

NSUZE ka MFELAFUTI

1.2.1912

File 67, nbk. 11, pp. 1-6.

- 1 Nsuze ka Mfelafuti ka Sifuku, Felapakati regiment, *of the Ngcobo people*.¹ Chief: Mjadu (formerly Sigananda).²

Bambata *came out up the Ngomankulu* river [i.e. Wednesday 11 April], at the Ezindundumeni hill, not far from Enhlweni.³

Beer at Mmangwana's, Saturday 7th April.

Called when sun was rising - by Nombika on Sunday 8th April.

Nkandhla was the name applied to the forests generally, not so much to Sibuda, Nomangci etc. Dukuza, Kwelendhlovu, Elibomvana are among the forests of the Nkandhla.

I met Bambata at Mmangwana's kraal, where the Izimbabala stream enters the Insuze, and just opposite the Itate gorge.⁴ I was taken by Nombika ka Mfelafuti (Nombika is my half-brother). Nombika asked me to go and see *the madman (uhlanya) who had fought with the white people at the Mpanza*. We got there. I there saw Sikebe (*one-eyed - icide*) ka Godide, Qililabajwa ka Maqubandaba (chief: Mpumela) and another - all known to me.⁵ I also saw Nqakamatshe of Bambata's tribe, who told me they had been fighting with the Europeans and been chased away. They were coming to Zululand because Dinuzulu told them to do so. Qililabajwa also told us he had joined because Dinuzulu had directed them to do so through D.'s messenger, Sukabekuluma. Mangati had ordered Sikebe and Qililabajwa to show Bambata the way to the Nkandhla.⁶ (Sikebe and Qililabajwa were both shot in the Mome.)⁷

Whilst there, Muntumuni, a brother of Mmangwana's, came up with assegais and shield (*irawu*), and remarked in a loud voice, '*Who is it who is bringing the madman here to our home? For I know Bambata. I used to be a policeman at Greytown. I know B. was always being arrested for eating up European cattle!*' This was said in Bambata's hearing, who turned his head and looked, but said nothing. The men present shut Muntumuni up, and directed that he should go and inform Sigananda.⁸

- 2 Muntumuni heard that Nombika and I had passed on to Mmangwana's (although we carried sticks only). Nombika and Mmangwana then sent Muntumuni to report B.'s coming to the district - a man who had fought with Europeans, and the people

who accompanied him said he had been sent there (Nkandhla) by Dinuzulu.

Muntumuni and Mqgibelo ka Faku went to Siganda, then at Enhlweni. (Siganda used also to stay at Jikajika's (Mfumfu - father), at the foot of the Bobe.⁹ Siganda was wont to stay mostly at this kraal of Jikajika's.)

At this time Ndabaningi used to stay at oPindweni - on top.¹⁰ He was not in control of the tribe. Negotiations on with Saunders about this.¹¹

Muntumuni was the only one sent by Siganda to the magistracy. Mqgibelo returned from Enhlweni.

Muntumuni and M. went off to Siganda after having had beer at Mmangwana's - left about 8 a.m. (I heard afterwards they halted at Mpiyomdeni's in mouth of gorge - there being beer there too.) Bambata followed on, leaving Mmangwana's at about 10 a.m. He proceeded to Mpiyomdeni's. I left Mmangwana's about 11 and returned home.

[Monday 9th.] On the following morning a man came to call us all up to Siganda as he required us to attend. Nombika sent me and Mgoqo.

We arrived at about 11 a.m. at Enhlweni, and found Ndabaningi arriving with Makahleleka and other sons of Siganda. [Ndabaningi (✓), Makahleleka (✓), Mjadu (x), Hlazo (✓), Nomayikayika (x), Mponswa (✓), Mbebeni (x), Mbewu (x), Mmangaliso (x), Mhlazana (x), Kolo (x), Ndondoza (✓), Ncwadi (x), Sitshimeyana (x) - sons of Siganda.] Those ticked off thus ✓ were present at Enhlweni when I attended.

- 3 I, Mgoqo, and a messenger from Mangati were called aside. We went and sat outside Enhlweni kraal with Siganda, Makahleleka, Ndabaningi and Lunyana (the last being the man with whom Siganda used to discuss tribal affairs).

I heard 18 Reserves went after Bambata - crossed at Watton's, went up Manyane and slept at Elias but three returned by Watton's same day. This on the Monday. They (15) went on to Court house Mpandhlani - Tuesday. Returned Wednesday at Sisusa Mt. overtook Mgungulu with whom they walked. M. left them and went Nhlweni, whilst they came down Bobe, Nkolotshana where they struck road (met some of Ndube's loyalists and after talking to them) moved to Ntolwane, down Madungela and on to Krantzkop.¹²

The country was not under arms on the Wednesday - day the Reserves returned. On the Thursday Bambata showed himself for first time openly.

Siganda from the very first seemed to me to be siding with Bambata, in spite of Makahleleka and Ndabaningi's remonstrances. The latter remarked on the Monday morning [9th] in my hearing that if Dinuzulu had directed B. to start the rebellion then they ought to carry it on to Dinuzulu and not bring it to their ward.

Nzimela ka Mbango was sent by Siganda before dawn on Monday to Nombika and Mmangwana and others to tell them to come to Siganda at once. Nombika was unwell, so sent me and Mgoqo, saying he wanted us to go and listen as to what was being said. I left home with Mgoqo at about 8 a.m. and got to Siganda's Enhlweni kraal at about 10 a.m. We were both riding. As we arrived, I saw Makahleleka and

Ndabaningi arrive, accompanied by about 20 people. Lunyana had already arrived with about 30 people. None of these were armed.

My arrival was reported. Presently we were called outside the kraal, to the side front of it.¹³

Makahleleka, Ndabaningi, Mangati's messenger (Hlupeka), Polombo (*induna* of Sigananda - died later in Pietermaritzburg gaol), Nondoza, Mgoqo, I, and Mehlo (died in gaol, Pietermaritzburg), were those taken on one side by Sigananda.

Makahleleka was the first to speak. He said, '*What is it? Why have you summoned us? (Ku yini na? U si bizelani na?)*'. S. replied, I am calling you on account of this man here. A messenger has arrived from Mangati to say that a son of Gezindaka, Sukabekuluma, had been to Mangati who said he was going on to Mfungelwa.¹⁴ He said he had been sent by Dinuzulu along with Bambata, with instructions to *set the impi on to fight at the Mpanza (qat' impi Empanza)*. D. had given them guns and told them after starting hostilities to break across to the Nkandhla forest.

Makahleleka replied: Even if Dinuzulu directed him to do this, no one has a right to come on to us in this way, not even you, father, having advised us. Why are not the guns taken on to Dinuzulu? As this man Bambata has been directed to come on to Nkandhla, it is evident that something must have passed between you and Dinuzulu of which you have not advised us, or Dinuzulu would have given no such order.

Ndabaningi said: If Dinuzulu directed Bambata to *set on the impi*, why does not Bambata go on to him (Dinuzulu)?

Ndabadingi also agreed and repeated what Makahleleka had said about S. having had secret communication with Dinuzulu, or the Nkandhla would not have been decided on as the place of refuge.

S. made no reply to these insinuations. He gave me the impression that there was some truth in the insinuations.

Lunyana: '*My brother, are you going to refuse when a girl has chosen him? (Mfowetu u zo kwal' intomb' imqomile na?)*'

Mgoqo (in reply to Lunyana): As regards the girl's choice. Is it not only yesterday that Sigananda sent Muntumuni and Linda to report Bambata's presence to the magistrate? Did not the magistrate thank him and say that Sigananda was really one of themselves, notwithstanding the *isaga* that had been used a few weeks before about which a case was tried and all the men let off?¹⁵

I thought we had been called up by you now relative to Ndabaningi assuming the chieftainship, but you call us on account of this man - a Sitimela - who will destroy the country.¹⁶

5 Sigananda (in reply to Mgoqo): *Then you will die, leaving your wives behind! (Ni zo ke nife ke, ni tshiy' abafazi!)*

The interview was a short one. I went back to Nombika who said that although ill he would go and see Sigananda before irrevocable action had been taken by him to plunge the country into turmoil.

The next day I went with Nombika who went and chatted with Sigananda.

Just after the meeting above described, Sigananda sent off messengers to all parts of his district to tell Natives to arm and come to him and bring their blankets or

clothing with them. Nombika resolved to get to S. before the people so called had arrived.

Nombika asked Sigananda why he had called up all the people. Sigananda said: Did not your boys tell you yesterday? Is it not the case that on a former occasion your boys, *armed*, joined Yamela, and went to fight against Dinuzulu?¹⁷ S. added that his own people refrained from arming. N. said: I did not suspect you would get at me with these remarks. I came merely to ask what had happened to cause you to act thus.

Makahleleka and Ndabaningi had slept there. They were still present and had failed to persuade their father of the error of his ways.

Nombika, Mgoqo and I left late in the afternoon - about six - and slept at Mpiyomdeni's (Mihleli ridge).

Bambata on the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday was in hiding in the Esigqumeni forest, but in the declivity of Emvalasango river.¹⁸

During Tuesday night - very late - in fact it was Wednesday morning, I heard people arriving from Sigananda's Enhlweni kraal to say that Bambata *had now come out of hiding, and was with an armed force at Enhlweni*. These people were on their way to drive off their cattle to Government as they were loyalists. They complained that Sigananda had thrown in his lot with Bambata.

Mankulumana came down just after the return of Masele and Maginga, who had been sent by Sigananda to Dinuzulu.¹⁹ Masele returned to say Dinuzulu denied all knowledge of Bambata's doings; he had said, 'Let them do just what they want; it is no affair of mine.' Maginga, however, after delivering a message to Sigananda, or rather listening and approving what Masele, the *induna* of Sigananda, had said (Maginga however was an older man) - Maginga afterwards got among the rebels and said Dinuzulu really wished them to fight. In this way they were encouraged to resist. We say it was Maginga who *destroyed the land (bulala'd umhlabati)*. [He, Maginga, died in gaol in Pietermaritzburg. Masele was shot at Bobe, having become a rebel - shot through right leg, bullet going through and through - died of wound.]

It was known Mankulumana was coming. Masele said that Mankulumana was coming to *mediate (lamula)*, but Maginga went about saying that Dinuzulu said he had been bought by the Europeans; he is simply coming to *deceive Bambata*; but Masele said Dinuzulu says Mankulumana is being sent at the request of the Government to see if the rebels won't listen to him. D. said, 'But do not mix me up in Bambata's affairs. He has already started his fighting; let him continue it if he likes.'

Neither Masele nor Maginga were produced when Mankulumana arrived. Mankulumana *put up at the place of a son of Lurungu*,²⁰ near Cetshwayo's grave. Sigananda was never brought before Mankulumana. I think Sigananda was hidden by Lunyana, Jikajika, and Polombo.

2.2.1912

File 67, nbk. 11, pp. 6-20.

The people who came down from Enhlweni early on the Wednesday morning

7 said not only that Bambata had come out of hiding but that the chief had received him into his body of followers - there were not many of these at that time, but they were already armed.

By this time Ndube had sent Ntengo and another to Sigananda to ask in what direction Ndube's men were to go on guard. Sigananda directed that they were to keep guard at the Nkunzana stream. Ndube's people, whilst still all together, *put up at Ezigqileni* - kraal of Lurungu, father of Lunyana. (This kraal was situated on opposite side of C.'s grave of the Nkunzana but quite close to the grave. It was the gravekeeper's principal kraal).

Ndube's men afterwards reproved Ndube for directing them to go and put themselves under Sigananda's orders, as Ndube said he was under Sigananda, and when they had done so they found S. sided with Bambata. That they came back and informed N. of this, who still maintained his former attitude, but later on, finding that the Government was unduly pressing him, broke away and gave himself up to the authorities at Eshowe.

Ndube's men also said: We came to you carrying *ox-tails (amatshoba)*, but you did not say we were not to carry them and that the Government would supply us with what we were to wear. You also told us to listen to what Sigananda instructed us to do and not to act counter to his wishes.

