

XABA, LAZARUS

1.5.1910, Sunday.

File 54, nbk. 2, pp. 1-6.

Also present: A.J. Shepstone?

1 Notes on life of Sir T. Shepstone.¹

Lazarus Xaba.² Sunday, 1.5.1910.

I am 72 years old. I was born in 1839 *at the time of the 'breaking of the rope' (dabuka kwe goda)*.³ I was with Rev J. Allison at Mahamba. I came with him to Natal to Pietermaritzburg - 3 months here. I went to Ndaleni and stayed there 2 or 3 years.⁴

I arrived from Swaziland about 1847, finding Sir T.S. already here. He was in command of Police Force; this Force was drilled by J.W.S.⁵ Mqundane and Mahlanya were in this force.⁶ There might have been 50 men in this force.

The first notable thing Sir T.S. did was to *cause people to pay taxes (telisa)*. I know people *paid* with money or cattle. *Itantikazi* - 2 huts - £1 (its value), leaving 6s. over. Somtseu used to go about collecting himself.⁷ I saw him collect at Ndaleni near Richmond. He went about on horseback, also with waggon. I saw no Police with him. His *induna* should have been Jojo ka ? [see p. 11].⁸ At that time Ngoza ka Ludaba *of the Majozi people* was working in the kitchen. Zatshuge ka Mbezwa, *of the Ngubane people*, used to carry the takings <of> Sir T.S.

Ngoza was appointed *induna* later on.⁹

2 Jojo quarrelled with Dhlaba, the latter getting the better of it.

Jojo was too greedy and died.

Sir T.S. was very freely *presented with cattle (hlabisa'd)* wherever he went and he got many cattle in this way.

Per A.J.S.¹⁰ Ngoza's kraal was later on near 'The Wilderness' - belonged to Philips then. Formerly his huts were just below Berg Street. His kraal was *at Nomsimekwana's place at Emkambatini*.¹¹

Cannot give Sir Theo Shepstone's *praises*.
[Mahlangeni was Cetshwayo's *imbongi*.]

XABA

*Mashiqela, the tusk of the elephant,
The elephant which is not answered.*¹²

'Somtseu' - don't know meaning of this.

I hear Sonzica, as chairman of Wesleyan Church, got the site at Mahamba for Rev. J. Allison.¹³

A.J.S. says there was a great hunter of the name of Somtseu and Sir T.S. got his name from that man.

Job Kambule, Johannes Kumalo, Jonathan Xaba, Reuben Caluza, Jacob Tshabalala, Abram Twala, Abram Malras (*a coloured man - ilawu*), Samson Mtembu, Barnabas Mtembu, Samuel Kumalo, Daniel Msimango, Adam Molife
3 (father of Jabez) and others. All these made Sonzica's acquaintance in Cape Colony. All these are dead. These were among those who bought land at Edendale, except Abram Twala. All these led respectable lives.¹⁴

Somtseu was very glad when all these arrived. I arrived with them, along with Rev. Allison. Mswazi (Swazi king) sent Majumba to ask that a missionary be sent to his country. When a volunteer was called for, Allison said he would go. All the natives enumerated went with Allison to establish station at Mahamba.

Daniel Msimango was a *voorlooper* at that time.¹⁵

After some time <there was> an *impi* between Sidoyi (*of the Dhlamini people, of the amaKuze people*) and Mtshukangubo (*amaBele*).¹⁶ Sidoyi lived on the south side of Mkomazi, close to river, and above the present Richmond-Waterfall road. Mtshukangubo lived in same neighbourhood, only rather farther off from here than Sidoyi. This was not a *succession dispute (umbango)*. There was *dancing (sinelana, gcagcaing)*. A girl who married a certain young man happened to wear an *umketengu*
4 (bead work) which had been given her by another lover. This led to fight between *lovers (amasoka)*, and others kept on joining in until the affair became very big.

Umketengu - one takes string as big as *the umkala rope of a cow* and round this *beads* are bound round.¹⁷

Sir T.S. then went off with *impi of soldiers* and natives. The Colonel in command may have been Boys.¹⁸ There was no fighting by Sidoyi. He ran away.

Mtshukangubo was killed by Sidoyi, also many others. The fight took place same day as the marriage. Sir T.S.'s force seized the cattle in his district. Force may have been out a month.

No case was tried; it was not ascertained who was to blame, Sidoyi or Mtshukangubo. I did not *go out on this impi*.

Sidoyi ran across Mzimkulu to *amaxama* lands, i.e. where refugees lived like wild animals.¹⁹

I knew Sidoyi. Was an *elderly man (ikehla)*. Very light colour - tall. He ran off with his *people (isizwe)*. I do not know who remnants *konza'd*.

5 Sidoyi, Kukulela, Mbazwana, Bidhla and Fodo ka Nombewu all *are related (zalana)*.²⁰ All these are amaKuze or Nhlangwini.

XABA

Tshingaza - they were tshingazwa'd by Tshaka, i.e. he impoverished them.

When a big *affair* was on, say a chief is dead, this was reported to Sir T.S., i.e. the Government. He would then send his messenger to *mourn (lila)*. Messengers (*amanxusa*) would be sent, not *induna*. When they want to *install a successor (beka)*, they would come and report that they desired to do so. They would then ask him to come and *beka*. I am now speaking of *chiefs* outside Natal. This does not mean that he was given the liberty of selecting someone after his own fancy. He would then go off, as was done when he went to *beka* Umqikela ka Faku (of Pondoland).²¹

When Sir T.S. went to Mqikela, he presented Somsewu with 40 head of cattle as a sign of gratitude for coming to instal him as chief. S. said some of Faku's cattle must be *slaughtered* in order that the chief and men of his age may *put on the heading* 6 (*tunga*), for *tungaing* is the custom of native chiefs when *beka'd*. By so directing, Sir T.S. wished to put a stop to the ancient custom of going out to attack some distant enemy on such an occasion for purpose of getting *sinew (usinga)* to *tunga* with.

3.5.1910

File 54, nbk. 2, pp. 6-17.

Also present: Socwatsha kaPhaphu

Lazarus Xaba and Socwatsha present. Former speaks.

The ancient custom was to report death of a chief to a distant chief but not to do this until after many weeks had elapsed. This was owing to fact that those whose chief had died were frequently attacked, on the ground, as it was said that the attackers went to *mourn (lila)*, whereas the attack took place because the tribe, having lost <its> chief, was supposed to be unsettled or in a state of confusion. It was owing to such liability that there was considerable delay in reporting a chief's death, so that when the 'mourning', i.e. *attacking* was done, the people would be ready to meet it. There may be as much as 6 months delay in reporting. [Mpande's death was not reported to Sir T.S. for many months. See Blue Books.]²² People would be told simply that the king is ill, *he is indisposed (dunguzela)* [*the chief has an ifutane* - per Socwatsha, i.e. *umkuhlane*].²³ The successor will *hold a purification (ihlambo)*, i.e. *evil (ububi)* because tribe *has lost its chief*. That is, they themselves will then attack a 7 tribe. They will then return, *stay at home* and *live quietly (busa)*, the new chief being *untunga'd*. When he wants to *tunga*, an *impi* will be sent to *fetch sinew*, for a chief does not *tunga* with his own but his enemies' cattle. Somtseu put an end to all this.

