

SEME, PIXLEY

21.12.1924

File 40, item 14, pp. 1-5.

1 Conversation with Pixley Seme, 21 December 1924.¹

Called at 23 Pallisser Road, Baron's Court, today at 11.15 a.m., finding Seme at home with Jara, son of Mancibana, an *umntanenkosi* of Swaziland.² They are here in connection with an appeal from the Special Court of Swaziland to the Privy Council in regard to land rights. Sir William Findlay or Finlay was their chief lawyer, but, as he has been appointed a judge, they are on the lookout for another. The case won't come before the Privy Council before May. All the evidence must be printed, instructions must be given to counsel, etc. The Government has divided the land of Swaziland into three categories: (a) owned by Swazis; (b) owned by concessionaires; (c) appropriated by the Government with the intention of settling whites thereon. It is alleged that the Transvaal Government deposed Bunu in connection with the killing of Mbaba, hence he ceased to be entitled to the £12,000 a year under Hollard's concession, and Sobuza is in the same position.³

Seme was educated at New York. He was there 7 years. Later he decided to go in for law, so he went to Jesus College, Oxford, where he remained 3 years. He was then admitted as a barrister of the Middle Temple. After this he was admitted to practise in the Transvaal, where he still is. He has a farm at Wakkerstroom. His tribe is the Mtetwa. The Seme branch was divided off by Tshaka.

2 I told him of my doing the Zulu Readers.⁴ He strongly approved of this work.

He is of opinion that there is great harm done by teaching the Natives in English, and about subjects that are not directly connected with their local environment. It is no use teaching thus: 'Tom has a nice pair of snowshoes', or 'Mary has a little lamb', because the ideas and language are utterly detached from their experience. They know nothing of snowshoes, so the above sentence leaves them in the dark, even though it can be read, and Mary having a lamb is not in accordance with Native practice.

He considers that teaching should be based on the everyday home experiences of boys and girls, otherwise they may go for years and years without knowing the simplest things, e.g. that bootlaces are made from mohair, a fact he himself only recently learnt. And so with much else. Wilcox's son was at school with Seme; he progressed more rapidly.⁵ Bridgeman noticed this and remarked on it. The

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explanation was that he was dealing with words of numerous objects of which he had had experience at his home, whereas Seme had never had a like experience at his home.

It is the principle of basing education on experience at variance with what Natives ordinarily undergo at their homes which is causing Natives to turn their backs on their own past, traditions, practices etc., whereas, were their general instruction based
3 on their everyday experience, they would not only learn more easily, but they would remain attached more than they are to their old traditions. It is on this account he so strongly approves the kind of work I am doing.

He next alluded to the great demand there is for a book in which the subject of raw products of South Africa is popularly and yet concisely dealt with, e.g. cotton, wool, and mohair. Cotton is going to be grown in a large way in Zululand etc. Let the article dealing with that topic begin with the plant, show the necessity of the plant being the best kind, instead of some hybrid, for a good plant would grow as well in the soil as the inferior one. Then the other stages could be dealt with, demonstrating the profitable uses to which the production can be put. The object to be to try and show where the element of value comes in, the difference between a good quality and an inferior one, and why it would pay to strive to improve the kind that is produced. The same applies to wool. Natives keep black sheep, but these are valuable only for their meat and hides, whereas a merino sheep can give wool in addition, which the other cannot do. Thus, even whilst the animal is living, it is a source of profit, and greater profit than when slaughtered and eaten. Then the necessity for getting the best breed of animal could be brought out and explained.

4 The object should be to do everything to give the people a motive for doing better what at present they either do indifferently or not at all. It would be a doctrine of self-help. Moreover, it would educate public opinion until, in time, all would take on the civilized method of doing these things.

So also with mohair. Only recently did he discover that many bootlaces are made of mohair, which is very ingeniously woven so as to produce the lace. And so if the Native improved his breed of goats he would produce what would be a source of substantial income to him.

The future of the Natives lay largely in agriculture. No European would take exception to Natives producing raw products in any quantity they liked. It would not be like competing with the white man in carpentry, bricklaying, etc.

If a number of these pursuits and industries could be dealt with on sound lines, and put into a book in the Zulu language, it would have a tremendous sale in South Africa, for it is just the kind of thing that is wanted.

A good deal depends on the manner or style of setting this information before the reader. A good way would be that of question and answer. He would then assimilate more readily the instruction given.

