonyama was chief of the main section of the Dlamini in the time of Shaka and Dingane. Khukhulela kaMiso preceded his son Miskofeli as chief of the Khuze. Mbazwana kaNondaba (?) was chief of the esiPhahleni; Fodo kaNombewu and Sidoyi kaBaleni were chiefs of sections of the Nhlanguwini in the mid-nineteenth century.
- ²⁴ Dunjwa kaMabedla was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in vol. 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ²⁵ By means of the arrowed insertion of the words 'different people', Stuart draws attention to the fact that the Nomagaga (of the esiPhahleni people) here referred to should be distinguished from the Nomagaga (of the Khuze people) mentioned in the previous line. Both should be distinguished from the Nomagaga kaNsele who, as recorded on p. 2 above, was of the line of Zondi chiefs.
- ²⁶ *UNKulunkulu*, 'the Greatest One', and *uMvelinqangi*, 'the First to Appear', are Zulu terms for the Deity.
- ²⁷ On the use of 'Lufenulwenja' or 'Lubololwenja' (literally, dog's penis) as a name for the Zulu, see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 104, 174, 202, vol. 2, pp. 12, 254, vol. 3, p. 146; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 13, 221-2, 369-70; Fuze, *Black People*, p. 43.
- ²⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 691, gives *iwaba* as 'Black ox...with a white patch under the belly...'.
²⁹ Cedara station is situated some twelve kilometres to the north-west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ³⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 122, gives *iduna* as 'a highest-class *i-nDuna*...'.
³¹ The reference is to ingredients of the medicines which were used to strengthen the chief at the *ukweshwama* ceremony.
- ³² Madonela was Donald Strachan, one of the first colonial traders to operate in what is now East Griqualand. The village of Umzimkulu is situated on the middle reaches of the Mzimkhulu river.
- ³³ Nomsimekwana kaMcoseli was chief of a section of the Nyavu people. Table Mountain lies some twenty kilometres east of Pietermaritzburg.
- ³⁴ Sawoti kaDumisa was chief of the Duma people in the Alexandra division in the late nineteenth century.

- ³⁵ Nobanda kaNgwane has previously been identified by the informant as belonging to the line of Mpumuza chiefs.
- ³⁶ I.e. in what later became Swartkop location.
- ³⁷ The reference is presumably to the section of Fuze under Hemuhemu which had established itself on land near present-day Elandskop, some thirty kilometres south-west of Pietermaritzburg, in what later became Swartkop location.
- ³⁸ The Mpanza stream rises near present-day Greytown and joins the Mpfana (Mooi) river near Keat's Drift.
- ³⁹ Mrolweni (Mholweni) has previously been identified by the informant as the name of a forest near present-day Howick.
- ⁴⁰ 'Wenzani?' means 'What are you doing?' 'Wentani?' is its *tekeza* form.
- ⁴¹ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 324, writes of *amakhubalo* medicines that they 'are eaten always upon the death of one of the family, in order to strengthen against ill-effects that might otherwise follow'.
- ⁴² EbuNguni was the Xhosa country.
- ⁴³ Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 501, gives Zosha as a synonym for Debe, the name which he applies to a section of the Nguni peoples. See also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 118; vol. 2, pp. 12, 113, 119.
- ⁴⁴ The Khabela people lived in the Umvoti and Mapumulo divisions.
- ⁴⁵ Somahashi kaNzombane was chief in the mid-nineteenth century of the Bomvu living in what became the Umsinga and Umvoti divisions of Natal colony.
- ⁴⁶ Ngunezi kaSiyingela was chief of a section of the Mbo, or Mkhize, people in Natal in the later nineteenth century. He was succeeded by his son Tilonko, who was deposed and exiled by the Natal colonial government at the end of the rebellion of 1906.
- ⁴⁷ Mswati ruled the Swazi kingdom from the mid-1840s until his death in 1865.