When Mswazi ka Sobuza died an *ihlambo* went out, i.e. *impi*.²⁴ This force passed through *all the peoples of the Besutu; it attacked Mjantshi ka Tobela; it attacked Mapepela ka Luvalo, it attacked Makatu ka Somabulana*, and other chiefs. This *ihlambo* was sent out by Mzamose, sister of Mswazi. She was the mother of Siyepu ka Langalibalele.²⁵ She went to Swaziland to mourn and then took opportunity of *sending out an ihlambo*. The army came back. In regard to Ludonga no *sinew* was *fetched*.²⁶

XABA

Sir T.S. put an end to all these warlike practices. Mswazi, afraid of being *attacked* by Zulus, decided to send girls to marry here, viz. Sir T.S. He *sent* his father's daughters for this purpose. The name of one was Tifokati.²⁷ I cannot think of name of other.

- 8 Per Socwatsha. The girls were given to Ngoza as Sir T.S. said he, being white man, could not marry a Native girl. When Prince Alfred came there was a big dance of Nyuswas under Dubuyana, i.e. at Pietermaritzburg.²⁸ One of the *izinsizwa* of this tribe greatly struck Ngoza's fancy, so much so that, when given Tifokati to marry, he sent and asked Dubuyana to lend him this *insizwa*, Lutayi ka Jambiswayo, so that he might *dance (giya)* for him when the amaSwazi were present at his wedding. Lutayi was lent, and duly *giya'd*, it being carefully concealed that he belonged to another tribe. He wanted to make believe Lutayi was one of his own people.

Xaba. Tifokati was to marry Sir T.S. and the other girl was to marry Ngoza. Mswazi also *sent a girl to marry (endisela'd)* Mnyamana, the Prime Minister of Zululand.²⁹

Mswazi wanted, by doing this, to get him to use his influence with the Zulus. And the result was there was no *attacking* in Swaziland.

Mhlopekazi came and *konza'd* Somtseu. He came from Swaziland.³⁰

- 9 Socwatsha. I think the girls were sent to *bonga*, as Sir T.S. caused peace or freedom from attack by Zulus.

Xaba. I think the reason was to *konza* with these girls by way of requesting him to use his influence and prevent Zulus from attacking.

Socwatsha. Elephant tusks were sometimes sent - great heavy ones.

... <Praises of Sir T. Shepstone as given by Socwatsha omitted – eds.>

- 11 Xaba. In Natal Sir T.S. used to *hold hearings on succession disputes (teta amacal' ombango)*. E.g. Mzimba *disputed* with Gencane, Dibinyika, their father having died; their *isibongo* was Zondi.³¹ Sir T.S. tried this. Whenever he *held such a hearing* he used to call *the great men of the country (amadod' amakul' ezwe)*. A case was tried outside, *in the shade*, i.e. where Supreme Court now stands. All could come and hear. The case was tried according to Native law; he proceeded to carefully ascertain the order in which marriages took place. He would find out clearly if any given woman was the one who was really to bear the chief son, i.e. while she was still on her way to be married, i.e. the fact of her being the *chief wife (inkosikazi)* would be known before marriage. He did not appoint the first-born as chief, but the one
- 12 whose mother was nominated chief wife - had been *lobola'd* with cattle of tribe. Mzimba was then appointed. Everyone was allowed to *speak (pendula)* in *hearings*. He would summon one from outside to come and sit closer and speak if he desired to speak. He always said '*Mntanami*' in answering Natives.³² If dissatisfied he would

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postpone case; great care was taken to get all witnesses together when hearing came on and have old man's evidence got by special messenger. Gencane was rejected.

When Somtseu *held a case (teta'd)* he would direct the winner that the loser was to be regarded as his *umnawe* and that he was not to eat the cattle of his house.³³

Somtseu used to say 'Ndi'. 'Kangela ndi ku tshela' = 'Beka ngi ku tshela.' He used Xosa dialect as Misjana does.³⁴

S. made every effort to restore law and order when *a succession dispute* had occurred. He was not content with merely declaring the heir. He would fine only aggressors, not those attacked.

- He also *decided the dispute* of Nodada's sons, viz. Mganu and Mvelase of the
13 *Tembu people*.³⁵ Mvelase's mother was a Cunu girl. In connection with this, S. made a remark which had effect of putting an end to the whole quarrel. He asked if, when Mvelase's mother came to *marry*, she came to bear the chief sons. There were no satisfactory replies to this question. *Those from eLangeni* (name of kraal), who were supporters of Mvelase (uBoya was *induna* of this section), said M.'s mother came as *chief wife (inkosikazi)* to *marry*, but Mafongosi, *induna of ekuDumeni* (kraal), said No! She ran away merely to *marry her lover (isoka)*, not to *bear an umuzi*. He added Nodada had said Mganu was his chief son. The two *indunas argued (pikisana'd)*. S. then made a very clever observation. 'As Mvelase's mother is daughter of Pakade's,³⁶ for she was borne by brother of P.'s brother,³⁷ I say *let Pakade be asked. When Nodada was chief, perhaps he told Pakade who his heir was. Pakade will respect the umuzi of another man, for he too has an heir for whom matters will have to be dealt with properly. Because of this, I say, he should be asked about the mothers.*
14 *He will tell us the truth. Let two men from eLangeni, two men from ekuDumeni, and two men from eMgungundlovu* (i.e. Government) *go off and the put the question to Pakade.*'³⁸

- They gave praise.* They all approved what Sir T.S. had said. The *messengers (amanxusa)* then went off. The messengers got to Pakade who said, '*Never would I deliberately spoil (ona) a man's umuzi. The mother of Mvelase is my child. Nodada did not ask for her to be the ubaqa* (i.e. *chief wife - inkosikazi*) *of his umuzi. [Ubaqa, insika, i.e. chief son.]*³⁹ *She simply ran away (baleka) with him; the girl ran away with her lover (isoka). My daughter (inkosazana), Nomendela, too, has no special status there where she married. Moreover, Nodada told me that it was Mganu who was his heir.*' It was with this word that the *inkosi* decided the dispute, viz. that Pakade was the great witness. Sir T.S. then said, 'Look here, Mganu, *your umnawe is Mvelase here. You must also show respect to your umnewenu, Habuleni*
15 (April).⁴⁰ *For your part, Mafongosi, you must join with Boya here, the induna of eLangeni. Both of you together must look after the umuzi of Nododa.* Mganu, the cattle of Langeni kraal, you must not eat them because you have been *disputing*, for that is their property.' Thus the whole affair ended satisfactorily.