Another class of subject which Natives would like in book form is political information of a simple kind. One might imagine a conversation starting at a beer-
5 drink. Someone might exclaim, 'I wonder where the Boers came from. And what they want in this country.' Some other Native might then attempt to give his own answer, and then another and another. Later on, the true facts might be stated and

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enlarged on by the author. Such a method would impress the information on the man. The fact that the white man has come not to get rich and go away would be corrected, and the true explanation given.

Other topics of a political kind could be similarly dealt with. Wars also could be treated.⁶

Seme knew Cleopas Kunene well. He appointed him editor of Abantu-Batho newspaper. Later he sold the paper to a syndicate or company.⁷

Raw products⁸

- Cotton
- Wool, sheep
- Mohair, goats
- Sugar-cane
- Mealies and *sorghum*
- Hides
- Weaving, eNhlonhlweni⁹
- Basketware
- Pottery
- Tree-planting
- Fruit farming. Bananas etc.
- Pigs
- Cattle
- Horses
- Vegetable gardening; potatoes, beans etc.
- Wattle bark
- Printing
- Silk worms; silk.
- Poultry farming

Political topics

- Constitution of South Africa
- Location system
- Purchasing land
- Advent of the Boers
- Advent of British
- Advent of Portuguese
- Parliament
- Wars of South Africa
- Municipal administration
- Judicial system
- Mission reserves
- Franchise
- Exemption from Native Law
- Marriage

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Births and deaths
Educational system

<In File 59, notebooks 35 and 36, Stuart recorded, in Zulu, several conversations which he held with Seme in January and May 1925 on a variety of topics, historical and non-historical. His notes of these conversations formed the bases of a number of texts which he published as chapters in the last two of his five Zulu readers, Kulumetule (1925) and Vusezakiti (1926). We here render in translation his notes of those conversations which dealt with matters of historical import. We have omitted his records of the conversations which covered non-historical topics - eds.>

11.5.1925.

File 59, nbk. 35, pp. 17-22.

17 *Dinuzulu*.¹⁰

Dinuzulu was the son of Cetshwayo kaMpande. He was the eleventh inkosi of the Zulu country, the place of Malandela.¹¹ For the line of descent (umnyombo) of the house of Senzangakona is very long. It goes very far back in the history of the Zulu country, until it merges (ukuhlangana) with the fables (izinganekwane) of the place. The old people of our place say that when their forefathers (oyisemkulu) held the umkosi ceremony, or when the Zulu gathered together, carrying war-shields and singing their ancient anthems (izingoma), the sky thundered and became overcast.

18 *It is not known who the name Dinuzulu came from, who gave it to him, for it came to his father, the king at oNdini, in a dream.¹² It is said that King Cetshwayo awoke from a deep sleep soon after he had become king. When he arose, he called his fathers, Masipula and others, to come to him at the upper end of the umuzi.¹³ When they were all there, in their chosen order, the king told them that he had been on a journey to a far-off country. He said that in that place there had been a great gathering of the kings of the Zulu. Indeed he named the kings who had been at the gathering and who had spoken to him. He said, 'Zulu people, I return with only one word from the kings of the Zulu. It is that the children of the king have done too much killing of one another because of disputing.' They said that because of this Cetshwayo should on no account have many sons. They said that he should have only*
19 *one son, and that his name should be Dinuzulu.*

Indeed that is how it was. He fathered only him.¹⁴ His second son, Manzolwandhle, an 'orphan' (wa se zintandaneni), was born when the king was no longer ruling, after he had come back from overseas.¹⁵ [Put right.]

Cetshwayo had only these two. He fathered only them, together with daughters (amantombazana). (The children of the king are not called izintombi; that would be an offensive word (inhlamba).¹⁶)

Indeed the name 'Dinuzulu' turned out to be an apt one. His father Cetshwayo died of injuries done to him by the Zulu people. The son too died an outcast (ezintabeni). As in the case of his father, the Zulu people became tired of him (uZulu se diniwe uye), as his name indicated.¹⁷ But even if this was so, neither his name nor that of his father will ever be forgotten in the Zulu country.