Ndube replied he had sent Makubalo to them to tell them to return to him. Makubalo was sent by Ndube's son and heir, Ganumfazi, on the latter hearing by men from Enhlweni on Wednesday 11th that Bambata had been received into his midst by Sigananda and some of Ndube's men who had congregated there. Makubalo was sent to direct Ndube's men to leave and return. Makubalo went and spoke to Ndube's men (but latter would not return; Makubalo remained and became a rebel).²¹ There were also some of Mnyakanya's men.²² These, including sons of Mnyakanya, 8 saw that S. was practising deception and not looking for Bambata, so, realizing the position to be false, they decided to leave. All Mnyakanya's people left.

On Wednesday morning [11th] I left Mpiyomdeni's with Mgoqo, Jonase and two or three others and went to where I heard Bambata and the *impi* had assembled, between Esipongweni and Ndundumeni and close to Ngomankulu, at the base of a small hill there.²³ We arrived very early - 7 a.m. We went and sat along with members of our tribe. I saw the lot from Ndube's in another part.

At about 12 a beast, *ilungakazi*, was brought forward and presented by Sigananda to Bambata.²⁴ Bambata at this time was seated with S. Between my arrival and 12 nothing went on - simply visiting one another from one lot of men to another.²⁵ The beast was fired at; the first shot was a mis-fire, the second killed the beast. [See further on.]²⁶ It was then skinned and eaten by B.'s men. We got nothing of it. There were assembled now 3 *companies (viyos)* of Ndube's men (2 having broken away - *nyiba* - during night), 5 of Sigananda's and 2 of Bambata's. All of course were armed. We were now all ordered 'to go through one gate together', notwithstanding that there was no gate there. In the meantime two Msutu doctors were preparing *izintelezi* which, it was said, would prevent bullets from entering.²⁷ As we marched by we were *sprinkled with medicine (cela'd)* and at the same time we walked through the smoke of some plant that was burning - we had to jump over the burning stuff.

After this we were addressed by Bambata's Msutu, Paula. He said that the bullets of the Europeans would not enter us, we would not even be wounded. He instanced the case of Sitimela who had come to Zululand and said if attacked by Europeans bees and wasps would sting them and true enough they failed to do any injury to him. He disappeared - the only people injured being the Mtetwa. After this we *formed a circle* 9 (*umkumbi*), making a complete circle. Siganda came into the centre, whereupon he said, 'I am now at war with the white people! (*Se ngi yalwa mina nabelungu!*)' Mmangwana now remarked that it was absurd to talk of fighting the Europeans with a lot of men like that, for the English had only recently waged with success a great war against the Boers.

Mmangwana had only just returned with Simoyi from the magistracy, where he had been sent by Siganda. He had seen Saunders, who said he was not going to keep on sending messages backwards and forwards to S. It was absurd to suppose that S. could not find B., for he had come into the midst of kraals, and people had feet and could detect the spoor of even a couple of men, how much more that of a hundred or so.

Mmangwana said Saunders had remarked that although Sitimela escaped, all the Mtetwa house had suffered, and that is what would happen to Siganda's tribe.

After this, late in the afternoon and when it was misty, we broke up and scattered among all the kraals in the Nkunzana valley.

Next day we all assembled at Ezigqileni where Bambata was also in attendance. *Temporary shelters (amadhlangala)* were now constructed. Later the same day, leaving some to go on with the *amadhlangala*, we all moved up to Endundumeni and up the ridge past Esipongweni and Emabaleni. In the meantime some hot heads took it into their heads to go and seize the cattle of loyalists in Makubalo's district.²⁸

When S. saw Bambata moving up as if bent on attacking the Europeans, he sent to ask who had given them authority to attack and that it was against his orders. He added that Maginga and Masele were still away. They had been sent to Dinuzulu to get confirmation of the news brought by Sukabekuluma that he, D., had directed B. 10 to take refuge in S.'s stronghold. Bambata and party then returned. Earlier in the day my friend Mgoqo was one of those sent off by Bambata to scout because he had a horse. He was also given a gun. He scouted in the direction of Sisusa and Nomangci.

The next few days after this but little was done. Maginga and Masele got back on night of 23rd from Dinuzulu. Masele said that Dinuzulu knew nothing of all this, and that the proof that he knew nothing of this would be S. now directing that all should scatter and cause B. to be arrested and brought to the Government. Maginga however gave a different message, as already stated.

Mankulumana arrived the following day.

When the beast was killed I was not among those near whom it was shot but I heard that B.'s man fired twice with a magazine rifle. [See plan.]²⁹ It had been said beforehand that the beast had been bewitched (*lingiwe*) and would not drop to this man firing.³⁰ B. then took the gun, when it was stated that the beast would fall. True enough, he, B., fired and it fell dead.

At about 4 p.m. our women and children brought us all food from below.

Bambata had on a black or dark coat and trousers, also a helmet (like that of

Police). He had on an ammunition belt round the waist and a bandolier over the right shoulder. He also had on boots. He had a magazine rifle. He had a dark brown horse - very fat.

His men all had on white ostrich feathers. There were eight guns among them, including three Tower muskets, three magazine rifles, one Martini Henry, one double-barrel gun (takes bullets). Sukabekuluma also had a gun, but was away that day. The men also had assegais and large shields. They also all carried the *tshokobezi* badge.³¹

On that day, Wednesday, all our (S.'s) people also carried the *tshokobezi* badge, also all Ndube's people.

- 11 The badge was carried on the head and the back of the neck, or allowed to hang in front down the chest. After the Bobe battle, Siganda gave directions that the badge was no longer to be worn round the neck and down the chest, but all were to put it round the head, for they might get hurt during the night.³²

I got my badge at Ezigqileni on Thursday, 12th April. 'To go through one gate' meant all to tread across the burning medicine - I do not know what this was. Mandisindaba was present, he being a son of the late Ncapayi, the old tribal doctor who *sprinkled the men* for war.

On the Tuesday, Calverley rode on to Nomangci.³³ He came to Mandisindaba's (Ncapayi's) kraal, conversed with him, for he was very familiar with him, passed on and overlooked the Gcongco, near where he met Makipa and, on his asking where Bambata was, Makipa said, 'I have just been out looking for my cattle. I went to Mvalasango and there I came upon Bambata and his *impi* concealed there.' Calverley asked why Siganda hid Bambata in this way, and said he did not know where he was.

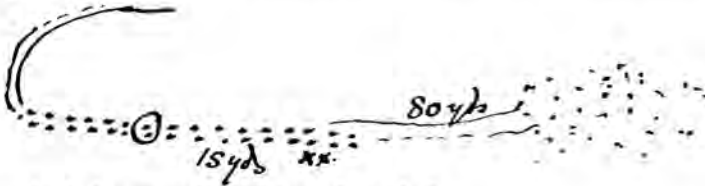
Later on Siganda heard that Makipa had told Calverley where Bambata was and caused his cattle and a horse to be seized. There were 10 cattle; two of these (oxen) were killed the same night at Ezigqileni as food for the *impi*, whilst the horse was used by rebels and subsequently captured by European troops. Makipa became a rebel, as he did not know how to escape, whereupon 8 of his cattle were returned to him.

The oPindweni cattle were not seized by order of Siganda for his son Nomayikayika was there. Nor were they seized. On its transpiring later that this man informed troops what the roads were, etc. etc. the rebels waylaid, caught and tied him up and brought him to his father, together with his stock. He stayed a little time, then escaped to the court house.

- 12 We were given a password. We were to say, '*Utini?*' and the reply was, '*Insumsumane.*'³⁴ But after the Bobe and Manzipambana *fights* we were directed to say, '*Utini?*' and to reply, '*Imali ya makanda,*' on the ground that the Europeans might have become familiar with the former.³⁵ Henceforward anyone replying '*Insumsumane*' must be reckoned as not one of us.

As regards the smoke we went through. We were told to go through one gate by Siganda by passing across a small fire which had been kindled and in which I noticed some green leaves and smelt some fatty substance (possibly of part of the beast already killed for B.'s people). We came upon the fire two and two and were

each to place one foot in it lightly, and pass on. First went Bambata's people; he went in among them too and passed over the fire, then Sigananda's and Ndube's together, two and two. As we emerged from the smoke, about 15 yards ahead there stood the 2 doctors, each with what seemed to be a gnu's tail with which they sprinkled (*cela'd*) us as we passed. The walking through the fire and being *cela'd* did not take many minutes. It was after this that we were told the effect of the *izintelezi* that had been used. [See above.]



[See attached plan as to disposition of people.]

Sigananda sat with Bambata, Mangati, and Lunyana, close under a prominent hill whose name I forget not far from Sipongweni and Ndundumeni, rather nearer the latter. Sigananda's men were in a clump about 80 yards from him, Ndube's across a small stream (enters the Ngomankulu) about 90 yards off Sigananda, Bambata's men 13 10 yards or so from Bambata. The beast was shot about 130 yards from me and rolled to where shown on the plan. Bambata shot it from the spot marked B on plan, i.e. about 30 yards from the beast. It was roasted where shown.

After Mmangwana and Simoyi had arrived from Empandhleri - after the slaughter of beast - Sigananda called them out into the open. They sat some distance away where indicated on the plan, and those named were with him. I did not hear what passed. Bambata was not present, but left behind. Sigananda and the others presently returned to where they had been sitting, after which he directed all to move through one gate, whereupon B.'s men lined up where shown, and Ndube's and Sigananda's - not forming a complete circle. B.'s men then moved off towards the fire referred to - in the direction of Ndundumeni, but on the flat, or very slightly below Sigananda. In stepping over this the man on the left put his right foot on the fire whilst the man on right put his left foot. When they got to the 2 doctors, each had a *pot (imbiza)* (12 or 14 inches high). The doctor nearest the boys *cela'd*, holding one tail (*small gnu - inkonkonyana*) in each hand; they were quite small tails. The other man had his pot also full of *intelezi* which we sipped from an *inkezo* which he held us, but we were told not to swallow but to keep the water in our mouths.³⁶ We all passed on in this way to a spot about 80 yards off where we all congregated. Here an *umkumbi* - complete circle - was formed; Bambata stood inside immediately in front of his people. Sigananda, Mangati and Lunyana presently came into the circle and there stood and addressed us. Sigananda began by saying: *Today, do not go to womenfolk. Whoever does so, will be harmed by bullets. Today I am at war with the white people. Your password when you meet one another is 'Utini?', and the other must reply, 'Insumansumani.'* You must not go home and sleep with your wives or 14 with girls, nor must you sleep on mats but on the bare ground. Anyone who does these things, a bullet striking him will kill him. On the other hand, he who refrains from sleeping with women will not be hurt in any way even should a bullet hit him.

Plan of doctoring of Bambata and Sigamanda's men

to April 1966
(Wed: 11 April)



whichever
x kills

rodal
x (sing)

x rasil
x Bambata
x men

x Sig. Mbl
x Sigamanda
x Bambata
x Sigamanda's
x Bambata

Sigamanda's
Bambata

This is where
Sigamanda's men
were shot by the
army in 1965. The
army was in a line
of attack after they
captured Bambata.

Kumbanda

Kumbanda remained
around on a corner of the
bambata's hill
Mambata - Mambata in
Mambata; shot with water in mouth

to Mambata
Kumbanda
Kumbanda
to Sigamanda's
Mambata
Mambata - Mambata in
Mambata; shot with water in mouth

Mambata

Paula endorsed what Sigananda had said. He remarked that he had left his wife, and a span of oxen and waggon at Ngome.³⁷ 'Why did I go? I wanted to fight. The Government is throwing away its heritage (*umbuso*) and gives it over to us.' 'Here,' he said, pointing at them, 'are my tribesmen. My men won't turn back now; they will go right forward and always. When they get angry they do so in a strong and determined manner.'

Mmangwana now said - speaking with the water he had just sipped in his mouth - 'I cannot accept what is said about not being hurt on being struck by a bullet, or that a bullet will not even enter one's body. I have never heard of such a thing. Is then a man's flesh made of iron? Did not a certain man find his way into the Mtetwa tribe and there become the cause of the whole countryside being ruined?' He (Mmangwana) referred, of course, to Sitimela, whose example he had been quoted by Mr Saunders and of which Mmangwana had just told Sigananda privately, as above indicated.³⁸ 'Did he not declare that if the Europeans came to attack him they would be stung by bees as well as by wasps, and be bitten by snakes? And when the European forces arrived in the district were not many of the Umtetwa tribe destroyed whilst this fellow escaped unhurt?'