When Ngoza died, i.e. the *induna*, a *succession dispute* began, but not much of one; it was only *talked about*. Many thought Mbazo, son by the Swazi king's daughter who was meant to marry Sir T.S. <sic>. Mbazo, alias Gencane, *disputed* with Luntshungu (father of Kula). Sir T.S. also settled this affair easily.⁴¹

XABA

Anyone could come to listen to the cases being tried by Sir T.S. They used to *give assent* (*vuma*) even when they could not hear what was being said (as with the Zulu kings).

Ngoza was stoutly built - same build as Majosi (chief).⁴² Mudhliwafa is a son of Ngoza. Ngoza was *doctored* by Mbunda, Hlubi's father,⁴³ on ground that he was impotent - he then got his son Mbazo.

- 16 Ngoza died before Langalibalele rebellion. He died just after *the impi of Lusawana ka Makabane*, of Mtshwetshwe (Basutos).⁴⁴ This *impi* caused us to be on the expedition for 2 years.⁴⁵ Mtshwetshwe *paid a fine* (*hlawula 'd*) with 4 000 head of cattle, *which were called 'isitabataba'*, i.e. because so numerous. Somtseu used to *make presentations of cattle* (*xotshisa*) very liberally and *established imizi* for his adherents.

The Majosi *dispute* was readily settled. S. said Mbazo was not Ngoza's child. 'Were I not a white man he would have been my child. He cannot *dispute the succession to the umuzi of the Majosi people*. I appoint Luntshungu, whose mother was named by Ngoza to bear his chief son. *When Ngoza came here she was already married to him; he then became induna here.*'

There was also the Embo dispute, but there was no real *dispute* here. Sir T.S. also readily settled this. I am not familiar with this.

- 17 When ordinary civil cases were tried execution took place by a messenger being sent by Sir T.S. to the kraal in question. He would go to gate of kraal and stick into ground a long stick with *genet* skin round it (as when part of shield, viz. *the stick - umgobo - of a shield*), and this stick would not be pulled out and removed until the whole of cattle for which judgment was given had been delivered over. The policeman was paid by the successful party. This custom of the stick was not a Zulu one but a Pondo or Xosa one. I do not know if this custom was observed in every case.

Sir T.S. had no clerk when engaged trying cases in the open. He had his papers, made occasional notes. Sometimes he had no table with him. No books. He had no interpreter. He would sometimes hold up his umbrella if in the sun; held it himself. No impertinence was ever shown him in these public assemblies. At that time, great respect was shown to him as well as Europeans generally. Natives were far better mannered than they are nowadays.

[To *memeza the king*, call out king's name - sign of great disrespect, as Bejane did: '*We Somtseu!*' Cetshwayo refusing to discuss matter with Sir T.S. and deputing Mnyamana to do so on ground that he was only an *induna* like Mnyamana.]⁴⁶

4.5.1910

File 54, nbk. 2, pp. 18-31.

- 18 Lazarus Xaba continues.

I know of only one residence at which Sir T.S. lived, viz. here in Loop Street.⁴⁷

I cannot call to mind any native who was with Sir T.S. in 1861 when at Mpande's kraal. [Nodwengu?] Offy Shepstone was with his father then. Adam Ndhlovu went as part of escort; dead now; killed at Isandhlwana with George Shepstone.⁴⁸

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Somtseu used to go on horseback as a rule to his office; sometimes he walked. Servants (domestic). Cannot mention any.

Basuto expedition of about 1865.

When Lucas was magistrate at Ladysmith, a lot of Basutos came from sources of Tugela in the Berg and went into Ladysmith District about 25 miles <from> Ladysmith, and captured a lot of cattle with which they went off.⁴⁹ The Basutos did not intend to fight or attack the Government but to get their own stock from the Boers. For the cattle seized by the Boers of the O.F.S. from Basutos, whenever fighting with
19 them occurred, would be sent to Ladysmith District. The Basutos wanted to fetch their cattle from Cornelius Viljee [de Villiers?], known by Natives as Mazotanyana. The *impi* was that of Lusawana ka Makabana. He was accompanied by Simahla ka Mandhlangampisi.⁵⁰ These two made a raid into Natal and seized Boer and English cattle. Captain Lucas went in pursuit as well as Mr M. Osborn, also some Native police. There was no fighting for our force was so small. As soon as reported here, Sir T.S. *organized a force (hloma'd)* with his native *impi*. He left with Amahangu, *the ibuto of Ngoza*. There were also Izigqoza (from Zululand) with them.⁵¹ The *induna* was uManyosi ka Sigobe and uGwazinkomo ka Mabuzi, and Makuza ka Ndebe. There were about 25 in number, all on foot. Mbunda ka Mgojo was also with the party, with about 20 followers.⁵² Somtseu *called up (hlomisa'd)* Ncakwana, Halimansi, Nodada, Pakade and others. There were also European troops under Major Poole, about 100 of these. [At this time the Native troops had long been disbanded].⁵³

20 I accompanied the forces. I was under Mbunda in this expedition. We got to Berg, where we *encamped*; this was done so that the whole *impi* would assemble in order to ascend together. Mtshwetshwe sent *a missionary* (white man), who was living in his brother Mlambo's district, to come and prevent troops from coming.⁵⁴ The missionary was accompanied by Magodongo (brother of Lusawana), also Mbelu (brother of Mtshwetshwe ka Mkatshana).⁵⁵ These brought the message that Mtshwetshwe had no quarrel with *the Government (uRulumeni)* but with the Boers. He added that Lusawana had done wrong in coming and raiding the cattle. 'The *inkosi* must go back; I will make reparations (*hlawula*); I will return those cattle. Also, there is no man who can fight with two men at once. Whilst fighting with one, my *inkosi*, i.e. *uRulumeni*, would catch me by the leg.' The missionary and those with him were thereupon sent on to Pietermaritzburg in order to make there these representations.

21 We remained halted and waited for Mtshwetshwe to *hlaula*. The cattle seized were then sent back in driblets. The Boers were called up to come and pick out their stock by their marks (*upawu*). The forces then returned to Pietermaritzburg and to their homes. Mr Ayliff then went up to take Somtseu's position with the police and Amahangu under Manyosi, whilst S. resumed his duties in Pietermaritzburg. After this, Ayliff was relieved by Mr Brooks and, after him, Captain Allison.⁵⁶ Whilst Brooks was there 4 000 head of cattle were paid over. These cattle represent Mtshwetshwe's fine. After a time *onongqayi* (Mounted Police) were then sent back.