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20 *Dinuzulu stood in the space (emkatini) between the Zulu people and the white people, like the first Zulu king who is believed in, Tixo, the all-powerful (umnini mandhla wonke).¹⁸ On the one hand, he prayed (tandaza) very much to him. And, on the other, at his death he summoned Christian ministers to be with him and pray with him.*

Dinuzulu very much wanted to follow civilized ways (ukukanya). He brought all his children, together with his wives, towards civilized ways. He told all of them to put on European clothes and to become Christians.

On his return from overseas, from St Helena, he came to the Zulu country with that aim.¹⁹ On his arrival he called all his fathers and said to them, 'Zulu people, I have called you to put a great request to you. I ask that all of you should give me your chief sons (amakosana) so that I can send them to school, and educate them. For I am going to ask that the Zulu people should make a great contribution towards enabling them to be educated, until they have finished. This is so that when they
21 *return they will have the ability to lead the Zulu people towards civilized ways. For the days of darkness (izinsuku zobunyama) are now over, and today the Zulu people must take up the weapons of civilization.'*

But this great idea, this great aim, came to nothing, because there were not enough men in the Zulu country who supported him.

Another point about this great aim of Dinuzulu's is that it originated with his 'grandfather', Tshaka. At his death Tshaka too was trying to find a way of bringing together the Zulu people and the white people by means of learning (imfuno). He was trying to perform this task through his envoys Sotobe and Mbozamboza, envoys whom he sent over the sea to King George of England, so that, on behalf of the Zulu people, they could go and find out about learning there.²⁰ They were also to pay his respects (konza) to the king. But soon afterwards Tshaka died.

I think that Dinuzulu too was like that. He was like Tshaka in this great matter of
22 *learning. At his death he too was praying to the Zulu people to take up learning and civilization.*

This school which the government has now built in Zululand is indeed an answer to the prayers of Dinuzulu and of Tshaka.²¹ It is very important that all the Zulu people should hold fast to this great gift from the government, this gift which brings a school for learning to the children of the Zulu king. The hands of Dambuza ka Roqoza are applauding this great work.²² Here is what you desired, Zulu people. Seek the ways of civilization, for the means of doing so have now been brought to you.

12.5.1925

File 59, nbk. 35, pp. 22, 25-8, 29.

22 *When he was growing up, Dinuzulu was treated in the same way as all other boys in the Zulu country were treated. I mean that he too herded calves and herded cattle. He drank from the udders as all boys did. He too was made to fight by the bigger*
25 *boys (izingqwele). They taught him to fight with sticks, and to be clever. For in the Zulu country looking after cattle was the great school for boys. Boys had their own*

izingduna, the izingqwele who gave them orders, like soldiers, and who were obeyed by all the other boys. They also knew, and were the guardians of, all the customs (umteto) followed by boys. All disputes (amacala) among the boys were resolved there; they were dealt with while the boys were out looking after the cattle. If boys fought with one another, if they disputed over the grazing-grounds of the cattle, these matters were not interfered with by older people.

For boys did not fight at their homes; they fought out in the countryside (endhle), where they were in charge. At their homes they showed great respect for the customs of the older people. A boy did not answer back; he did not argue with an adult; for at his home there was no one to side with him. He could put trust only in his own swiftness of foot. This caused boys to form their own little group (ibandhlana) as they grew up; they knew one another, they put their trust in one another (tembana); and they ruled themselves according to their own practices.

- 26 *As a boy, Dinuzulu too grew up like this. He grew up with his own groups of boys. But people say that he stood out among all the boys. He had great presence (isitunzi); he was much stronger, he was much cleverer and wiser than the other boys. This was because the young of the lion is not like the young of a person from down-country (itole le mbube li nge fanane ne lo mzansi). [Inyamazane - a buck. A play on words - lower levels of society.]²³*

He also grew up seeing for himself and learning about all the laws (umteto) of the Zulu country, and all its practices. He was taught by the king's people, together with his grandmothers, the wives of Mpande and of Senzangakhona. In addition, old men from the time of Shaka and Dingane were still alive, and imparted all their knowledge to him. For his part, he very much wanted to know everything, so he grew up with all the knowledge of the land (izwe); he was educated in it. All this knowledge was presented (etula) to him, as was his right, he who was the head (inhloko) of the land of the Zulu.