No one made any reply to these comments, except Lunyana who merely remarked, 'How comes it that when the king directs anything to be done a lot of people step forward to proffer their remarks and observations? Used such a course to be followed in former days?' Lunyana too spoke with the water he had sipped still in his mouth.³⁹

Paula said nothing further at this stage. The *umkumbi* now broke up, the men being led off to the top of Ndundumeni hill by Mangati to *squirt (cinsa)* with the water still in their mouths. When they got up they all squirted the water out, saying, '*Fall, king! Fall Mgungundhlovu! Fall Mashiqela!*'⁴⁰

<The notes on pp. 15 and 16 of the original are recorded in pencil, as distinct from ink, and in a more compressed style of handwriting than that used on pp. 1-14 and on pp. 18-20. The language is at times also more telegraphic. The notes on pp. 15 and 16 may be survivals of Stuart's original rough notes, while those on pp. 1-14 and pp. 18-20 may constitute transcriptions made from rough notes which he subsequently discarded - eds.>

- 15 Not *smear*ed on the body - Bambata's doctors said this - our bodies not to be washed or *smear*ed with fat.

Not *carry water* - i.e. to wash.

Limbs not to be *washed* and yet the not doing this *caused fatigue*, and yet in Tshaka's day, warriors did *wash*, so our fathers told us.

If one does not wash he *becomes tired*.

But after the Bobe *impi* all began to *wash*, seeing that *untruths (amanga)* are *told*, because bullets had been found to penetrate in spite of the prophecy.

Many died at kwa Bobe.

Women came to *cry at uBobe*. Mangati and Bambata hid because women said they had been *made confident (kolisa'd)* by Bambata to say must fight Europeans and

could do so with impunity.

Bambata deserted his men from the time of Bobe till after Manzipambana - no one knows where he and Mangati got to. Siganda sent to Kotongweni and then to Macala to look for Mangati and Bambata, but could not find them.⁴¹ Then he heard of their staying just round Kombe, i.e. in Nkonyeni forest.⁴² Bambata had left his men with Siganda. These, however, wondered what had become of him. He was not heard of till he was in company with Mehlokazulu and Mtele.⁴³ [I.e. disappeared 5 May till about 7 June = 32 days. Cf. Mangati's disposition, p. 184, Cd. 3888.]⁴⁴

Siganda's *impi* left the forest and went to Macala after Manzipambana.

At night [3 June, day of Manzipambana] Bambata's and Ndube's *impi* left and went to Macala. The following night we, Siganda's men, left and went to Macala. We found the others at Macala. Sukabekuluma was there. [Had been wounded. Not in Mome. See Mangati's deposition.]⁴⁵

Mtele, Bambata, Lubudlungu (ka Faku),⁴⁶ Mehlokazulu, Mavukutu (big bodied man - from Natal - of the *Sotondose people*). These all returned when fetched by Bambata's *impi* from Nkonyeni forest just before Mome. They came after we (Siganda's men) had been three days at Macala.

When we (Siganda's men) got to Macala on the Monday night [4 June], we found Bambata's men had gone straight on to where Bambata was. After we had slept two further days, Madoda ka Mbango (chief: Siganda) and Sondhlovu came
16 from Siganda to say why does Bambata leave his (Bambata's) assigned place now and *provoke Siganda into quarrelling* with Europeans, and desert him? He must return the *impi*; *there will be fighting, as they said*, saying bullets don't enter (but they *told falsehoods*). The *impi* must return to fight. Bambata *told falsehoods* by saying bullets won't enter; here he is now deceiving once more by not carrying out the original plan.

B. told messengers to say that the *impi* was on its way back.

We slept a further day.

We next came down Macala, *went down by the Bulunja*, went up the Tugela, and crossed at Egweni drift (this a name of one of late Godide's kraals) - then quite a large *impi*, being with Mehlokazulu's lot. Here Mangati went to Mkuzangwe to obtain assistance, who said his father Gayede was ill - moreover he was a *dog of the government (umgodoyi ka Rulumeni)*.⁴⁷ (Mkuzangwe is now chief, Gayede having died. Mkuzangwe's kraal was close to drift. The whole *impi* did not go there, only Mangati [?])⁴⁸ He returned and we all went back. We had crossed by Egweni drift (formerly *umuzi of Godide* here). We came and went by the same drift - recrossed late at night. Others had insisted on our going on to Hlangabeza to go and ask for people as Mkuzangwe *had failed*.⁴⁹ Those in command were however afraid of going to Hlangabeza for fear of Europeans seeing and cutting them off from going back to Zululand and killing them.

They were afraid of Mkuzangwe - afraid - will give alarm for had said *he was a dog of the white people*.

<At this point in the original Stuart cross-refers to the next page of his notes, where Nsuze resumes the narrative of the march of the rebel forces - eds.>

NSUZE

These are people who *have joined the whites*. When I said Europeans were deceiving, Mehlokazulu said this. Remarked others had seen mules going up hill Maqonga.⁵⁰ Others came to say have *gone up oSungulweni*.⁵¹ There were 4 of us. Called for Nombika, our relations. Accused by Mehlokazulu and co. as searching in interests of Socwatsha.⁵² We said, '*They have made camp*.' Would not believe us. I was with Jonase (dead), Deliwe, Nobeulana. Ndabaningi, however, believed us.

Ndabaningi asked us if it was not possible for them to shut us in in the Mome, prevent entrance. Some said, they might come early, if we delayed to enter.

We then had food.

<At this point in the original Stuart cross-refers to the next page of his notes, where he records further statements given by Nsuze on the rebel leaders' discrediting of the information which he had given them - eds.>

- 17 On crossing Egweni, in vicinity of Izangome and east of Ezilozeni ridge we moved round the bend of the river to Watton's store, near where we got some food.⁵³ We then marched back beyond Egweni drift to a small stream not far from there, where we bivouacked, it then being shortly before dawn. We did not wake till about 1 p.m. We continued our march along the bank of the Tugela. Before getting to the Tulwane stream, we noticed two men I took to be Native policemen in great coats. They started shouting something at us. Sukabekuluma [?], who was riding in front, got off his horse, knelt down, fired and I saw one of the police fall. This man was killed outright. He was subsequently charged with murder and tried at Greytown. We now moved up towards Macala, near where Mangati's kraal used to be, but on the west side. Being close to my home [burnt?], I went off, looked for and found Nombika, but returned to our forces. It was now decided to return to the Mome. This was on Saturday, 9th June. We began leaving about 6 p.m.

When I, and the three other lads, went in the direction of our kraals, I clearly saw the troops (Barker's column) go and *make camp* in vicinity of Nkolotshana.⁵⁴ When I came back I reported this. I was taken to those in command who accused me of being in league with the Europeans. My and the other boys' testimony was discredited.

- 18 We left just after 6 p.m. - Bambata and Mangati said to form into *companies (viyos)*. He said that the Felapakati, Hayelwengwenya, Mavalana, and Mbokodwebomvu were to *be picked out*, but the Kandempemvu and the other older men were to proceed together.⁵⁵ Mangati said that Macala ka Ntobolongwana and Mganu ka Mqalana had been appointed *indunas* by Dinuzulu - these are the *izinduna to command the impi*. Mganu was to be Mavalana regiment; Macala was to be the general *induna*. Macala was an *older man (ikehla)* of the Kandempemvu regiment. He escaped at Mome. [Vide p. 28, other portion Nsuze's evidence.]⁵⁶

We then started off, Sigananda's people leading, knowing the road. We went down Nojeku ridge (also known as Nsimbini ridge - Nsimbini name of Faku's kraals). It was then quite dark. After crossing the Lugada stream we, being in the van,

met 4 of our people near path, saying Nombika wished us not to enter until they entered with him on the following day. He was unwell. These four were Lubobo ka Kwabiti, Mmangaliso ka Mncunywa, Mpempeto, and another.

We of Siganda's tribe who were leading were accompanied by Lubudhlungu ka Faku who was anxious to get in the Mome along with those who knew the way. Well, on these four meeting us, our party halted and sat down and waited till Ndabaningi arrived. He arrived and report was made to him. Ndabaningi said to Mmangwana's and Nombika's boys that 10 or more should stay outside and go to Nombika and enter the Mome with him the following morning on finding a favourable chance for so doing. Eight of us then stayed. Ndabaningi wanted about 20 to stay, so also did Mmangwana, but the boys were averse to remaining out for fear lest they should be overtaken by some misfortune before getting in. Our little party then went up onto the hills - looking towards Gcongco - exactly opposite Gcongco - where we *camped*. Lubobo went on to Nombika. We soon went to sleep. Presently Nombika arrived. 'Where are you going; do you want to enter? What if the
19 Europeans should be there waiting for you? What do you want to enter at night for when unable to see what you are doing?' We relieved ourselves of our burdens etc. and lay down, to sleep under a wild fig tree (*umtombe*).

When we 8 went off the whole of the *impi* had not all reached the Lugada stream; at the same time part of it had gone on to the Mome. We must have gone off about 8 p.m.

Whilst asleep, a boy Deliwe ka Malahle got up to *urinate*. It was clearly visible from there to Mpiyomdeni's. He said, 'Ha, the *impi* has made fires! Wake up and see them.' It was then late at night. We all woke up. Were the Europeans to come now they would see the fires. We again lay down. Mpempeto got up presently and said, 'They are lying down now; they are going out. They must be asleep.' Again we lay down to sleep. At about 5 a.m. we heard and were roused by the artillery.⁵⁷ We decided to hide in the Lugada stream and in the *bush*, for the troops would not look about much because engaged with the main body. Nombika was with us; he warned us not to make off as the whites might see us out of their telescopes going up hills. He said the *impi* would push on into the forest.

When dawn came, both sides of Mome were covered with European forces, and there was no trace of our *impi*. The whites *blocked it off* (*vimba'd*) till sunset.

Our people emerged from the forest about 9 p.m. [on 10th June]. After the Mome, every man who had escaped made off to Macala, including Ndabaningi, Mangati. Bambata and Mtele did not return - we were told that these two were killed. Bambata was reported to have been shot in the arm and to have divested himself of his trousers.

Whilst the *impi* was at Mpiyomdeni's asleep, a boy Lugada ka Mjiba, about fourteen years old, came to the *impi* whilst asleep. He said he was looking for his fathers Maqambeyana and Macala. When he got to these men he said, 'Here are the
20 Europeans. I heard them coming down Nkolotshana; they are about to cross (at Lubiyele's); they were coming down Nkolotshana when I heard them.' 'How did you hear them?' 'Can I, do you think, make any mistake about a waggon on the trek?' he replied. Maqambeyana then *woke* Ndabaningi and his own people (Siganda's).

NSUZE

When they awoke they told Bambata, Mangati and Mtele what the boy had heard and put the boy there before them. Ndabaningi directed his men - four companies - to leave at once and go into the forest, as it was clear to him Europeans were nearby. Bambata merely *ninga'd* what the boy had said, i.e. questioned and discussed it. Presently Fotsholo, a man, arrived. '*There are the Europeans putting guns behind the umuzi of Dike (Mpangele).*' They, Bambata and co., then got up. Others said Fotsholo was wrong; he was a coward; let people be sent forward to go and look. Two people were then sent by Bambata and Mehlokazulu, viz. Nkunzana and Sandhlana. As they walked, Nkunzana leading, Nkunzana saw figures at Dike's and at Mbeka's and said Fotsholo was quite right; here indeed, are the Europeans. They then returned to *the circle*. It was at this point that Bambata called on Mganu to *make ready (paka) the impi*. Mganu *did so*. He directed the Mavalana to proceed to Mbeka's kraal. Bambata himself began to tremble and became confused; he was quite unable to direct what was to be done.

The guns at Mbeka's began first to fire.

The Manzipambana fight took place in Dukuza forest.

Questions for Nsuze.⁵⁸

Did not Mangati go up Mome, if so, when in respect of Ndabaningi?

Give various forests of Nkandhla and Qudeni.