We were on this expedition for 2 years. We then *came back*. We did not return for some time after the paying of the 4 000 cattle, for there was scarcity in Basutoland,

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and Basutos wanted to come to look for food in Natal. Moreover, uSimahla's people, on being defeated in O.F.S., came running down through the passes into Natal. The Government refused to allow any of Simahla's people to *konza* in Natal. They were
22 accordingly sent back. These people's women and children had all come into Natal and when ordered to return to their enemies a very great lamentation arose; even men cried, holding their heads. They were in a dreadful state of emaciation owing to having long lived in caves. I saw women carrying babies on their backs whilst they also had a basket (*iqoma*) on the head with another child in it, and in the same basket was food in a *pot* which, whilst marching, the said child ate. The man would carry a child on his shoulders whilst holding his shield in his left. There may have been over 100.

Four of Simahla's sisters were picked out. One had *married* Manzezulu, grandson of Putini (Matshoba).⁵⁷ This girl was allowed to go to her husband in Natal. One of the other 3 girls was one who *followed immediately after Simahla in age*. Each of these had with them *a child of their people*, i.e. a small child. When we showed
23 Gwebu (Captain Allison) the girl, he sent and asked authorities if these girls could go and live with their friends in Natal. Word came back to say they were to go to Captain Lucas in Ladysmith. They did so. They there stayed a week or two. Then word came from Government that there was strong objection to their remaining in Natal and that they must go back at once from whence they came. This was *incomprehensible (insumansumane)*. Dhlovunga ka Siduli (a policeman) was directed to *drive them away* accordingly. Gwebu ordered him to *drive them away* and return after putting them across boundary. They first refused to go and handed Gwebu a knife inviting him to cut their throats, as they would not go. Gwebu then ordered horses to be got in order that they might be put on them. They then said, 'We agree now to go.'
Dhlovunga *drove them off* and went off with them. When they had gone ahead some way they turned aside and went to cross Tugela into Langalibalele's district. Dhlovunga could not prevent them. D. returned to report what had happened. Captain
24 Allison said, 'It's no longer my affair; go and report to Captain Lucas.' The result was that nothing further happened.

Two hundred cattle remained at the camp, the 4 000 having been sent on to Ladysmith or near there. The 200 were given the Amahangu - given to Manyosi ka Sigobe to apportion to the levies. After this we returned to our homes. Somtseu, Ayliff, Brooks and Allison all stayed in a Boer house; the levies etc. *encamped* in small native kraals.

No sooner did we get back than Somtseu went on with Governor Bissett.⁵⁸ We went to Alfred Division.⁵⁹ We had to pass by Gebuza (Henrique) and take him on to the amaXasibe.⁶⁰ The object was to see some copper that had been found there. Dr Sutherland was with us.⁶¹ We went by coast route via Amanzimtoti. S. came with a
25 *donkey cart*. We crossed Umzimkulu at Port Shepstone. S. was with Mhlopekazi and Dhlaba, also driver and voorlooper. We got to Gebuza, also Jojo, his *induna*. An ox-waggon came along from Harding. Wherever we got, S. was *presented with cattle (hlabisa'd)* by natives. We went to eMaqingqo, i.e. where Marwanqana's (Jenkins) mission station was.⁶² We went on to amaXasibe, crossing Mzinhlanga stream, and close to Nsizwa mountain.⁶³

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The copper stones (*itusi*) were dug up. They knew beforehand it was not gold. Dr Sutherland returned with the stones, whilst S. went on to Mzimvubu. S.'s object was to visit his father, Sonzica. The latter did not arrive. Presently an urgent letter was sent to S. that he was to return. Sonzica arrived at the proposed rendezvous 2 days after S. had left. We came back via Madonela's drift.⁶⁴

S. never carried a gun, not even in time of disturbance. He had given up hunting.

Names⁶⁵

Henrique - Gebuza
William - Nsokonsokwana
Offy - Mhlakuvana
Alice - Ntombazi
Gertrude
George
Arthur - Mmango
Florence - Nozinyati
Walter - Kanda

26 The upshot of the prospecting for copper was that nothing was done.

To tonya; they have an *itoto*, the Zulu people (kings) - to have good luck; to be always lucky, in luck's way, just as England is always said to be lucky. Per Socwatsha.⁶⁶

S. once went with Governor Keate to *meditate (lamula)* in connection with the fighting between Basutos and Boers. The object was to meet Governor Wodehouse at Aliwal North.⁶⁷ Somtseu had many Natives with him on this occasion. We had 50 head of cattle with us, 2 ox-waggon, 2 mule-waggon. We went via Richmond, Madonela's, Kokstad, then to Matatiele. The Hottentots *put on a welcome (ketela'd)* for Governor at Kokstad. We went on to Dordrecht, then to Aliwal North, to find Governor Wodehouse had gone on. We found Isangqu full; we had to go round by Vetberg, where Austen was the magistrate.⁶⁸ On this occasion S. nearly was carried off by river, for it was *in the summer*. He was crossing in a small boat. This was rowed under a willow which caused boat to turn over. S. jumped up with macintosh on and clutched at the willow tree and so got out along a branch. Had he not been so
27 heavily clad he might have *swum*, for he was a swimmer. We went on to Ludziye,⁶⁹ *son of Mtshwetshwe*. Ludziye came to see the governor and Somtseu. Not much talking was done that day. All that was said was that Governor Wodehouse had passed on and therefore L. did not know what Mtshwetshwe would have to say under the circumstances. Whilst there waiting, Governor Wodehouse arrived. He said he had been to see Mtshwetshwe. M. says he wants to *to be ruled by us (busela ngakiti)*, give allegiance at the Cape to the Queen.

Keate asked Wodehouse how it was that, having been called to receive M.'s allegiance, he now gave it to Cape. W. said all this will be fully reported to Her Majesty's Government.⁷⁰

XABA

Before S. left Natal word had come from Mlambo that the Basutos wanted to be governed by the Natal Government. At this time the Natal Government was smaller than Cape one. Governor Keate was surprised to hear that Mtshwetshwe no longer wanted Natal to govern them but the Cape Government. We felt small at this, for we had been specially summoned. [*We dana'd*, i.e. *we jaba'd*.]⁷¹ We passed on to Mtshwetshwe who gave us a good welcome. He was in his fortress in the mountains. 28 He had a kraal in this mountain which had existed since the days of Tshaka. M. said he had hoped to be governed by Natal Government, but my children will not agree on the ground that in Natal Natives have their guns taken from them. Our *amakosi* then said the whole affair will be reported to Home Government and be settled there.

After this we went on to Mlambo. This man knew the object of our mission was to see by which colony Basutos wished to be governed. Mlambo said he had heard what Mtshwetshwe had elected to do but Mlambo said, I desire to be governed by Natal Government. A 3 days halt was made here. Mlambo organized a great dance for Governor Keate. We then *turned for* home via [near] Harrismith.

We were absent for over two months on this journey.