- 27 *During his boyhood he did not experience the full happiness of boys who are still growing up, for he was born in very bad times.²⁴ The great men (izikulu) of the Zulu country were at war, and the king himself had been made to cast down his shield. The izikulu had begun to dispute and to fight among themselves, and to seize cattle from one another. In particular, they seized many of the king's cattle. They made war and ate up the cattle, knowing that they were his. In the end they attacked the king, and killed him, soon after he had arrived, soon after the white people had brought him back.²⁵*

For the king, Cetshwayo, had been sent across the sea by the government, to Queen Victoria, so that he could meet her. Indeed the She-Elephant, the Queen, received Cetshwayo kindly. She expressed sympathy for him and pardoned him, and said that she would set him free so that he could return to the Zulu country. But the king did not know that he would not return to the country of the Zulu,²⁶ and that his son would be an outcast. However, though he was caught up in the great

- 28 *bloodshed of the men when he was still young, Dinuzulu did not lose his good heart, his heart which stood above all the great misfortunes which, as we know, overtook him.*

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File 59, nkb, 35, pp. 29-32.

29 Dinuzulu.

He had a heart which quickly cast away and forgot unhappy things. He greatly liked to create happiness; he liked amusements (imidhlalo). Where he was present, dancing took place: until dawn people would be on their feet. He himself was a great performer (igagu); he would go among the people and sing and dance and point with his great knob-stick (iwisa). The songs which he composed were very many, both for war and for entertainment. They were nearly as many as those of the times of Mpande and of Dingane and of Tshaka.

At his uSutu umuzi he built in both the Zulu and the European styles. In his European-style houses there were pianos and organs. He knew how to play them, and would sing hymns in both English and in Zulu, such as are sung in church.

30 *He was a great hunter. He was always organizing hunting parties. On the floors of his houses were skins of all the animals which he had shot, for he did not miss. When he hunted at the Mbekamuzi river, or in the low country (ezansi), where there were predators, he carried a gun, but he did not leave his assegai behind (a large iklwa, as wide as a person's hand), for the heart of a Zulu (inhliziyo ka Zulu) places great trust in his assegai. Indeed it is in his assegai that the strength of a Zulu lies. Today the Zulu no longer has his strength, for the assegai has been knocked to the ground by the gun, and it will never rise up again.*

I have already said how Dinuzulu stood in the space between the Zulu people and the white people. Indeed he was like that in all his attitudes. He was able to please (anelisa) educated people and also those who, in his country, had not yet been educated.

31 *He was also able quickly to create a good impression (etshetsha a jwayeleke), and to make people like him. His greatest friends were among those white people who knew him. They often came to see him. All the amakosi often came to visit him, Mashiqela and others.²⁷ They found him to be an attractive person.*

In his European-style umuzi the tables would be set with white tablecloths, as among the white people. In addition, at his uSutu umuzi he could show people fine houses in the Zulu style which were well kept, with smooth, shiny floors, without the slightest speck of dust. They were built of thin wattles, all of the same size, fitting closely together like the fingers of a hand. All the things inside were well-made (petekileyo) articles which all Zulu people knew how to make: eating-mats, meat-trays, spoons, sleeping-mats, sitting-mats, and other items. They revealed the goodness (ubuhle) and the importance of the owner. Those who went inside would bow down (hlonipa), for that is how Zulu huts are entered; people do not stand upright in them. And when a person goes out, he does so on his knees.

32 *I must apologize if I have failed fully to show you all that Dinuzulu was. There is no one who could tell you everything, for even those who know finish by saying, 'You are beyond understanding, Nkosi; you are beyond understanding, Ngonyama (U li binda, Nkosi; u li binda, Ngonyama).'*

18.5.1925

File 59, nbk. 36, pp. 52-7.

- 52 Per Dr Pixley Seme. Was three and a half years at Jesus College, Oxford, but failed to take degree as essential to pass in Latin and Greek. He was at Oxford in 1907-1910, having previously been to America and taken BA etc. there.

*Cattle.*²⁸

Cattle are the money of us black people. They are the things which we cherish most (Isona sondhlo setu esikulu). Cattle are the food (ipakelo) of our people; we appeared with them when we appeared as people. We know how to watch over (elusa) cattle, but they too know how to watch over us. From the time we are very small until we are old, until we are grown-up men, until we are grey, we are watched over by cattle. We think that we watch over them, but the doings of God here on earth are a great wonder (isimangaliso). As one hand washes another, so it is between cattle and people.