Mpumela's principal kraal - Mbuz- <rest of word illegible - eds.>

Who were in charge of different *impis*?

Plans after getting back into Mome, supposing got in safely.

Strength of *impi*.

When did Cakijana get hurt - shot in leg.

17.5.1912

File 66, item 1, pp. 1-5.

I Native habits and customs in time of war. Nsuze ka Mfelafuti ka Sifuku.

All married men refrain from having connection with their wives. It is said that to do this either in regard to one's wife or a girl is dangerous. [Are these only those actually fighting? No, everyone, whether fighting or not. For what reason dangerous?]⁵⁹

It is a traditional notion of ours not to have sexual connection if one has a bad sore, i.e. open one, as this will delay in healing or be always breaking out afresh. [Define sore. All open sores or even tumours, boil, i.e. a 'bad' body (*umzimb' omubi*).]⁶⁰ We, younger generation, are ignoring this, because we find European soldiers having connection with their women in time of war.

When war is on, when women are in refuge in a bush etc. they turn the top rolls of the leather skirt (*isidwaba*) inside out. This is *done to avert danger (ubutshelazi)*, so that the man will be safe there in the fighting.

Another old thing, done in days of Tshaka and in these days, was to collect the berries (*izinhlamvu*) of the *umtuma* plant and, sitting in some open, clear place, roll these gently towards one another along the ground, and the people rolled to roll on to

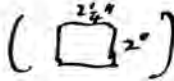
someone else. The practice of doing this on a blanket spread out is sometimes done. This practice is observed by married women and girls by way of warding danger from husbands or lovers.

[Were not these berries worn round neck? No. Dunjwa concurs.]⁶¹

When young men go forth from their father's kraals to fight, they begin to eat (*ncama*), then they are presented by their father with a headband (*iqele*) each of otter skin,



or with sufficient to make an *incweba* or pocket which he has bought for them. [Describe *incweba*. See p. 6]⁶²



The *inyengelezana* is a buck also worn [how?]; also *inhloli*, about same size as *cakide*.⁶³ The *iqele* referred to or *izincweba* are bought by the father and given to his sons, as a charm. Socwatsha wears *izincweba* always. [Where? On head.]⁶⁴

On the day men leave for war they are given food by an old person, i.e. a woman. [Is this only on day they leave? Yes.]⁶⁵ If there is no old lady, a young girl does so; even if *she has reached the age of puberty* she does so. The old lady will serve the warriors *kwabo* with food. [What does *kwabo* mean? It means the chief hut of the kraal, but the phrase only holds on such occasion as the special one in question.]⁶⁶ But they will go to the chief hut of the kraal. If there are many who have different mothers in a kraal they will go to the *chief wife's* (*inkosikazi's*) hut with *their weapons and shields*. [Where placed? They enter the hut with them, including shields and assegais.]⁶⁷

The men will then leave, proceed *by the isibaya esikulu* (i.e. left hand side of kraal) into the cattle kraal, followed by the *inkosikazi* who takes same route. [*Cattle kraal?* They go to the *cattle kraal* to *kulekel' impi*.]⁶⁸ The *inkosikazi* will enter with some *nyaluti millet* after her sons have entered. She will then *thrust* (*hloma*) it in the shield [whereabouts?],⁶⁹ with the *nyaluti* at the *umsila*, beginning with the chief among them, when they will leave and go off to war [i.e. to join regiment].⁷⁰ Everyone's shield will be so *hloma'd*. *Nyaluti* was grown in many parts of Zululand.

Another practice, not followed in Bambata's business, was for the older sections of the forces to go and catch with their hands a black, full-grown bull, or it may be a red one. [In cattle kraal?]⁷¹ The point to remember is that the bull should be all of one colour, not of mixed colours. A *nyaluti* bull is also regarded as suitable, but I have not heard of a white one.⁷² This bull must not be stabbed or have its throat cut with a knife. It is then *cut up* when killed with hands by breaking its neck. It is for *nqwambisa* purposes. [Meaning of *nqwambisa*?]⁷³ It will be *roasted - cut up in strips* (*umbengo*). Only one bite will be taken by each warrior, who will spit out after

chewing once or twice, for this meat is smeared with medicines (black - *insizi*). [Off thrown *umbengo*. Thrown who by? Where does ceremony take place?]⁷⁴ When we have inquired why this is done we are told: So as to prevent warriors from being seized with fear.

These practices all occur whilst the *fighting* is still some way off and there is leisure. The next day the warriors will go and *vomit at the river*, i.e. *palaza*. [Mfuleni, Manembe, Ncapayi.]⁷⁵ The reason for this is said to be so that a *mist (inkungu)* may come over the enemy and they will suddenly find themselves surprised at a short distance, i.e. taken at a disadvantage, and be obliged to run off, 3 through being taken unawares and leave their weapons behind them. [What kind of *inkungu*?]⁷⁶

Mfuleni, Manembe and Ncapayi were war doctors. Manembe and Mfuleni were among Mpande's war doctors. Ncapayi is the man who is father of Mandisindaba. Ncapayi was son of Nongoko, the latter being also one of Mpande's doctors.

Ncapayi and Ndazeni were war-doctors of Cetshwayo.

I have seen Ncapayi. He died about 1904. He was of the same age as Cetshwayo, i.e. an Imboza.⁷⁷

When a married man has been killed in war, his wife will go out early and wash herself; this is done so that, in the event of her husband's assailant not doing likewise, he will *abandon his people (bunguka)*, *become worthless, become dung, and go mad*. ['Sundowner?' Is this so?]⁷⁸ A woman will *wash* daily for some time, for about a month. [A man too *washes* for about a month, if he has killed another, for fear of *being overcome by insanity (iqungu)*.]⁷⁹

I know nothing of women *penyaing* themselves.⁸⁰ I have, however, heard of this.

I have heard it said, though do not believe it, that when women go out to *wash* they *ncinda* from their *amagolo* (vulva or vagina) and *spit at (cinsa)* those who have killed their husbands.⁸¹

'*Are you still asleep? The wives of the man you have killed will go and wash. They will gain power over you (tonya), so that you become nothing, and go mad.*'

This remark is made to young men who may be oversleeping themselves, and who have killed others [investigate],⁸² for it is the practice to get up daily and go out and *wash* and afterwards *suck medicine from the fingertips*. [At home? How long after *washing*?]⁸³ This early washing is not gone in for by those who have not killed others in battle, except in the case of those who have been *tshaywa 'd izibuko*.⁸⁴ This is really a *hlonipa* term, as one does not care to say *tundela*, for *tundelaing* is always associated with washing at the stream.⁸⁵ In the case of one who has been *tshaywa 'd izibuko* wishing to enter the hut in which a friend of his with an open, bad suppurating sore is [define more],⁸⁶ the latter will hand him *isiqunga* (ordinary tambookie grass)[root?]⁸⁷ which the one entering will then bite and chew and then spit out towards the sore. This is done so as to obviate the great delay in healing that might otherwise occur and so cause enmity between the two men. Then again, the two will not eat together. Nor will the man who has been *tshaywa 'd izibuko* enter the other's hut until the sun is well up. The *isiqunga* will perhaps be *plucked* by the man who has been *tshaywa 'd izibuko*, for, of course, the other may not have any available. Then the two may be in the habit of occupying *an unmarried man's hut (ilau)*

together; in that case, danger is regarded as removed when the *isiqunga* is chewed and spat over the sore.

If the boy has been to a girl and had connection, or if the other's wound is on the head, the spitting will be right on to the person of the other. [Go into more.] As regards the one who has been, *tshaywa 'd izibuko*, it is unnecessary to do more than spit towards the man with the sore, even though none of the spittle reaches him or his sore. [What about the one who has been, *tshaywa 'd izibuko in time of war?* How is the washing done?]⁸⁸

It is the custom among Zulus when a brother is fighting on the opposite side for the other brother to kill him if he has the chance in battle. For if, when about to stab, your brother turns, sees you and calls out for mercy and it is granted, you will not live long; misfortune will overcome you and you will become *rubbish (umlota)* and reduced to nothing. [Inquire further.]⁸⁹ There must be no sparing on such an occasion.

It so happened that in the Ntobolongwana-Zokufa *fight* [when?],⁹⁰ Ntobolongwana was stabbed by his brothers Mfumfu and Lurungu, each leaving his assegai sticking in his brother (for the assegai must not be withdrawn in the case of a
5 near relation, nor should the stabber go on stabbing his brother many times as is done with ordinary people and *ripped open - qaqa 'd*). Four other brothers, Maqabi, Msongane, Mngquzu and Mahlangeni, came up afterwards and, seeing the assegais, pulled them out and kept on stabbing the deceased in the ordinary way and *ripped his body open*. They later went to the deceased's kraal, where they killed his wife, a boy and a girl. Upon going into the circumstances later, Zokufa, or the leading members of the tribe, declared that the four brothers who had come to Ntobolongwana's body had done very wrong in extracting the assegais and hearing their brother crying out to them for mercy and looking on them before they finished him off. [Inquire further about this.]⁹¹

nyaluti rolled in mat stood up⁹²
painting face
qaqa
iqungo
iziqu

potula
regiments in Zd. nowadays.
the *izinduna* apptd. just before Momé.
Tactics after getting into Mome
women refraining from quarrelling
making fires whilst inmates of, huts away
treatment of *cowards*

18.5.1912

File 66, item 1, pp. 6-10.

Also present: Dunjwa kaMabhedla

6 Nsuze: I was born in the Nsuze district, Zululand. I grew up there. I am of the same age as the Felapakati, born in the year there was a total eclipse of the sun in day-time - say 1870-72.

Dunjwa (messenger in S.N.A. office, Pietermaritzburg): I am also of the Felapakati.⁹³ I have grown up in the district where the Insuze enters the Tugela.

Dunjwa: Everyone refrains from sexual intercourse, even men who happen to remain at home. The idea is that they all *refrain (zila)*, and *refrain for the king*, i.e. they refrain because knowing that the king is doing likewise.

Nsuze: If a man has sexual intercourse in time of war, it is believed he renders himself liable to being killed or wounded when he goes forth with his regiment.

Dunjwa: This having connection *causes amehl' amnyama*,⁹⁴ i.e. he will be *struck by an assegai (qondwa 'd isikali)*, when it will be said, '*Who has caused him amehl' amnyama?*' Suppose there be two men in a kraal; one of these goes out to fight; the other remains and whilst at home has sexual connection with his wife, and the one absent at the war is killed or wounded, then it is said that the one who has committed this impropriety has *caused* the other *amehl' amnyama*.

Nsuze: *Izincweba* are the little pockets strung on a string and worn round the neck (phylacteries). In these *izincweba*, also known as *amambata*, are different medicines. [Cf. *the amaMbatata people (abaseMambatani)*.]⁹⁵ *Izincweba* may also be worn over the head. They are licked when the wearer feels he is going into danger of any kind, also when ill from any cause.

The *weasel (inyengelezana)* hide is used to make *izincweba* of; skins of *otter, leopard, 'bushbaby', baboon*, are all used for making *izincweba* of; the *quill of the hedgehog* is also stuck in the head; this is done to ward off danger. The *incweba* may be made of the hide of a beast, also of *the fetlock of a calf*.

The *hoof of a beast or calf*, or a nice goat horn or of a sheep, well *carved*, is worn 7 by *men who have killed in battle (izingwazi)*. In this way one may discriminate between *those who have killed* and those who have not done so. Men who have *hlomula 'd* also wear these things.⁹⁶

In the *izincweba* all sorts of *amakubalo* are put, either in powdered form, or solid, or roasted black and powdered.⁹⁷ We cannot give the names of the drugs used.

Dunjwa: It is an old woman that gives food to the departing warriors, but only on the day of departure. She may be one's mother, not wife, and she begins by handing a spoonful of the food to a dog to lick, after which she passes the food to the warrior to eat, which he does, this with the object of giving him a good wind like that of a dog, so that in the event of his side being defeated and pursued, he will be able to run without getting out of breath like a dog.