I do not know of more than three occasions on which Sir T.S. went to Zululand. The last was when Cetshwayo was brought back from England.⁷² [I won't come back again.]⁷³

29 Ezingcepeni, on Ncome river (Blood river). Where Bejana *called out to* S.

When S. went to *appoint (beka)* Cetshwayo,⁷⁴ and after he had been fully appointed, C. said to S., '*Baba, I am troubled over my boundary with the Boers there up-country.* I see that fighting may result from it. On the Natal side there is no cause for worry for we are on good terms with one another. I think you should have a strip of land between us Zulus and the Boers. I will give you land from Mzinyati to Pongolo. We Zulus therefore should speak about this on the boundary, and you go and speak with Boers on the far side and so prevent any discussion as between Zulus and Boers on boundary matters.' C. then said, '*Send out people (izinduna)*,' so that C.'s man, Nkomesiswebu *of the Xaba people*, could indicate the Zulu-British boundary.

30 Manyosi ka Sigobe was sent with Sir T.S. and, maybe, others. The boundary was duly pointed out and the messengers returned. When he, S., returned he was summoned to England. Whilst there the Sikukuku campaign arose, Boers going after him.⁷⁵ S. was ordered back at once as things were going wrong; the Boers are unable to govern the country. You must go and annex it. S. returned and passed on at once to Transvaal. He took Captain Clarke (Ngini), M. Osborn, and 25 mounted police. Haggard was also with him.⁷⁶

I was at Pretoria when S. arrived there. I had been sent up by Sir T.S. There was here in Pietermaritzburg a son of Mzilikazi, one Nkulumana [Kuruman - *vide* Theal, p. 233, *History (1854-72)*] (Habuleni), who was the rightful heir to Mzilikazi, not Lobengula.⁷⁷ [Worked at first for Kotshi Boshoff on Mooi River near Estcourt, but came down afterwards to Sir T.S.] After Mzilikazi died there was inquiry as to his rightful successor, for Nkulumana had been *chased away (citwa'd)* (according to custom of that country an heir must *grow up at the home of his mother's people*), and

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31 had come here. When Mzilikazi died, Mncumbata the great *induna*, sent envoys (*amanxusa*) - Mhlaba, chief son of Mncumbata, and another *inxusa* or two - in search of Nkulumana. They went to Mtshwetshwe but found no trace there of the heir. They came on to the *Emangwaneni people* and came to one Jozi, who had formerly *konza'd* Mzilikazi but left again; they questioned him and he said Nkulumana was with Somtseu at Emgungundhlovu. '*I shall take you there,*' he said. He gave them food and treated them hospitably, etc. Jozi asked if his father was still living. The messengers replied that he was dead. What became of him he asked? He died from a *fever (umkuhlane)*. Jozi was not satisfied. He questioned the *mat-bearers* secretly. The *mat-bearers* said, 'Your father was killed by *the king*.' Jozi said, 'Why did you hide from me that my father was killed by the king? What did you think I could have said to that? Is there any one who bears ill-feeling against a king for what he does?' Jozi then refused to take them on.

[See next page.]

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File 54, nbk. 2, pp. 32-50.

32 Lazarus Xaba continues.

When Nkulumana first came to Natal he first *konza'd* Kotshi Boshoff of Mooi River. He, K., had come from Zululand, for it was to that country he went when he *was chased away (citeka'd)* in Matabeleland. When Tolo ka Mnqumbukana heard that K. was working for Kotshi, he went and brought him to Sir T.S. Mnqumbukana was son of Matshobana and brother of Mzilikazi. According to custom of Matabeleland, the *inkosi* goes and grows up *at the home of his mother's people*. In Nkulumana's case there was no *such home*, for Zwide's tribe had been broken up.⁷⁹ Mnqumbukana was appointed to act whilst Mzilikazi was growing up *at the home of his mother's people*; this was *before* Mzilikazi left Zululand, being chased away by Tshaka. When Mzilikazi was *brought home (ngenisa'd ekaya)*, his brother Mnqumbukana was killed. Tolo *escaped* because he was not at home; he was *at the home of his mother's people*, the eMantshalini. Mzilikazi lived at eNtumbane, just
33 where Kambi ka Hamu now lives, and Matshobana's district stretched away to Ngome forest.⁸⁰

I do not know what man Nkulumana *konza'd* in Zululand. I knew Nkulumana very well. He was of slight build, medium height, one eye gone, *light (mpofu)* colour.

Nkulumana stayed with Somtseu. He was with S. for years.

Bulawayo. Name of kraal was Ezimpangeleni.⁸¹ There were only 80 of them. When Mzilikazi left eBulinganto (Marico District) and went to Matabeleland, chased by Zulu *impi*,⁸² he no sooner arrived than he said to Mncumbata, 'What is to be done about this child (Nkulumana) as he has no *mother's home*?' They decided he was to be chased away, also *the umuzi of his own people*. This was done so as to be in strict accordance with the recognized custom that *a chief does not grow up at the place of his father (inkosi kayi kuleli ku yise)*. He was *sent away* with his *inceku*, Ngcalima

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34 *of the Kumalo people* (I knew him well). They were then ordered to go back (*emuva*) without knowing where they were to go to. After being chased away, Mzilikazi said that the Izimpangele were to go off and *follow* Nkulumana. Nobengula was not there but with Mabindela *of the Tshabalala people*. He was not *at the place of his people, at Ezimpangeleni*. The Izimpangele refused to go and follow up the prince, whereupon the kraal was *surrounded* and those there were killed. Those who escaped from there are not known where they went to. When Nobengula *began to rule* he resuscitated the old kraal, *the place of his people*, and gave it the name of Kwa Bulawayo, for Nobengula was *the younger brother (umnawabo)* of Nkulumana.

When Mhlaba, *the son of Mncumbata*, went back, as Jozi had refused to *accompany* him, Somtseu heard that *amanxusa* had been down and had returned before completing the object of their journey. S. sent hurriedly after the messengers to 35 tell them to return. One of those sent after them was Mpungutshe (*an elderly man*), *the son of Mandondo*, and, I fancy, the other was Nobanda ka Bunyane. They went, discovered their track, but did not overtake them. They returned to S. and nothing more took place.

After a time Mr Livett arrived from England to say ‘*Our company for digging gold (imali)*, we hear that *there is gold in Mzilikazi’s country at eTate*.’ He asked S. for some native to accompany him to Mzilikazi. S. gave him Elijah Kambule to accompany him.⁸³ They reached their destination. Mncumbata then said, ‘Matshe!’ [the man was unable to <say> Elijah (broad pronunciation), so used what he thought was plural form of the word!].⁸⁴ ‘With regard to S. having sent this white man to *ask for the metal for making money (insimbi ye mali)*, the owner of this country is not here. Go back and say to S. that will he please look about for him for us, and, in the 36 event of his turning up, he will be the one to make a present of the money stones asked for.’ Elijah and Livett accordingly returned. S. then sent Elijah back to say to Mncumbata that he should come and *see the distinguishing mark (upawu) on the cattle of our place*, referring to Nkulumana. Elijah went back, but whilst away, Mremi (a Basuto) arrived in a waggon, his object being to *ask for sea water*. He said, ‘Mncumbata asks if you will allow him to have some water (sea water), for the kings are *installed (bekwa’d)* with sea water, with which they wash etc.’ S. said, ‘Hawu! How is it that when I had sent to Mncumbata, saying he was to come and pick out *the mark (upawu) of his people*, he sends and asks for sea water? I have no water to give you. *I am still holding to Mncumbata’s request that I should look for the beast of his people among those of our people*. Go back; use *this word*.’