- ⁴⁸ Kula was chief of the Qamu people until his deposition at the end of the rebellion of 1906.
- ⁴⁹ Stuart's notes of his interviews with Nongamulana appear to be missing from the Stuart Collection.
- ⁵⁰ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original in the upper margin of p. 55.
- ⁵¹ For Mhlola and Laduma see notes 6 and 7 above. Funizwe was chief of a section of the Zondi in the Umvoti division.
- ⁵² Langalibalele ka Mthimkhulu was chief of the Hlubi in the Estcourt area of Natal until his deposition by the colonial authorities in 1873.
- ⁵³ Mbubu or Swartkop hill overlooks Pietermaritzburg from the west.
- ⁵⁴ Mawa was a sister of Senzangakhona, father of the Zulu king Mpande. She fled to Natal with a large following in 1843.
- ⁵⁵ Nongqawuse was the young woman whose prophecies about the imminent end of white rule were instrumental in bringing about the Xhosa 'cattle-killing' of 1856-7.
- ⁵⁶ *Ikhafula* (pl. *amakhafula*) is the Zulu form of the word kafir.
- ⁵⁷ At an early stage of the Natal rebellion of 1906 the rebel leader Bhambatha kaMancinza joined forces with Sigananda kaZokufa, chief of the Cube in the Nkandhla division. In his *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 209, Stuart mentions that Sigananda had taken refuge with Bhambatha's father, Mancinza, after the Zulu civil war of 1856. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 122, gives *i-Duna* (*iduna*) as 'a highest-class *i-nDuna*'.

- ⁵⁸Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- ⁵⁹The reference is to a Zulu myth about the origins of human mortality. See for example the version recorded in Callaway, Religious System, pp. 3-4.
- ⁶⁰Fodo ka Nombewu was chief of a section of the Nhlanguwini people (see also notes 15 and 23 above). The events referred to in this passage took place in late 1846 and early 1847.
- ⁶¹Sidoyi kaBaleni was chief of a section of the Nhlanguwini people. In 1857 he fell foul of the Natal colonial authorities and fled across the colony's southern border.
- ⁶²Adam Kok led the well-known Griqua trek of 1861-3 from the southern Orange Free State into the area that became known as East Griqualand. He was killed in a carriage accident in 1875.
- ⁶³An *isivivane* (pl. *izivivane*) was a pile of stones and other objects deposited by travellers as good-luck tokens at prominent points along the wayside.
- ⁶⁴Ngoza was killed in the Mpondo country in the early 1820s after having taken flight from Shaka.
- ⁶⁵The Boers in Natal were defeated by the British in 1842. Natal was annexed as a British colony in 1843, and a civilian administration set up in 1845-6.
- ⁶⁶Cf. the account of Nxamalala history in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 520-22. The village of Mpendle lies some fifty kilometres west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ⁶⁷Wohlo was Henry Ogle; Mbuyazi was Henry Francis Fynn. The reference is to the first of two cattle raids made into the southern regions of the Zulu kingdom in March and April 1838 by forces led by white hunter-traders from Port Natal. See also notes 4 and 14 above.
- ⁶⁸For *ilawu* see note 12 above.
- ⁶⁹Mzilikazi kaMashobana, chief of the Ndebele, was at this stage living in what is now the western Transvaal.
- ⁷⁰Njeje (Njenje) kaSehele was chief of the Madlala people, who were closely related to the Mpumuza.
- ⁷¹Vezi was a praise-name for Dingane.
- ⁷²Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane people who lived near the sources of the White Mfolozi river.
- ⁷³Matiwane and his people were driven over the Drakensberg by Shaka in the early 1820s. In mid-1828 they attempted to settle at the sources of the Mthatha river, but were attacked and dispersed by a combined force of British, Boers, Thembu, and Xhosa.