- 53 *See now the dog. It serves as the eyes of a man, eyes which he uses to see things that would otherwise injure him. It leads him; it saves him from the beasts of the wilderness. Again it leads him; it puts him on the trail of buck. We all see that this dog is the boy who watches over the man when he goes into danger (ezigangeni), and in the night when he is asleep at home. It hears danger coming when it is still far off, and raises the alarm for its owner.*

The dog has very good work to do at the man's home; it belongs to his place. From this perspective it needs to be treated well, like another child of the house. It is the staff which a man was given at his creation, so that with it he should go through all the dangers of the wilderness; so that with it he should be able to test the waters.

That is why a man should treat his dog well, for it was created so that it should not cast him away, however rich he is, or however poor he is. The dog does not cast away its father. Also, it does not envy the dogs of wealthy men.

Cattle too are another highly prized thing from the first times; they were given to man. Among us black people here in this country, before the coming of the white people, all offences had to do only with cattle and with the shedding of blood (ingazi).

- 54 *When a beast is still small, still a calf, it begins by drawing the young boy from his mother; it draws him outside into the cattle enclosure, where the other boys are, where they are learning how to conduct themselves as boys. In the Zulu country the boy is drawn forward by the calf; it takes him into the school of his people, into the cattle enclosure. Here he will learn to do as he is told; to obey (discipline).*

When the older men say to a boy that the calves should be picked out, they cannot answer back. He starts up at the top, and the small boys too run to get there, for they know well that the calves will diminish the boys' share of the umtubi milk.²⁹ They know that the umtubi milk is sweet. The boys run themselves to exhaustion when the calves are running off to their mothers.

The calves always remain under the watch of the bigger boys (ofeleba) until the cattle are brought home in the evenings. At that time the calves are always forced back home and are shut up in their own enclosure, before their mothers arrive. This

is done because of the umtubi milk. The small boys are afraid of being beaten by the bigger ones if they leave the calves with their mothers.

In the Zulu country boys grow up showing deference to others (*be sabana*); younger ones show respect (*hlonipa*) to older ones. They carry this respect with them as they grow up, younger ones showing respect to older ones, until they are adult men. All follow this custom (*umteto*), one that they are brought up with.

- 55 A boy's first teacher, the one who draws him along this path, is, as we have seen, the calf. As the calf grows, as it becomes a yearling (*itole*), it continues to draw the boy along. It draws him from his mother at home, and takes him into the countryside (*endhle*), where he can learn to be a man, herding cattle. This herding of cattle is his second school, where he will learn the standards (*amastandard*) of our people. He learns about all the trees, their names, and all the medicines which can be eaten and those which cannot be eaten. He learns the names of all the rivers and streams of the place of his people, and of the mountains and hills which he can see, to which the beast draws him forward. It draws him into the bush and into the gullies. He sees birds and buck and learns their names, learns what they are called.

- He also learns to hunt and to run. His body becomes very firm as he grows, from the time that he is a small boy. This is what makes black boys become strong more quickly than white children. Black boys are out in the rain; their bodies feel the sun, and become good and flourishing (*ijabule*). For it is very good for a child to grow up
56 with the sun on its body. All living things like the sun. The young maize plant does not flourish in the shade.

Look at what happens among the amakolwa. Children who are covered with clothes and shoes as they grow up cannot blossom (*qikiza*) like those of people who do not dress their children in this way. The children of the amakolwa grow up weak (*tetema*); their bodies do not grow like the body of a child which has grown up in the sun. Because of this it is very good to see a child whose body is always exposed to the sun. When a child has lots of clothes, its mother or grandmother should see to it that it grows up not wearing clothes. (For a child is much loved, and so is given many clothes; the people at home make it happy in this way.)

Another very bad thing about putting a child in clothes is body-dirt (*insila*). White people wash their children with their nice soap every day. They also make very light clothing for their children; their clothes are changed many times a day. If a person is not able to do this, it is better to let the child go about freely, without always being tied up in hot clothes.

- 57 German print material (*izinkwashunkwashu*) has become like the bark of a tree. It makes for body-dirt and *isijingi*.³⁰

We have seen, then, that a boy is brought up by a beast. He grows up running about, following the calves. He does not need to be taken visiting all the time, like the child of a white person, which is always having balls and carts bought for it. For this came with the white people; it is their equivalent of looking after cattle.