37 Shortly <afterwards>, *envoys* - not sent by Mncumbata but by an *induna* of Zwangendaba kraal (royal), Mbiko ka Madhlenya *of the Masuku people*; the chief *envoy* of these was Sirayo - came to say he had been sent to see where the *first envoys*, i.e. Mhlaba, *had failed*. ‘Go and see how things stand. I, Mbiko, refuse to allow a successor to be appointed to Mzilikazi; I am still in search.’ These messengers were shown Nkulumana; the *inceku* Nkulumana had been chased away with was also present and seen. The messengers were satisfied as to Nkulumana’s identity.

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We are doing the work of the inkosi - still on track. Although we appear to be relating what is relevant to the issue it is relevant to work done by the *inkosi* (Sir T.S.).⁸⁵

Whilst the messengers were here, Nobengula who had been appointed king,⁸⁶ attacked Mbiko at kwa Zwangendaba, the *ikanda of the ibuto*. Nkulumana was of the *age-grade* of Zwangendaba. The *induna* Mbiko had two regiments, one being named Induba - also a third, boys' regiment called Inyamayendhlovu - and these agreed with Mbiko that there should be no haste in appointing a successor but that further search
38 should be instituted. Elijah now returned to say *that an installation had been made, that Nobengula had been installed*. Refugees then poured into Natal, i.e. those who had *disputed the succession* in Matabeleland. They told S. that they had *been scattered (citeka'd)* and Mbiko, the *induna*, had been killed, but, we Zulus, this is all in accordance with our custom. For the true Zulus are Matshobana and his adherents.⁸⁷ Mzilikazi etc. were of Kumalo tribe, but Kumalo is merely *isibongo*. *The name of the Zulu people there is Amahlabezulu*. Those known as Zulus are really Qwabes, for Tshaka *changed (pendula'd)* the name to Zulu. It was Tshaka who said that he, the conqueror, would not be called Lufenulwenja, and so he took the *izibongo* Ndabezita and Zulu.⁸⁸

Socwatsha says he never heard this explanation. He thought only Ndabezita *isibongo* had been taken by Tshaka.

39 We Zulus, said the refugees, first appoint a brother of the real heir to act, that is for the purpose of *removing the umnyama, for a death has taken place; the inkosi has died*.⁸⁹ Afterwards the true *inkosi* is *fetched* and he comes to assume chieftainship by force of arms. Mncumbata, they explained, did all this on purpose. He had even discussed the matter with the late *induna* Mbiko, that *<is>* to say, he asked, 'What are you, the son of Madhlenya, doing? Leave off, and let us appoint (temporarily),' but Mbiko had replied, 'I am not satisfied; I am still on the lookout; an appointment can be made later on after I have given up searching. You, Nkosi (i.e. Somtseu), it would be right for you to send this boy of yours back so as to assume his rightful position by force.' They said Mncumbata heard by his son Mhlaba that Nkulumana was living, but Mncumbata purposely appointed Nobengula so as to comply with custom. For when the true heir turned up he would kill the man acting, just as
40 Mncumbata, father of Tolo, had been temporarily appointed. They then asked S. to take Nkulumana back with an armed force, and even if no body of men left here he might call out Boers in the north to *install (ngenisa)* him. S. said, 'Oh! my children, No! I cannot enter *the umuzi of Mzilikazi in arms (ngesihlangu)*. As you say *the people want him, and as you say it is the custom of your people, and as you say people would obey him and come over to him, I shall give him to you to take with you. I give you this man Elijah to take him. When you get to the place of Matsheni (Basuto chief),⁹⁰ listen for the news*. And if you get news, you will hear who espouse his cause, for I still adhere to what Mncumbata asked me to do, namely, to look for Nkulumana. Go forward then, and, with regard to the Boers you suggest be sent, go

- 41 without them if you take my advice, lest after appointing Nkulumana they will themselves seize your country.’

That then was the end of the matter. A waggon was got to carry food for Nkulumana and his people. There were about 25 sacks, 14 oxen, tent waggon. The food was presented to them, but the waggon returned. I myself accompanied this waggon. Elijah requested that I might accompany him as he did not wish to go alone among these people. S. refused and said, ‘No, this man is a warrior, moreover he is senior to you. I originally gave this *path* to you, hence it is always yours.’ Nkulumana then said to S., ‘Baba, *let me have Lasi* (i.e. me) *to go with me*. If I go with Elijah only, should we quarrel, who will be our arbitrator?’ S. refused, and eventually agreed on Nkulumana’s pressing. They were told to respect me. ‘I appoint him,’ he said, ‘to be my representative between you.’

- 42 Off we went. When we got to Newcastle I think Mr Osborn gave us cattle.⁹¹ S. said, ‘Elijah, *here is paper*,’ (i.e. foolscap and envelopes). ‘Should anything occur you must report fully whatever it is.’ When we got to Pretoria, Nkulumana went to greet Pretorius and Paul Kruger.⁹² Pretorius said, ‘Do you Nkulumana, see that there is any prospect of your *becoming king*, especially as we have seen refugees from there? Would you not like us to take and *install* you, for we see you won’t be able to do this.’ Nkulumana said, ‘Oh, no, *makosi*, even though there has been a fight, it would not be proper for me to burst upon them under arms; moreover, my father S. said whatever the position turned out to be I must report to him.’ They then replied, ‘Well, go on.’ We accordingly passed on. We then got to Matsheni, *in the country of the Mangwatu* (i.e. afterwards Kama’s district). When we got there we found that the
- 43 country was largely in favour of Nkulumana but Nobengula was in power and a very smart fellow. [*The one who cuts across across letters as they go to Somtseu*’ - a praise of Nobengula’s.]⁹³ We stayed some time at Matsheni’s. Nkulumana sent spies to find out how matters stood. They returned to say Nobengula was exceedingly *clever* although the people were in favour of Nkulumana. We passed on. Matsheni directed Kama and his men to *arm*, viz. two regiments, each man carrying a gun. Nkulumana’s men were only 100 strong.