NSUZE

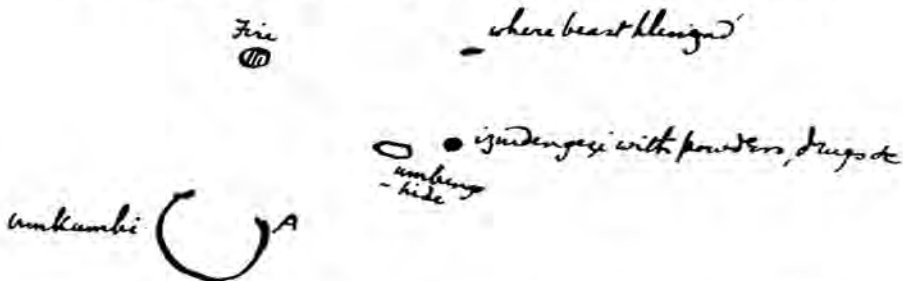
Dunjwa: The black bull. [The bull need not be a black one, but it is generally black.]⁹⁸ This bull was stolen from an adjoining territory. Even a couple of men might be sent to steal it, but they would be supported by others nearby as they did so. It would then be driven back to one's own country and to headquarters. The country from which the bull is taken is not necessarily that with which the king is preparing to wage war. A day will now be determined on for the troops to *eat strips of meat (umbengo)*. An *ibuto* will now be sent out, the day previous to that on which it is to be killed, to collect firewood for the purpose of making *umbengo*. The reason for so much wood being required is that the bull must be burnt and eaten in part only by small boys. I saw this custom practised at *oNdini, in Cetshwayo's time*, when fighting against Zibebu.⁹⁹ I do not know where that particular bull was got. The doctor was Sitimela, an Umsutu and a Swazi (don't know name). The black bull, fierce, was then attacked in the field near the kraal and caught by hand. It struck one of the regiment, uVe, entrusted with this duty, on the eye and put the eye out.¹⁰⁰ No weapons of any kind could be used on such occasion. All that happened was that it was caught by hand and its neck twisted and broken.

Nsuze: No bull ceremony took place in Bambata's *impi* that I know of. I never saw the bull ceremony. I have heard it described.

Dunjwa: The bull, after being killed, is then carried, though not shoulder high, to the cattle kraal in which the *ibonda* (large heap) of dry wood *gathered* the day before has been put.

[It might be partly dragged, for it can't be got at by sufficient to lift it. It is brought to near where the king is, i.e. to the cattle kraal. Nsuze: The king was present at this bull-killing ceremony, but hidden behind his *izinckeku*. Dunjwa concurs; he says it was done in Cetshwayo's time. 19.5.1912.]¹⁰¹

The bull is caught about midday or lunch-time. *Umbengo* is now made of it. The bull is *cut up*. The *umbengo* is then *roasted*. The *umbengo* is ready for the troops by about 4 p.m. That was what I saw. The doctor superintends, and is assisted by men who are his followers or assistants. The *izinduna* *bring the impi forward* when the *umbengo* is ready. *The umbengo is then begun with at one end* (of the men). The regiments have all assembled; all are standing. An *umkumbi* is *formed* - a big circle just below where the fire is. There is only one fire - a great one, for the wood is equal to about two waggon-loads. All the regiments to be doctored are in this *umkumbi*.



This is a rough plan of what might take place and the relative positions. [Dunjwa says: an *umkumbi* is never quite closed up, i.e. a circle. There is always an

opening.]¹⁰²

After the *umbengo* has been well roasted on the fire it will be carried by the doctor and his 4 or 5 assistants to a large hide where shown above and placed thereupon. The great strips, as long and longer than one's whole arm, are then taken to the *potsherds* (*izindengezi*) containing the drugs, *amakubalo*, powders etc., and then *smear*ed therewith, after which the strips are taken by the doctor, say to 'A', and
 9 there pitched or thrown at the end man who at once catches same, takes a bite and throws it to the man next him, and so it goes on along the line, each taking a bite, *chewing* and then dropping the bitten piece on to the ground. They then *squirt out* the juice, and as they do so shout, '*The umtakati, So-and-so, falls!*' - giving the name of the man to be fought against. But this *squirting* takes place outside the kraal fence, at a spot close by, and as each man *squirts*, he looks towards where the common enemy lives. When Zibebu was fought against, when *squirting*, the Zulus said, '*The umtakati, Zibebu, falls!* (*Wawa, uZibebu, umtakati!*)'

Should any piece of *umbengo*, whilst in the act of being thrown about, fall to the ground, it was not picked up but left there as no longer of any use.

The *umbengo* is *thrown* by the principal doctor and his assistants. After throwing a piece, he goes to fetch another, and so forth. The warriors are standing perhaps 4 or 5 deep. The *imbengo* may be thrown to men at both ends of the *umkumbi*. It will proceed in regular order along the lines, one always throwing to the man next him, until all finished, when a fresh piece is gone on with where left off. All this time the warriors are holding their shields and assegais in the left hand, hence they are unable to catch except with the right and that alone. [A left-handed person - don't know what took place.] There is no quarrelling or snatching from one another. The meat has been smeared with drugs etc. that are very pungent and bitter.

It is with the juice of the meat that the *squirting* is afterwards done. The *squirting* is done a couple of hundred yards or so outside the main gate of the kraal.

This *umbengo* ceremony took place in the great enclosure, which did not necessarily have a *fence* (*utango*) about it but was in immediate contact or touch with
 10 huts. This ceremony is called *ukunqwambisa*. *Ukunqwambisa* means to strengthen and to render fearless in the presence of the enemy; it is to inspire or infuse with a strong and healthy fighting spirit and courage.

There is *strengthening* (*nqwambisa*) of a child just born, when a goat is killed for it and strips of hide are bound about it in X formation, but this is not the same thing as *nqwambisa* for warfare.



19.5.1912, Sunday.

File 66, item 1, pp. 10-14.

Also present: Dunjwa kaMabhedla

Per Dunjwa and Nsuze.

Qinqa - to halt a column on the march in *company* (*iviyo*) formation, whereupon one *viyo* comes close up to the one before it. This word also means to order the *impi*, which may have *encamped* (*ngenisa'd*) anywhere, to wait a bit, i.e. remain halted.

Viva - to cut men off into companies or *izigaba* - done by *izinduna*.

Isigaba - this is a section of a regiment, e.g. the Falaza had four *izigaba*, each with a name. These *izigaba* varied in size, from 10 to 40 *amaviyo*. Each *isigaba* is divided up into *amaviyo*. Thus *viva* applies both to dividing a regiment into *izigaba* and an *isigaba* into *amaviyo*.

Madness (*iqungo*). When a man who has *stabbed* a man and is not *treated* by a doctor. He now becomes like a *madman* (*uhlanya*). This is so, too, if he has killed a relation of his. He then *talks nonsense* (*beda's*) and becomes an *uhlanya* and an *idiot* (*isituta*).

A man is said to *have an iqungo* when he has *stabbed* and has not later on been *doctored* (*setshenzwa'd*) and *treated* (*elatshwa'd*).

It is said that *the inkosi has been strengthened* (*qungile*), when doctored specially in order that he may not fall or be overshadowed by another chief.

Potula. As when a man has been *treated* by a doctor during some illness; it is not proper that one should go, after illness, among others until the doctor *potula's* him. *Potula* means to be given drugs to eat.¹⁰³

When a person has died in a kraal and been buried, those in the kraal are given medicines (*amakubalo*) to prevent their getting bad diarrhoea on account of a relative having died. They then go and *vomit* (*hlanza*), then *cowdung* is got and *smearing of the floor of the hut* takes place. This *vomiting* and *smearing* is *potulaing*.

- 11 Nsuzé: *Sucking medicine from the fingertips* (*ukuncinda*). This may take place in various ways. A *potsherd* is put on the fire-place, with 3 *hearthstones* (*amaseko*), and water in it. Into the boiling water *izintelezi* in powdered form are thrown by the doctors;¹⁰⁴ the man then dips his fingers into the liquid, puts them into his mouth and then *squirts out* (*cinsa's*), i.e. immediately after *ncindaing*. What occurs is this. The doctor gets the necessary leaves or roots, he comes back with them, gets a *pot* (*ikamba*), *pounds up* the leaves etc. and puts them into *the pot* whilst holding cold water. Now he well mixes drugs in water. A *potsherd* in the meantime has been placed on the fire-place. It gets very hot, and whilst it is on the fire and very hot, some of the medicated water is poured on and begins almost at once to boil. As it boils, the doctor puts in the powdered *izintelezi* of *insizi* etc.,¹⁰⁵ like snuff [and only a small quantity, say a handful if there are many requiring to *ncinda*];¹⁰⁶ warriors come up, dip the right and then left almost simultaneously or simultaneously, then suck these tips and move off to some spot in the field indicated by the doctor some couple of hundred yards away or so and there *squirt it* in the direction of the enemy to be fought against. As he *squirts* he shouts, '*Fall, So and so! Fall, So and so!*'

Dunjwa: I concur in this description of *ukuncinda*.

Nsuzé: A doctor naturally wants to become famous; consequently he would never say what medicines he is employing, either for *pounding up* and putting into the cold

water in the *pot*, or in powdered form into the water in the *potsherd*. Hence one does not know if what is put into the *pot* are *izintelezi* or not.

There may be many *potsherds* on the fire, which of course is a very large one.

- Then the *ncindaing* is not done on the *potsherd* whilst on the fire-place. The *potsherd*, as soon as the powdered drug, whatever it is, has been put in by the doctor, is removed by means of *tongs (izindhlaw)*, i.e. 'holders', and held out by some person towards the warriors, who come one by one and *ncinda*, putting in each hand once, and sucking, and going on. This is done whilst the water is still boiling, for not more than a small cupful of water is poured in at a time, hence it quickly boils and keeps
- 12 on boiling. When any *potsherd* and its water is finished, the next is brought up with its water boiling, its powdered medicine having already been put in by the doctor. About a teacup-ful of water is poured in at a time and about four tablespoonfuls of powder put in at same time. Should the powder remain over, as it frequently does, then more water is added and boiled without addition of more powder.

This *ncindaing* takes place on the day following the killing of the bull.

On the day following will be the *potula* day, i.e. *vomiting*. This *vomiting* will take place before dawn. They *vomit* with medicine given them by the doctor. This *vomiting* takes place *right at the river*. They will *vomit* into the water - running water - they do not *vomit* into a *pool*. After the *vomiting*, the doctor gives them other medicine (*intelezi*) with which to wash. Having washed all over their bodies with this *intelezi*, they will refrain from washing again throughout the hostilities. I, Nsuze, did not wash at all during the Bambata rebellion except when carrying wounded and dead at Bobe, when I washed the blood off. When a man *has a nocturnal emission*, he reports his having done so to the *induna*, who gives him medicine with which to wash. According to Zulu custom it is permissible to wash one's legs and feet and to *smear* them with fat, but Bambata's doctor would not allow this, saying it was wrong to wash at all. Thus, then, there was variance of custom. There were some who had fought in the 1879 war who opposed what Bambata's Umsutu doctor said about its being wrong to *wash* the legs. The old Zulu warriors, however, said that one ought to, and it was in accord with Zulu custom to wash the legs with a view to keeping up a man's mobility and running powers, though it would be wrong to wash the head and trunk.

I saw these customs observed in Bambata's rebellion, and have also heard men talk about them.

During the rebellion, *ncinda*, *squirting*, *vomiting* and *potula* were all conformed to.

- 13 If a man makes the mistake of washing all over, he would report to his *induna*, who sends him to the doctor, who will not require the man to go through all previously gone-through ceremonies, but will simply give him medicine and doctor him, whereupon he will return to the *impi*.

The same customs were observed by Bambata's people as are observed among the Zulus, with the exception of the black bull ceremony, however, for there was no *inkosi* that was being set up there, and then again the rebellion had already begun when Bambata got to the Nkandhla. The bull, it will be recollected, is caught before fighting takes place.

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The bull is for *imisaing* or establishing the King. In the *nyatelo* month the bull, in ordinary times, was killed for *etshwamaing* purposes.¹⁰⁷ The bull is got etc. to enable the king to *gain ascendancy (tonya) over all the nations (izizwe)*.