The beast of the white people is money. For money brings all the knowledge of the things which children of the white people have to learn about as they grow up. It prepares them for their kind of manhood. This kind of manhood, we see, is also ruled by money. Among us black people it is ruled by cattle.

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Money brings white people's children close to books, where white people learn everything that they know. If a white person does not know how to read, he is in trouble; he is like a person among our people who has no cattle.

29.5.1925

File 31, item 8, pp. 1-4.

1 Discussion of Native Question with Dr Pixley ka Isaac Seme.

After taking down one or two pieces which he was able to give me for my Reader, Standard iii, Seme and I proceeded to discuss the Native Question.³¹

Inter alia, he said: Negroes of America are like balls blown up, by which he means that they have no definite status of their own, but are content merely with aping the white man, dressing and behaving like him. Having lost their own peculiar traditions and customs, they have become like parasites. Natives of South Africa, on the other hand, are respected for what they are, what they retain of the natural mode of life inherited from a far-off past.

What should be done is to build on what South African Natives already have, not endeavour to detach them from their ancient ways.

The Native life is based on the idea that, in those regions, with but little trouble, the soil could bring forth all they wanted, especially as they also kept stock and were primarily a pastoral people. They know nothing of commerce, which of course dominates European civilization. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose they can readily assimilate the system of life that rests, as ours does, on a commercial basis. It
2 must be remembered the climate of Africa, notably about the equator, is very different from that of the northern regions of Europe etc. where men found Nature less friendly and made it necessary for each man to put forth all his efforts in order to live. Such a discipline made the white races self-reliant, and this spirit of self-reliance they are introducing into Africa. Thus their attitude towards existence is at variance with that of the Native, with the result that the Native cannot readily absorb his ways or civilization.

What is essential is that instead of the Natives being constantly regarded as a menace or danger to the white man, the Government should set about, in Europeans' interests, to promote co-operation and solidarity between the two peoples. The welfare of the one people is bound up in that of the other. The Natives should be assisted to develop along the right lines, not ignored as Hertzog proposes to do.³²

He thought this looking on the Natives as a menace was purely imaginary on the part of the white man, a delusion, for Natives are thoroughly loyal to the King and Empire. They harbour no hostile feelings of any kind, nor can they understand why the White Race regards them as a menace.

In West Africa, Black Governors are appointed to rule over whites and blacks
3 alike; there are many black men in the service, and the results so far are all that can be desired. Something of the same kind goes on in French African colonies, again with encouraging results.

I told him how there was an absence of discrimination in New Zealand between Europeans and Maoris.

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He thinks there ought to be co-operation between the two races in South Africa, but does not show how that can be brought about except in some way by governmental action. He has no specific proposal in this connection.

He scouts the notion as absurd that there is any desire among the Natives to intermarry with the whites. Rapes and illicit intercourse may occur, but the instances are exceedingly rare.

I remarked that the solution of the problem lay in the conscience, as that is what ultimately rules every man. You cannot change the attitude of the whites merely by making a very clear exposition of the facts on both sides. The solution must be moral and spiritual rather than intellectual. I quite agree with him as far as he goes. The white race will not be moved to alter their attitude merely by the prevailing position being shown to be unsatisfactory, disadvantageous and uneconomical to both races. They can only be moved by their consciences, and these can only be altered by belief.

4 There was a double motive when first of all the Portuguese went forth to annex new regions to their country, viz. the spread of Christianity, and to acquire wealth or treasure. Belief is therefore radical.

Then there is the Boer biblical view of the Natives. This view began badly, for the first Natives they came into intimate touch with were the Hottentots and Bushmen. Such idea had been extended to Xosas, Zulus, Basuto etc.

Seme's views on the Native Question are very sane and practical. They seem to me to suffer from not being sufficiently radical. He has evidently thought a good deal on the matter.

He proposes to write a pamphlet on the Native Question and to get it printed in England before he returns to South Africa, as printing here is cheaper.

He is also writing a book on such aspects of Native Law in Natal as have not hitherto been reduced to writing.

Notes

¹Seme, a lawyer who had studied in the USA and in Britain, was a leading figure in black political circles in South Africa from the 1910s to the 1940s. The evidence which we reproduce here was recorded in London, where Stuart had been living since 1922.

²*Umntanenkosi* means child of the king.