- As showing Nobengula’s smartness, let me say when spies were sent by Nkulumana from eTshatshe river - there were 40 of these spies sent by twos into the country to warn every one that ‘Here is the *inkosi*’ and to listen to what news they came across. No sooner did Nobengula hear of this than he *armed all his men* and
- 44 ordered all to assemble at his kraal. All those, however, who were known to favour Nkulumana had their shields and assegais taken from them and they were all put into cattle kraal whilst the armed men who favoured Nobengula surrounded the kraal. Those inside kraal were not, however, put to death. After this Nobengula sent and caused all the spies to be arrested and afterwards put them to death where they had been caught. These reports were sent to Nkulumana; he was told that Nobengula was quite ready for him. We had then got to eMadojeni (Matoppos), just outside Nobengula’s territory. We got to where the Makalanga lived, i.e. Basutos who *konza’d* Nobengula. Hearing all this, we returned to Nkulumana back to Matsheni’s. Nkulumana had uMmangwana (*the isokanqangi of Mzilikazi*),⁹⁴ also Mabele, also Baza, also Nkume with him; all were his brothers and had come up with him from

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Natal where they had taken refuge with him. On the death of Mzilikazi, all his sons
45 ran away, including Nobengula, for they were afraid of being appointed to act to
remove the umnyama, for such persons were, as has been stated, killed on the heir
coming. But all this did not do them any good for Nobengula went and killed all that
remained with him. Those with Nkulumana died of *fever (umkuhlane)*; only one
remains, viz. Nkume; he is now living in Rustenburg. I saw him there two years ago.
Nkulumana went to live at Rustenburg under Chief Mnkandhla alias Magada
[Marada],⁹⁵ where he died from *umkuhlane*. Elijah came and reported the failure of
the mission, but no further action was taken. Nkulumana died just after Majuba *impi*
of 1881.

I remained with Nkulumana whilst word was sent to S. regarding failure of
mission. Jonathan Xaba (my father) and Johannes Kumalo came and asked S. where I
was. S. said, 'I told him (i.e. Lasi) to remain there until I arrive.' It was indeed a good
46 plan that I should stay there, for I came to learn the local dialect and the practices of
that part, so that when S. arrived he said, 'Come now, I want you to *be in charge of*
the umuzi and be *induna of Gebuza* [Henrique].⁹⁶

Sir T.S. told me that he had crossed to England and there, when the *impi* of
Sikukuku, and Boers, Thomas Burgers being the President, he, S., was told to return
as the country was going wrong.⁹⁷ 'Go and look after that. We give you power to take
over the country if you find such course to be necessary.' He returned and annexed the
Transvaal.⁹⁸ After this, when he was at Pretoria, I went to see him. He said to me, 'I
am glad to find you alright but you must go and stay where you have been. I will send
for you.' In a few days, after the annexation, news was brought by the newspapers
that Chief Mnkandhla did not desire to have S. over him. As soon as Mnkandhla
heard this he was greatly surprised. He accordingly sent me with 2 missionaries
(Pensuan) to S. to contradict the rumours.⁹⁹ When we stated all this S. said, 'I saw
47 from the outset that all was untrue, but I am glad of the action taken by Mnkandhla
for having come to explain carefully anything unsatisfactory affecting me that came to
his notice, and so that it should not be associated with his name as something
objectionable. Tell him I will call him up presently and you, Lasi, you will get your
instructions on that day.' We went back and waited.

About a month after, Sir T.S. *summoned all the people (lonk' izwe)* to say they
must come to him, from Marico to Zoutspansburg. They would not have responded as
they did had they been called up by the Boers. After all had assembled at Pretoria, out
in the open near Government House, S., Osborn, Major Clarke, Henrique were
present. They were made up into *semicircle (umkumbi)* formation, the chiefs in front.
They all *made salutation (kuleka'd)* - I had previously instructed them. S. said, 'I see
48 you, my children (*bantabami*).' They all then sat down. 'My reason for calling you
up is to tell you that I have today taken over this country. It now belongs to us, i.e. the
Queen in England, but I am not your chief. Here is your *inkosi*, here he is' (pointing
at Gebuza); 'as for me I am the governor (Rulumeni). Gebuza, my eldest son, will
report to me any affairs affecting you. And your father, by whom you will go through
to Gebuza is this man' (indicating me). Mr Osborn was also pointed out as being
inkosi of the white people and that he will receive all their *affairs*. 'And when you

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have to pay taxes, the tax will be 10s. per hut.' That was all. He gave them food. I got 14 oxen for them to eat; I gave a beast to 2 or 3 chiefs, for there were many chiefs. All went to their homes.

Later on S. told me Paul Kruger had come, when they spoke over matters.¹⁰⁰ S. said, 'Paul is a *man*; he is bringing a charge against me for having seized his country,'
49 and that he did not want to bring an action against him without giving him (S.) notice. S. said he thanked P.K. for what he had done and thought the idea of going to England was a good one so he could satisfy himself that S. did not seize and annex it of <his> own accord. P.K. went to England and then returned. He then said, 'Oh! you have got the better of me, Somtseu, for when I complained in England, the authorities said that S. had been sent by the Home Government to annex the country as the Boers were always getting into trouble and fighting.' Kruger went a second time to England. Sir T.S. was 4 years in the Transvaal, but I am not sure.

Sir T.S. went out touring in the Transvaal. After a while messengers of Cetshwayo arrived, viz. Sintwangu, Bejana and others. Sintwangu said, 'I have been sent by your son Cetshwayo. He said I was to come and see if you are still living, for he had heard
50 something about your having been killed by Boers.' S. said, 'Yes, there was no opportunity when I returned from England, for I was obliged to come at once and see if *the country was being spoiled (onakala)*, and I did not send and tell him (Cetshwayo) that I am going up (i.e. to Transvaal). Tell him that the rumour he heard was not in accordance with fact, for here I am. I have taken over the country of the Boers; it was not taken by me but the Home Government. Tell him that. Say that I am coming to the Zulu-Transvaal boundary, for my child remembers when I came to crown him, for he said he would give me a strip of land between him and the Boers as he was afraid of quarrelling with the Boers if they lived up against him.'

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File 54, nbk. 2, pp. 50-7.

When the *envoys* sent by Nkulumana were put to death, Nobengula turned out two regiments to go and put Nkulumana himself to death, without telling them that Nkulumana himself was actually with those to be killed.