Dunjwa: *Ncindaing* for war was done *at the amakanda of the inkosi, in the cattle kraal*, and the *squirting-out (cinsaing)* took place outside the gate of the kraal. But after an *impi* has gone forth to meet another, say at Pinetown, it may go off and *encamp* at eNtshangwe, and it may there *ncinda* and *cinsa*, but this of course would be *in the open country (endhle)*.¹⁰⁸

There are two forms of *ncinda* in war - first to say, '*Fall, So and so!*', and second to *give strength (imis' isibindi)*, when no *cinsaing* takes place and the *impi* is *sprinkled with intelezi* and goes off at once to fight.

Nsuze: Then there are two forms of *umkumbi formation*: there is the open or partly open *umkumbi*,



and there is the complete circle,



but this last takes place when the troops are going off instantly to engage in battle. War-customs are, however, very various and we could not enumerate all the formalities observed.

Dunjwa: To say, '*Fall, So and so!*' takes place after *eating umbengo*, as above related, it would also be said after other *squirting of medicine*, as after *ncindaing* from *potsherd* as related. But when *ncindaing*, i.e. sucking medicine off one's fingers for purpose of *giving strength* immediately before going into action, one does not *squirt out*. At such time people are also *sprinkled (celwa'd)*.

I know that when the circle (*umkumbi*) is formed, drugs are burnt and the smoke is supposed to go in among all the warriors, even though it does not actually do so.

Nsuze: This smoking (*tunqiselwa*) is done so as to cause the warriors to be 'slippery' (*butshelezi*), so that bullets etc. should not *hit them* and an assegai, thrown or thrust, would not stab, whilst the warrior himself succeeds in killing his foe. We are not told by the doctors what medicines are *tunqiselwa'd*. From the smell of the smoke, the substance burnt is as of *izinyamazane*, i.e. different wild beasts - *leopards, lions, hyenas* and other similar beasts that are ferociously inclined.

Dunjwa: This making of the *umkumbi* takes place before each action, and the smoking is done just before the action.

Nsuze: Had Bambata not been fired on so soon, he would have *tunqisela'd* his men before sending them to attack. And if *izintelezi* had been available, being carried, they would have been used to *sprinkle the impi* with.

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Dunjwa: *Fires (amakloba)*. These are made by way of deceiving the enemy's spies, to make them think that their opponents had *encamped* there. If there are *aloe* plants, these are set a light to. [These fires are made by both sides.]¹⁰⁹

I do not know of bonfires on hill-tops at distances from one another.

'*It has gone in at such and such a place! (Ingen' endawen' etile!)*' This is the *alarm* that is *sounded*. This cry is taken up by *spies (izinhloli)*. The spies may be a clump of ten, twenty or fifty men and be sent 10 to 15 miles to keep a look out. After being sent out, others are sent out to keep in touch with these. Messengers are sent back from time to time to report, and the news is carried on by fresh runners.

20.5.1912

File 66, item 1, pp. 15-20.

- 15 Nsuzze. Food. This was fetched by the *impi* at night from kraals of Natives within a radius of 5 to 10 miles of the forest. This was also done at Macala. This was got from *grainpits (imigodi)* in the kraals. Inmates would be away then and the kraals possibly burnt. Mealies were carried in haversacks and sacks; if none of these, then in *izinqalati*.¹¹⁰



(The aperture is either at 1 or 2.) The *impi* knew the food to be at the kraals as residents who were rebels gave information thereof. *Sorghum, izindhlobu nuts, sweet-potatoes, umhlaza tubers* (leaves like *potato* leaves), were the foods got.

The mealies etc. were cooked in pots in the forest. The cooking was done at night, for it was known that that the *impi* would not see, for it is asleep.

There was no food to speak of at Ezigqileni.

No food rations are given an *impi*, except meat. They however report when food is finished, when an order is given by the *induna* to go and fetch it.

According to Zulu custom, the warriors would go into any man's garden to help themselves, and there would be no compensation to the owner of the garden even though himself on the side of those eating his food.

Why whole of tribes did not rebel.

Ndube, Mpumela and Mbuzo were all really rebels; the reason why they did not actually go themselves to the forest was from the fear that Europeans, who had defeated Cetshwayo, could never be defeated by the Natives, hence they refrained from joining in.¹¹¹

- Had Dinuzulu gone to the forest many more might have joined, but not all, for it was well-known that Dinuzulu was only a 'prince' (*umtwana*) and not the king (*inkosi*). Ndube etc. refrained from going because not wishing to associate themselves with a madman's affair. I think it certain that even if Dinuzulu had come to the forest (rebelled) all N. would not have joined, for there were many Natives
16 having the ear of chiefs who persuaded them, as Socwatsha did Ndube, not to take up arms against Europeans because certain to be shot down and defeated.

The object of the rebellion was to protest against payment of poll tax. They accuse Europeans of *exhausting (katazaing)* them. They as a matter of fact no longer cared for Cetshwayo, many of them, on the ground that he killed off many of them, hence they elected to accept the white man's rule as more congenial, until the poll tax arose when, taken in conjunction with other matters, they felt they ought to openly protest.

They greatly complained of C.'s military system, which obliged people to provide their own food in their little, quickly-finished *baskets (amaqoma)*, for the rule was for the King to give meat only, and warriors to get other food for themselves.

Natives also complained of our making boys pay, and so making them independent of their fathers, and so drive them from their homes.¹¹²

[Dunjwa arrives at this stage.]¹¹³

Badges of different tribes.

There were no tribal badges. Only *umtshokobezi* was put on.¹¹⁴



The *umtshokobezi* must be a white tail, or white with red hairs mixed - not black. Black tails worn but not because *umtshokobezi*.

The idea is to have the tail erect, but it may be worn in other ways, as shown. Some tails are large and full; this depends on the cattle any given man happens to be able to get the tails of. A living beast's tail is not cut off it for *tshokobezi* purposes. A man would be accused of *working evil (gilaing imikuba)* if he did this.

Bambata's people arrived without *tshokobezis*, only white *ostrich* feathers, at back of head, thus, or in sides of hats; very many had on hats.



- 17 Natives are kept in the dark by those in authority.

The king, *izinduna* and doctors don't show their hands to the *impi*.

Doctors never reveal the names of their drugs or talk about them. They simply administer them; they administer just what they want.

Dinuzulu's *amakanda*.

He had none. He had Usutu, Nobamba, kwa Mpisendhlini (*only men stayed there* - and for food purposes - was near Usutu), Mahashini (this kraal was built for

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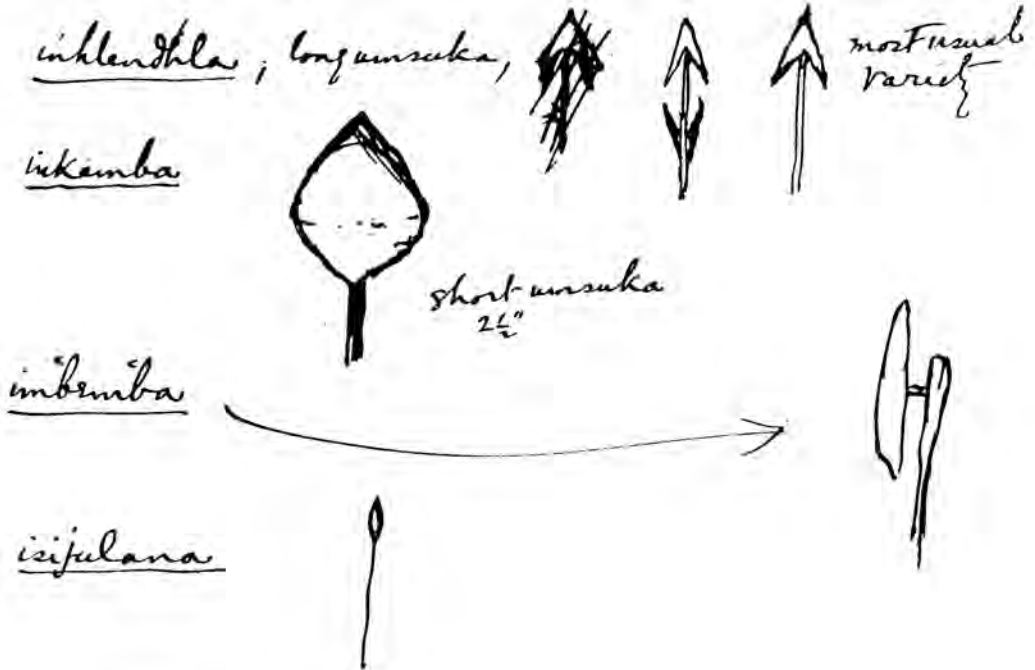
Europeans to sleep at - that was the intention).

Kinds of assegais.

Iklwa - has no *shank* (*umsuka*).

Unhlekwane - nearly *iklwa*, with *umsuka* say 6 inches long.

Isijula - its blade (*ukudhla*) about 4 inches long, and long *shank* - say 12 inches.



Nsuze: Efforts to capture rebels at Nkandhla.

Our object was to keep to the forest (Nkandhla) in the hope that others would come and join us there. Then we did not propose to attack troops in the open, but to wait until they came into the bush after us, when we would endeavour to take them
 18 unawares. We felt the Europeans would really come after us, even though we were in hiding, but by lying down in hiding when they entered the forest and throwing *knob-sticks* (*izagila*) at them to begin with (not assegais for these *bambezela* or delay), and then stabbing them.

On the day of Manzimpambana, the troops entered ahead of where I was at *iBomvana* with a company made up of Sigananda and Ndube's people and another of Bambata's. Word had come the night before [i.e. 2nd] from Sigananda that we were to go forward and assist those who were at or near Manzimpambana, as word had come that the Europeans were again going to drive and in that direction. We failed to wake until after the Europeans had got into position for their drive, and thus were cut off from those we should have joined and remained in the rear.

It should be remembered that we from time to time got information as to the doings and supposed intentions of the European troops from members of our tribe who were engaged at the camps; consequently the information leaked out not only from us to Europeans but from their agents to us.

As for food, we would have continued to fetch it from neighbouring kraals, e.g. Lukulwini's, i.e. even if our force had become augmented. We would have sent parties out to sleep near a place where food was, and then move forward and get it, knowing full well the Natives, although loyalists, would have been afraid to attack us.

The object was not to leave Nkandhla forest at all, even though force much larger. We would have watched European tactics about the forest, and gone this way and that way to avoid them or meet them as might appear most favourable. The forests at Kombe and Qudeni were not nearly as favourable for us as those of Nkandhla.

Had we succeeded in getting into the Mome unperceived on 9th June, we would have rested a day or so, and then raids and attacks would have been made on the
19 various surrounding chiefs who, although originally sending those who were already rebels to rebel, had themselves refrained from joining, hence on conclusion of hostilities such chiefs would, it was supposed, be hostile towards those who had become rebels and visit their displeasure on the latter. Consequently Bambata's men proposed to attack vigorously these half-hearted men, and kill them, for such were the tactics followed by Tshaka, and after they had been killed, the people would give their allegiance to Bambata and co.

Modes of attack.

1. If spies have located where enemy has *camped*, there is the attack by surprise.
2. When enemy (European) reaches a spot at night, it may be attacked at dawn next morning, for it will be believed there has been no time to entrench etc. This is in respect of a European force. [E.g. Mpukunyoni.]¹¹⁵
3. Should *spies*, or say a band thereof, come into conflict with a small lot of the enemy and kill some of them and drive them off, on such news being brought the rest of the *impi* there, without waiting to receive orders from the *induna*, rushes forward to press the attack.
4. Strongholds. If the enemy (Native) has taken refuge in a stronghold, the *impi* moves forward and takes up position nearby and sends out spies. On the enemy being located, preparations are made for attacking before dawn by actually entering the forest or stronghold by the suitable *openings* (*izintuba*). If the invading force be strong, they will press forward, killing and fighting in the forest.

Had Natives been attacking Bambata at Nkandhla, they would have sent out spies and carefully located the whereabouts of the enemy, then the *impi* would have moved forward into the forest at night and taken up a position in the vicinity of the enemy, and waited till just before dawn before moving on to the enemy, who would of course be still asleep. Thus they would be surprised whilst still asleep. Such would have been Native tactics. For it was reckoned that many being still asleep, those awake would run away and leave shields etc. behind them.