- ⁷⁴The 'Cape Corps' was presumably the Cape Mounted Rifles, a regiment which, from its formation in 1827 until the early 1850s, consisted largely of 'coloured' soldiers. For *ilawu* (pl. *amalawu*) see note 12 above.
- ⁷⁵Captain (later Major) T.C. Smith occupied Port Natal with a force of British troops in May 1842. See also note 16 above.
- ⁷⁶Mafahleni was chief of the Nxamalala.
- ⁷⁷On the *umgando* practice see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 527-8.
- ⁷⁸Nomagaga kaDlomo was chief of the Khuze who lived near the lower reaches of the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river in the early nineteenth century. Mdingi kaLanga was chief of the Memela who lived on the lower reaches of the Ndaka (Sundays) river.
- ⁷⁹Ngoza kaMkhubukeli was chief of the Thembu who lived on the lower

reaches of the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river.

- ⁸⁰ Macingwane kaJama (?) was chief of the Chunu.
- ⁸¹ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 662, gives *isi-Tundu* (*isithundu*) as 'Any medicine mixed up...and drunk as an emetic, in order to render oneself favoured by the *amadhlizi*...'.
⁸² The reference is to T. Shepstone, 'Historic sketch of the tribes anciently inhabiting the colony of Natal', Report and Proceedings of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G.4.-'83, Cape Town, 1883, part II, p. 416.
- ⁸³ I.e. on the middle reaches of the Thukela, above its confluence with the Mzinyathi.
- ⁸⁴ The Ngcolosi lived below the 'Kop' near present-day Kranskop.
- ⁸⁵ Presumably the Lufafa, which flows from the south into the middle reaches of the Mkhomazi.
- ⁸⁶ The Phatheni hill lies to the north of the middle reaches of the Mkhomazi, some twelve kilometres south-west of present-day Richmond.
- ⁸⁷ The Nsikeni hill lies some sixty kilometres north of present-day Kokstad.
- ⁸⁸ Phakade was one of Macingwane's sons. See also note 20 above.
- ⁸⁹ Mandlakazi kaNguni was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in volume 2 of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁹⁰ The *ukweshwama* ceremony constituted the first part of the 'first fruits' (*umkhosi*) ceremonies.
- ⁹¹ Khukhulela kaMiso was chief of the Khuze in the Ipolela, Ixopo, and Upper Umkomanzi divisions. He died in 1888.
- ⁹² Mpongo kaZingelwayo was chief of the Ndlovu living in the Nkandla region.
- ⁹³ The original reads '...Gabangaye the son of Silwane'. This represents a slip on Stuart's part. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263, gives Silwane as the son of Gabangaye and grandson of Phakade, as do Stuart's informants Mbovu kaMshumayeli and Memi kaNguluzane: see Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 26, 264.
- ⁹⁴ The names are those of the line of esiPhahleni chiefs. See also notes 23 and 25 above.
- ⁹⁵ Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 430, 457, gives *ingungumbane* and *inungu* as meaning porcupine.
- ⁹⁶ An expression used to refer to Mpande kaSenzangakhona's flight from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.
- ⁹⁷ *Isibubulungu* was the Zulu name for the Bluff in what is now Durban.
- ⁹⁸ In 1824 and 1828.
- ⁹⁹ Dweba kaGwili was chief of a section of the Zizi people in the early nineteenth century.
- ¹⁰⁰ The iSandluluba is a hill in the present-day Estcourt district.
- ¹⁰¹ I.e. 'Wenzaani?' (literally, 'What are you doing?') in the dominant Zulu dialect. See also note 40 above.
- ¹⁰² Ndlela kaSompisi was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹⁰³ For *iduna* see note 30 above.
- ¹⁰⁴ Donnybrook lies some sixty-five kilometres south-west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ¹⁰⁵ Sweetwaters lies a few kilometres west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ¹⁰⁶ A photograph of Mqayikana is attached to the inside of the front cover of notebook 1 of file 57: this is presumably the photograph to which Stuart is referring.