³The South African Republic ruled the Swazi kingdom as a protectorate from 1894 to 1900. Bhunu was named as king of the Swazi in 1890 at the age of about 13, and was installed in 1894. In 1898 he was tried for the murder of a senior *induna*, Mbhabha Sibondze, and was found guilty of permitting public violence. Before and during the trial the authorities of the South African Republic suspended him from his position. He died in 1899. William Hollard was a lawyer from the South African Republic who was active in obtaining business concessions in Swaziland in the 1890s. Sobhuza, son of Bhunu, was installed as king of the Swazi in 1921.

⁴In the period 1923-1926, Stuart published five school readers in Zulu on topics in Zulu history, custom and folklore.

⁵We have been unable to identify Wilcox with any certainty. The reference may be to Rev. W.C. Wilcox of the American Board Mission who worked as a missionary in Mozambique in the late nineteenth century.

⁶This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷Cleopas Kunene was a Natalian who became involved in the public affairs of Swaziland in the 1890s. He was one of the first two editors of *Abantu-Batho*, a newspaper founded by Seme in 1912 with backing from the Queen Regent of Swaziland. Kunene was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁸It is not clear whether the two lists that follow were drawn up by Seme or by Stuart.

⁹Enhlonhlweni appears to be a place-name. We have been unable to locate the place which it refers to.

¹⁰Stuart's notes in Zulu of his interviews with Seme on the life of Dinuzulu formed the basis of the text which he published in his reader *uVusezakiti* (1926), pp. 85-91. Seme had established close links with Dinuzulu and the Zulu royal house in the years before Dinuzulu's death in 1913.

¹¹Malandela was supposedly the father of Zulu, the eponymous ancestor of the line of Zulu chiefs.

¹²Ondini (uluNdi) was Cetshwayo's chief *umuzi*.

¹³Masiphula kaMamba was Mpande's chief counsellor.

¹⁴At this point in the original, Stuart inserted a footnote which in translation reads '*I do not mention the children who took husbands when they were still young. See - <sic>, p. - <sic>'*. This presumably refers to Cetshwayo's daughters.

¹⁵Binns, *Dinuzulu*, p. 8, indicates that Manzolwandle was born after Cetshwayo's death in 1884.

¹⁶*Intombazana* (pl. *amantombazana*) is the diminutive form of *intombi* (pl. *izintombi*). Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 641, writes of *intombazana*, 'Young girl, i.e. anything from infancy up to marriageable age...; used by members of a family in reference to any of their girls, even when marriageable or already married women - the term *i-nTombi* among such being confined to such "girls" as could be one's sweethearts...'

¹⁷The name Dinuzulu derives from the verb *ukudina*, to tire out, be irksome to, and *uZulu*, the Zulu people.

¹⁸UThixo is a Xhosa word meaning God, the Supreme Being.

¹⁹Dinuzulu was in exile on St. Helena from 1890 to 1897.

²⁰In 1828 Shaka sent an embassy, led by Sothobe kaMpangalala and Mbozamboza, to make contact with the British authorities in the Cape. The envoys spent several months in Port Elizabeth before returning to the Zulu country.

²¹Presumably a reference to the Zululand National Training Institution, which had opened near Nongoma in 1920 as a school for the sons of chiefs and headmen. See Cope, *To Bind the Nation*, pp. 81-4, 131-2.

²²Dambuza kaRoqoza (Hoqoza in modern orthography) is presumably a praise-name. We have been unable to establish with certainty to whom Seme is here applying it.

SEME

²³The words in square brackets appear in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of the page. The word *umzansi*, a person from down-country, sometimes carries connotations of inferiority.

²⁴Dinuzulu, who was born in 1868 or 1869, grew up during the wars of the period 1879-1888.

²⁵After defeating and deposing Cetshwayo in 1879, the British restored him to part of his former kingdom in 1883. He died in 1884.

²⁶I.e. to his old kingdom.

²⁷Mashiqela was Charles Saunders, who held office first as Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and then as Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand from 1897 to 1909.

²⁸Stuart's original notes of his interview with Seme on the subject of cattle formed the basis of the text which he published in *uVusezakiti* (1926), from p. 120 to the fifth last line on p.123.

²⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 657, gives *umthubi* as 'Beestings, or milk given by a cow during the first few days after calving...'. .

³⁰*Isijingi* in this context means rubbish.

³¹The reference to the reader is probably to *uVusezakiti* (1926).

³²General J.B.M. Hertzog had become Prime Minister of South Africa in 1924.