- 20 5. Whilst enemy is on the march. If the enemy is observed moving and not

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knowing that the *impi* is about, and the course of the enemy is seen, the *impi* will be sent, assuming it to be a moonlight or slightly moonlight night - though not if dark, for then the *impi* would stab one another - to lie in wait at two spots where there is thick grass or growth, one a couple of hundred yards or so from the other; and the enemy will be allowed to 'enter', i.e. come well between the 2 waiting bodies before attack, rear and front, begins. For it will be known that the enemy will be proceeding along its line of march unawares and be taken at a disadvantage. Disposition may be

or



The alternate formation to prevent *impi* stabbing one another.

Europeans were smart in not marching at night or there would have been more ambushes than there were.

6. In open daylight, deliberately, as in the Zulu War. This mode only where there is reasonable prospect of success.

This was done at Bobe, i.e. fight in daylight.

Our spies differ from those of Europeans in this, that if they see a small body of enemy they open fire on it, if they think they are likely to score. European spies do not do this.

7. There is the horn formation, with chest. The horns are thrown well out.

Bag (umgodhlo) for assegais, knob-stick (iwisa); small pot (imbiza), but put into a string net - done to enable it to be carried.

29.5.1912

File 66, item 1, pp. 20-23.

Nsuze. Extent to which Zulu military system was not observed by rebel army, etc.

The rebel force was got together and prepared for hostilities in an irregular manner. The doctoring, *sprinkling, eating of intelezi* etc. took place all in one day, whereas *vomiting* should have been the beginning. We vomited very early in the morning, following the other doctoring. This was contrary to custom; the *vomiting* should have taken place first. Then after *vomiting* the black bull should have been caught and *umbengo* eaten. We caught no bull and ate no *umbengo*.

21 When Sigamanda's 5 *viyos* got together, and 5 of Ndube's got together, at Ndundumeni, they sat apart, as also Bambata's 2 *viyos*, until after the cow (*lungazana, enhlekwanyama*, i.e. white patches on shoulders, and along back), obtained from Hlazo, a son of Sigamanda, had been shot as previously described by me. After this, Sigamanda, Lunyana and Mangati directed all the forces, i.e. Sigamanda's, Ndube's and Bambata's, to approach and make a circle (*umkumbi*), with Bambata's doctors, also Sigamanda, Lunyana and Mangati, in the centre. The doctors had on *bands (imqelana) of hare-skin (intenetsha)* on the head, also *izincweba bags*; their boys (*abafana*) (4 of them) also had on *headbands of hare-skin*

and were in the *umkumbi*. The *umkumbi* was closed, i.e. a complete circle.

Mandisindaba, son of Ncapayi ka Nongoko ka Mteli, and Ndazeni, son of Mfuleni ka Lugalo, were other doctors, evidently called up by Siganda, but these sat at a distance whilst we were being doctored in the *umkumbi*. They were not doctored. These were the Zulu doctors. Ncapayi and Mfuleni were *doctors (izinyanga) of Cetshwayo, war-doctors*, as also Nongoko, Ncapayi's father.

These two doctors did not *give medicines (elapa)* to the *impi* at any time during the rebellion.

The not having conformed to Zulu practice was severely commented on the day after the Bobe fight at Dambuza's kraal (*drank from the Nkunzana stream*). The *impi* was *sent out (pakwa'd)* from Ezigqileni.

At Dambuza's, Ndabaningi represented Siganda; he was then sleeping at a kraal near Ezigqileni. Ndabaningi, and Bambata were *blamed* by our *impi*, including Ndube's and Bambata's was at Dambuza's <sic> in these terms: '*Look! You said the bullets would not enter. Today we are finished. For our part, we did not understand this way of doctoring, for in the Zulu country a bull was caught and the impi was nqwambisa'd.*¹⁶ *You have been deceiving us. You sent us to fight having refused us the izintelezi medicines of our place. With them, we would not have been injured in this way.*'

- 22 Ndabaningi replied to Siganda's and Ndube's people, '*I agree with you, for this was not the first fighting to have taken place. We would not have been injured, we would not have been finished off in one day, if we had been sprinkled by the izinyanga of our place.*'

We then asked him, '*Give us the inkosi, the one you want to appoint, the one who told lies and caused us to die like this.*'

Bambata here replied, '*This was done by the unnumzane, this bringing the people into the open. For my part, I said that the impi should scatter, and hide, and that it should attack at night, as it was getting dark.*'

Macala ka Ntobolongwana said, '*We do not agree. What we say is that our izinyanga left off doctoring. They were caused to do so by the order that they should hold off, and that those of your place should do it, those who had the real medicine for preventing bullets which hit people from breaking their bones.*' He went on, '*You said to the boys of our place that your people would not lie down, but they did so; they lay down. Not one of your people was wounded in the fighting there. Has there ever been an impi which fought without there being a single person wounded?*'

Bambata replied simply as already stated, his tactics being simply to surprise the enemy by ambush. It was objected, '*So we are to fight like robbers (impi yo bugebengu), keeping in hiding?*' For we should have been able to come face to face with Mansel's force, seeing that the main forces of the Government had not yet arrived.¹⁷ We ought to have been a match for it in the open.

- 23 The reason why Bambata's doctors were employed and not the regular ones of Zululand there present was, I believe, because it was believed by everybody that they had been instructed by Dinuzulu to undertake the doctoring. They were *abeSutu* doctors - they had not *pierced the ears (cumbusile)*. Cetshwayo used an *Umsutu*

doctor for the Zulu War.

<26.3.1922, Sunday>

File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 39-45.

Also present: Somgandu, Socwatsha

39 Nsuze. Latter part by Somgandu.

*The building of houses.*¹¹⁸

People begin by going to cut wattles (*izitungo*) in the bush, thin ones, the thickness of the big finger, and others a little thicker. The fibres (*inxoza*) are stripped off. Then the building begins. A furrow is dug. Then the wattles are thrust into it. Building takes place. The knotting (*tekeleza*) is done. Some of the wattles are stood upright; the others are bent. Then the tying of knots (*amaqondo*) is done; it is finished off. The knotting is done with the fibres. The back part (*ufindo*) of the house is built; some wattles are bent, while others are stood upright. Then they move on to the side parts (*izinina*) of the house, and then to the doorway (*umnyango*). An opening is left at the doorway; it is built like the back part.

After this, people go to cut the roof-props (*izinsika*). Holes are dug for them, and they are put in. Then the cross-beams (*imitshayo*) are put in (*ukupasa*). The main cross-beam, which goes from the doorway to the back part, is called *umqadi*.

Then the people take grass and cover (*fulela*) the house. The grass has been cut by the woman who is the owner (*umnini*) of the house. When the covering-over is finished, she ties on the grass with rope (*intambo*) so that the wind will not blow it off. She does the tying-on with other women. She then winds grass into a clump (*isala*), and puts it on the crown (*ukakayi*) of the house. After this she takes the ropes, which will tie down the grass; they run down to the ground. Others run crossways. She makes a network (*ukupamba*) of those which run down and those which are placed crossways.

After that she fetches good earth, that from an antheap. Then she digs inside the whole house; she digs with a hoe. She brings in the earth from the antheap, spreads it, and pours water on it to soften it. Then she takes old eating-mats and a grindstone, and pounds the earth down. She does not work alone; she is with other women and with children.

After that they go out. Early the next day she smears the house with cowdung. She then rubs it with a grindstone. When it is dry she rubs it lightly. She leaves it for a day, until cracks appear. She will then rub it to harden it, continually sprinkling it with water, continually squirting from her mouth as she rubs. Then the house will be finished.

42 The grass which is used for thatching is insinde grass and intunga grass. The roof-props are not just chosen from any tree; they are chosen from a tree with hard wood, which will not soon be eaten by termites. Suitable roof-props are from *umtomboti*, *umtolo*, and *umnquma*.¹¹⁹

The cutting of the wattles and the roof-props is done by the men, as is the putting-in of the crossbeams. The covering-over with grass is done by the women, as is the

plucking of the grass and the twisting together (ukupota) of the ropes.

The hearth (iziko) is made by a person with the necessary skills; there are experts (izinyanga). The place (umbundu) for vessels (izitsha) and beer is not made by an expert.

<In the original, a line has been drawn across the page at this point. It may have been drawn by Stuart to mark the end of Nsuze's testimony and the beginning of Somgandu's - eds.>

Nowadays the izinyanga go and thrust sticks into the isala on top of the house; they are called lightning pegs (izikonkwane ze zulu). There are three for one hut. The three are enough for the umuzi. This is done so that when the lightning comes there are 'boys' to 'herd' it. They are 'sent out' by the person at home, the man, or the woman if the man is not there. The 'boys' are sticks smeared with medicine; the medicine has been mixed with red ochre (ibomvu). The sticks have become red. One
 43 *is thrust in above the doorway, another above the back part of the house, another at one side of the house, another at the other side. This is done so that the lightning does not come to the home. For if the 'boys' have not been sent out, the lightning will look for them. It will strike the home.*

They are very important. For if the head of the home is away, his headrest (isigqiki) is taken and placed in the open space outside. If he is at home, he does not stay inside the house. When a bad storm comes, and there is thunder and hail, he is outside there at the doorway. He is by himself; others, who are not head of the home, do not go out. He goes out alone and spurts medicine at the storm, telling it to go away, to go away to the sea. He cries, 'May it go away! May it go away! May it go away to the sea!' Then it clears up, and goes away. He comes back into the house, to the people. His house is not closed up. Even at night it is not closed up if there is a storm. He goes out naked, without a covering.

44 *This is done everywhere in the Zulu country and in the place of the white people (esilungwini). If the storm persists through the night, he remains outside; he cannot come back into the house. For he is an inyanga of the weather (izulu), and also of medicines. If the lightning strikes, he is called to that place, to work with medicines (elapa), to potula.¹²⁰ The head of the umuzi will give him a beast every day. It will come to an end.*

Some izinyanga have not gcaba'd against the lightning.¹²¹ This gcabaing is to make incisions (zawula). He takes some of the lightning and mixes it with medicine. He then rubs it into the incisions.

If the storm comes and he is no longer outside, it will seek him outside. If he stays inside his house it will seek him out; it will go in to him inside the house.

If lightning strikes, and a person sees where it strikes, he will run to the place where it went into the ground. The person will dig, looking for the lightning. He takes a child's milk vessel (igula) along, and pours some of the contents out there, so
 45 *that its 'core' (umsuka), or its dross (inyela) will come out. The lightning then 'sets' or 'becomes firm' (ukutshuba, ukujiya, ukuqina), for it had previously been 'wet' (manzi). He then takes the dross. He grinds it up, mixes it with medicines, and rubs it*

on the incisions. He mixes it with his medicines for putting on the lightning pegs.

The weather was not 'managed' in the Zulu country in former times (*Izulu la li nga patwa kwaZulu kuqala*). The *izinyanga* were not like those of today. 'Managing' the weather came in with new *izinyanga*. It is said that those who knew about the lightning, those who knew how to 'drive' (*quba*) it so that it killed people, came from among the *abeSuthu*.

This practice (*umkuba*) began at the time Cetshwayo was caught, for the white people said that they were taking away an *umtakati*. For our part we say that an *inyanga* who knows about the weather, one who knows about lightning, has the power to 'drive' a person and kill him.

Notes

¹The uFelapakathi *ibutho* was formed by Dinuzulu in the late 1880s.

²Mjadu was chief of the Cube in the Nkandhla division. His father Sigananda had been chief of these Cube until his death in 1906.

³Nsuze is here describing movements of Chief Bhambatha Zondi, one of the main rebel leaders, soon after his flight from the Mpanza area to the Nkandla area in the early stages of the rebellion of 1906. See the account in Stuart's *Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 197-202, which is based in part on information obtained by the author from Nsuze. Enhlweni was one of Sigananda's *imizi*; its position is marked on the map opposite p. 310 in *Zulu Rebellion*.

⁴The Nsuze river, which drains the Nkandla region, joins the Thukela twenty kilometres north-east of Kranskop village.

⁵Godide had been chief of the Ntuli in the Zulu kingdom until his death in 1883. Maqhubandaba was his son. Mphumela, a brother of Godide, was chief of a section of the Ntuli in the Nkandhla division at the time of the rebellion of 1906.

⁶Mangati was a son of Godide. He was also one of Stuart's informants: see his evidence in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2.

⁷Bhambatha's forces were defeated by those of the colonial government in the Mome gorge in the Nkandla region on 10 June 1906.

⁸Cf. Stuart's account in *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 187.

⁹The Bhubhe is a ridge in the Nkandla region.

¹⁰Ndabaningi was Sigananda's chief son.

¹¹Charles Saunders was Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand. He was another of Stuart's informants: see his evidence in the present volume. On the negotiations referred to, see Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 184-5.

¹²For the place-names mentioned, see the end-map in Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*. Ndube was chief of the Magwaza in the Nkandhla division. In this paragraph we have kept *literation* to a minimum.

¹³Cf. the account in Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 196-7.

¹⁴Mfungelwa was chief of the Ntuli in the Eshowe division.

¹⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 2, gives *isaga* as 'Name, saying, or word, of any description, containing some hidden or suggested meaning...; particular cry, as that commonly

adopted by a particular regiment or other body, when united in concerted action, as when charging in battle...’.

¹⁶Sitimela, an unknown outsider, had arrived in 1881 among the Mthethwa in Zululand, claiming to be their rightful chief. He was driven out of Zululand by an alliance of hostile chiefs. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 474-6; Guy, Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 110-11.

¹⁷Yamela was chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn, who was Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate in the colony of Zululand from 1887 to 1893. According to Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 197, the fighting against Dinuzulu referred to took place in 1888.

¹⁸Cf. Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 197.

¹⁹Mankulumana kaSomaphunga of the Ndwandwe people was one of Dinuzulu’s chief advisers. Nsuzé’s account, as it follows here, formed the basis of that in Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 203.

²⁰Luhungu is identified on the next page of the original as father of Lunyana, one of Sigananda’s chief advisers.

²¹The notes in parentheses appear in the original as an interlinear insertion.

²²Mnakanya was chief of the Nxamalala in the Nkandhla division.

²³For the location of the features mentioned, see the map in Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, facing p. 310.

²⁴*Ilungakazi* derives from *ilunga*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 368, gives as ‘...beast...of a black colour with white on the back encircling downwards over the flanks towards the hinder-legs and sometimes also from the shoulder downwards towards the forelegs...’.

²⁵Compare the account which follows with that in Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, pp. 198-203.

²⁶The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 620, gives *intelezi* as ‘General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, unsuccessful...and gen. administered by a “sprinkling” process...and not carried about on the person...’.

²⁸Makhubalo was chief of a section of Khanyile in the Nkandhla division.

²⁹The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is to the plan which appears on a separate sheet between pp. 12 and 13 of the original.

³⁰*Lingiwe* derives from the verb *ukulinga*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 358, gives as ‘...perform magic...as a doctor or conjurer...’.

³¹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 580, gives *ubushokobezi* as ‘Head-ornament made of the bush of a cow’s tail...’.

³²The reference to ‘the Bobe battle’ is to a skirmish fought on the uBhobhe ridge on 5 May 1906 between colonial and rebel forces.

³³Sergeant Calverley was on the intelligence staff of the colonial forces: see Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 296.

³⁴I.e. ‘What do you say?’ and ‘It’s nonsense’.

- ³⁵A skirmish between colonial and rebel forces took place at the Manziphambana stream on 3 June 1906. *Imali yamakhanda* means poll tax.
- ³⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 94, 304, gives *inkezo* as meaning the same as *indebe*, which he glosses as 'Half of a split gourd, used for baling water, beer, etc....'.
- ³⁷The Ngome region is thirty kilometres west-north-west of Nongoma.
- ³⁸The sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of the page.
- ³⁹In his account of this incident, which draws heavily on that of Nsuze, Stuart identifies the speaker, Lunyana, as the keeper of Cetshwayo's grave (*Zulu Rebellion*, p. 201). See also note 20 above.
- ⁴⁰The original reads, '*Iwa Kingi! Iwa Mgungundhlovu! Iwa Mashiqela!*' Mgungundlovu was the Zulu name for Pietermaritzburg. Mashiqela was Charles Saunders (see note 11 above).
- ⁴¹Khothongweni is a ridge on the north bank of the Thukela some twenty kilometres east-south-east of the latter's confluence with the Buffalo (Mzinyathi). AmaCala is a hill some ten kilometres east-north-east of Khothongweni.
- ⁴²Ekhombe is a locality some twenty kilometres west-south-west of Nkandla village. Nsuze's account as recorded here formed one of the bases of the account in Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 314-17.
- ⁴³Mehllokazulu was chief of the Ngobese or Qungebeni in the Nqutu division. Mthele was leader of the anti-government dissidents among the Qamu (Qanyini) people of Chief Kula in the Msinga division.
- ⁴⁴The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference to Cd. 3888 is to a volume in the British Parliamentary Papers series.
- ⁴⁵The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ⁴⁶Faku was chief of the Ntombela in the Nqutu division.
- ⁴⁷Gayede was chief of the Khabela in the Krantzkop division.
- ⁴⁸The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ⁴⁹Hlangabeza was chief of the Ngcolosi in the Krantzkop division.
- ⁵⁰Maqonga hill lies at the south-eastern edge of the Nkandla forest.
- ⁵¹OSungulweni hill lies twenty-five kilometres west of Eshowe.
- ⁵²The Socwatsha referred to may have been Socwatsha kaPhaphu who was in Stuart's employ and was another of his informants (his evidence will appear in volume 6 of the *Stuart Archive*).
- ⁵³Watton's store was in the bend of the Thukela south of what is now Jameson's Drift. See the end-map in Stuart's *Zulu Rebellion*.
- ⁵⁴Lieut.-Col. William Barker was officer commanding the Transvaal Mounted Rifles. He commanded a column of government troops in the operations in the Nkandla region.
- ⁵⁵The first four names are those of *amabutho* formed, at least nominally, by Dinuzulu. The uKhandempemvu was an *ibutho* formed by Mpande towards the end of his reign. The reference here is not to the actual *amabutho* but to men of equivalent age.
- ⁵⁶The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. We have been unable to establish which part of Nsuze's evidence Stuart is here cross-referring

to.

⁵⁷The original has 5 p.m.

⁵⁸This heading, together with the list of questions which follows, is scored out in the original.

⁵⁹The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁰The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶¹The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Dunjwa kaMabhedla was interviewed by Stuart on the subject of 'war customs' the day after the interview with Nsuze recorded here: see Dunjwa's evidence in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.

⁶²The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 86, gives *incweba* (pl. *izincweba*) as 'Tiny skin-bag containing medicines or charms and worn singly or in numbers on a string round the neck'.

⁶³Bryant, Dictionary, p. 468, gives *unyengelezane* as the South African weasel. He gives *inhloli* (*intloli* in his orthography) as 'hedgehog..., found up-country and an important Zulu medicine for *takata*, etc.' (Dictionary, p. 636). Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 333, give *inhloli* as hedgehog, and also as meerkat, veld mongoose. *Uchakide* is a weasel. The word 'how' appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁴For Socwatsha see note 52 above. The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁵The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁶The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁷The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶⁸The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The verb *ukukhulekela* means to pray for, to make supplication for.

⁶⁹The word in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷⁰The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 588, gives *umsila* as '...the fur-trimmed end of the stick of a shield...'

⁷¹The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷²Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 446, 463, gives *unyaluthi* as meaning the same as *unyawothi*, which he glosses as a beast 'of a light brown or light muddy colour'.

⁷³The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 597, give *ukunqwambisa* as 'Medicate with charms against danger; strengthen for warfare'.

⁷⁴The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 593, gives *umsizi* or *insizi* as '...any medicine, etc., when burnt and ground up into a black powder...'

⁷⁵In the original, these names are recorded in the margin of the page. On the next page they are given as the names of war-doctors of Mpande and Cetshwayo.

⁷⁶The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷⁷The amaMboza or uThulwana *ibutho* was formed by Mpande.

⁷⁸The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷⁹The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. For an informative reference to the *ukuqunga* purification practices see Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 549-50.

⁸⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 495, gives *ukuphenya* as 'Open, open up, open away any loose covering...so as to reveal what is beneath'.

⁸¹*Ukuncinda* is to suck from the fingertips.

⁸²The word in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁸³The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁸⁴*Ukushaywa izibuko* is to have a nocturnal emission of semen.

⁸⁵*Ukuthunda* is to emit semen.

⁸⁶The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁸⁷'Root' appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁸⁸The words in parentheses in this paragraph appear in the original as marginal insertions.

⁸⁹The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁹⁰'When' appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Zokufa was chief of the Cube in the time of Mpande. Ntobolongwana was another member of the Cube chiefly house.

⁹¹The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁹²The cryptic notes which follow appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Of the Zulu terms used, *qaga* refers to the practice of ripping open the bodies of opponents killed in battle; *iqungo* is the insanity which was thought to follow from failure to purify oneself properly after killing an opponent in battle; *iziqu* are the necklaces, made of pieces of medicine, which were worn by men who had killed in battle; *ukuphuthula* is to engage in certain rituals of purification (see note 102 below).

⁹³See also Dunjwa's evidence in *Stuart Archive*, volume 1. The abbreviation S.N.A. stands for Secretary for Native Affairs.

⁹⁴*Amehlo amnyama*, literally 'dark eyes', means misfortune.

⁹⁵The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁹⁶*Ukuhlomula* means to stab an opponent after he has already been stabbed by someone else.

⁹⁷Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 324, gives *ikhubalo* (pl. *amakhubalo*) as 'Any Native wood-medicine (which is kept or sold in the lump), as medicinal roots, bark and the like, not leaves, bulbs, stones, or animal powders...'

⁹⁸The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁹⁹Ondini (uluNdi) was Cetshwayo's chief *umuzi*. His struggle with Zibhebhu, chief of the Mandlakazi, took place in 1883.

¹⁰⁰The uVe was an *ibutho* formed by Cetshwayo.

¹⁰¹The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰²The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰³Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 511, gives *ukuphuthula* as '...purify oneself, cleanse away the defilement of "black medicines"...by rubbing, anointing or washing one's body in water or grease medicated with charms, and after which generally follows a completing dose of "white medicines" freeing the individual from all the restraint imposed on him by the "black medicines" '.

¹⁰⁴For *izintelezi* see note 27 above.

¹⁰⁵For *umsizi* (*insizi*) see note 74 above.

¹⁰⁶The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰⁷*Ukunyathela* was to perform the *ukweshama* rituals.

¹⁰⁸Inchanga (eNtshangwe) is a railway station twenty kilometres inland from Pinetown.

¹⁰⁹The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 525, gives *inqalathi* (pl. *izingalathi*) as 'Small sack or bag, made of goat, sheep, or calf-skin, or sometimes woven of grass or rushes, and used for carrying foodstuffs, medicines...'

¹¹¹Ndube and Mphumela are identified respectively in notes 12 and 5 above. Mbuzo was chief of a section of Ntuli in the Nkandhla division.

¹¹²The 'our' in this sentence refers to white people in Natal.

¹¹³This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹⁴For *umshokobezi* or *ubushokobezi* see note 31 above.

¹¹⁵The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

Mpukonyoni hill lies some sixteen kilometres north-north-west of the confluence of the Thukela and Buffalo rivers. It was the scene of an engagement between government and rebel forces on 28 May 1906.

¹¹⁶For *ukunqwambisa* see note 73 above.

¹¹⁷Lieut.-Col. G. Mansel commanded the government forces in the action at the Bhubhe ridge on 5 May 1906.

¹¹⁸The Zulu original of the account that follows was published by Stuart in one of his readers, *uBaxoxele* (1924), pp. 167-9.

¹¹⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 488, 640, 641, gives *umthombothi* as *Excaecaria africana*, *umtholo* as 'Certain kind of mimosa...', and *umnquma* as 'Certain forest tree (*Olea verrucosa*)'.

¹²⁰For *ukuphothula* see note 103 above.

¹²¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 173, gives *ukugcaba* as 'Cut small incisions in the skin of a person...as for rubbing in medicine...'