51 On the two *indunas* in charge coming up to our trace with their men, they being mounted, they directed the *impi* was to halt. They then proceeded along the side of our track. We could not see them for we were then travelling through *thick bush*. They passed on ahead, hid their horses, and came into an open place. They looked at us as we passed and concluded that the *impi* they saw could not be that of Mmangwana (Nkulumana's brother) but that of the *inkosi* Nkulumana himself. They accordingly returned back to their men. This happened at eSizenze (hill), south of Matoppos (*Amatobo*). The names of the *izinduna* were Mtikana and another. They were sure that our force must be that of Nkulumana. 'Let us seize and *ngenisa* (set him up as king) as he must be there; to do this is to act in accordance with our custom; he must one day succeed, where shall we *konza* if we do not do this? And our orphans *will not konza anywhere*. Let it be so arranged that no sooner does Nobengula discover that
52 things are amiss than we immediately *nquma* or assassinate him.' ¹⁰¹ The proposition

was made to the *impi* and all agreed. But one man came forward and said, ‘Do you suppose he will agree to this, seeing that you have already killed his (some of his) people as you have done, i.e. the *envoys*?’ Such question was a means of putting a stop to carrying out their intentions. They then gave up all idea of ‘rescue’ and immediately killed the oxen they had with them, given by Nobengula for *rations* (*umpako*) or food purposes, for that was the custom of that country (in Zululand the forces feed on what they get ahead). They agreed to say to Nobengula that the cattle had been carried off by lions at night-time, and that Mmangwana had run off and succeeded in getting right away. When they got back to Nobengula they reported on these lines. Nobengula afterwards heard that the report was all lies and that there was a conspiracy to put him to death and set up Nkulumana. Ralimana *of the Radebe*

53 *people*, a man I know by sight, was directed by Nobengula to go and put Mtikana, the *induna*, to death. This Ralimana did. The other *induna* was also killed.

After this, numbers of people *ran away* (*eqa’d*) and joined Nkulumana when we were at Matsheni’s, when they told us what was happening.

This Ralimana was later on killed, his head was smashed in with an axe, great gash at back of head. They left him for dead. He eventually got up, being a man of very great courage. He came and joined us at Rustenburg, *at the place of Mnkandhla*. After this, Nobengula ordered out his army to attack *the place of Mhabinyana*,¹⁰² a petty chief *konzaing* Matsheni (the Basuto) whilst we were still at Matsheni’s. The *izinduna* of Nobengula said, ‘*This is good*, for he has sent us in the direction in which Nkulumana is.’ They said they would not do as Mtikana had done and return half way but actually go and fetch the *inkosi*. One of Nobengula’s men said to Nobengula, ‘Are

54 *you going to accompany them to Nkulumana?* Do you not see that *the Zulu people* (*uZulu*) *indeed do not like you?*’¹⁰³

Nobengula never supposed that he could ever contend against the real heir Nkulumana, for he himself had against his will been pressed into accepting the chieftainship; *they had singezela’d him; they had made him chief when he did not want it*. They had said he was *of uNkulumana’s people*, and as Nkulumana had disappeared apparently for ever, he should become king rather than allow tribe to break up.

Nobengula then sent after and *turned back* the *impi* but not until after it had attacked and killed members of Mrabiyana’s tribe. After killing them they collected the bodies together and burnt them. *Envoys* were sent by Nkulumana and Matsheni to see what the *impi* had done and they found that the bodies had been treated as stated.

Nkulumana left Matsheni because of internal dissensions in Matsheni’s tribe, for

55 Kame contended for the chieftainship against Matsheni.¹⁰⁴ Matsheni was defeated but not killed, although his people were killed. The tribe split up. Nkulumana then went off to Rustenburg. After this, Kame went and built at eMhlangeni, i.e. large area of reeds. There was only one entrance to this spot. The kraal was only an *ikanda*, not the capital. Nobengula *sent out an impi* and attacked Kame at eMhlangeni. Cattle were seized and men killed. A certain man, wearing a huge ornament made of lion’s mane, was caught - we called him Sigqokosebubesi.¹⁰⁵ One night the *izinduna* of Nobengula’s called him secretly to them to ask if it was really true that Kame had chased Nkulumana away from their tribe. The man said, Yes. They said, ‘*Look, you*

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56 *saw what we did at Marabuyana's*. We will do the same to you, for you chased our rightful king away, as we intended to come and set him up as there was no other *impi* to *install* him. You go off now and tell Kame *not to close the roads which lead to Nkulumana*. Our reason for attacking here, we have come to fight about that *grudge* (*ugqubu*), for Nobengula had really ordered us to go and attack Maralirali district under Chief Litsulatebe, but we decided to settle old scores with Kame.' These *izinduna* of Nobengula were subsequently put to death by Nobengula for having spoken as they had done.

This is end of Nkulumana's affair. He never became a chief at Rustenburg, for he never had a large following.

Nkulumana's name. Mr Moffat and Mzilikazi were very fond of one another.¹⁰⁶ He gave him advice in regard to being so beset with Boers and Zulus. Moffat lived at Kuruman at this time among the Batlaping people. It was after the name of the place at which his friend Moffat lived that he gave his chief son the name of Nkulumana.

57 One of Nkulumana's *envoys* named Masende, who was arrested as described on p. 44, was taken to Nobengula by order of the king. N. asked who it was they were bringing to those parts. He said, 'Nkulumana.' Masende was closely related to Nobengula, hence his telling him accurately. 'Even though you have killed us as you have done, he is the true successor to your father.' He was put to death and in this way. Two sticks were fixed about his head very tightly, whereupon they were heavily struck with other sticks. The man fainted, recovered and <was> struck again. Ngcalina, Nkulumana's *inceku* [p. 33], was killed in the same way. He had gone out with the 40 *envoys* sent by Nkulumana.

After Nkulumana was sent forth by Mncumbata with Ngcalina, the latter, having gone some way, returned, not desiring to be with Nkulumana. He deserted him. In later years this man accompanied Sirayo (previously referred to) when he came to look about for Nkulumana in Natal.

The great thing Somtseu wished to avoid during his tenure of office was bloodshed. Hence even when he had annexed Transvaal he would never have ventured to send Nkulumana with an armed force to depose Nobengula and assume <kingship> in his place.

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File 54, nbk. 3, pp. 1-20.

Also present: Socwatsha kaPhaphu

1 Lazarus Xaba continues.

Nkulumana was turned away from his home by his father Mzilikazi as well as Mncumbata. He did not go away after Mzilikazi's death.

The messenger Mhlaba referred to previously was told by Mncumbata that if he saw Nkulumana he was to leave him alone and not bring him back.

I cannot give the father of the Zulu the Mzilikazi people call themselves Zulu after. But I know the Mzilikazi people's real name is Zulu and that their *isibongo* is

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Kumalo. Their *isitakazelo* is Ndabazita. They are called Mahlabezulu, whilst the Zulus of Zululand are Zulu ka Malandela.

Sir T.S. found that the Boers had had differences with Sikukuku ka Sikwata ka Tulwana (don't know *isibongo* - but was a Basuto).¹⁰⁷ The President was Burgers. The *impi* was over when S. arrived. Sikukuku had promised to pay the Boers 5 000 head of cattle as a fine for the war that had taken place. S. sent an *envoy*, John Kekana, to Sikukuku to say this country belongs to H.M. Government and that he had annexed it. 'I have heard you promised to pay the Boers 5 000 cattle as a fine for the *impi*. This being so, I shall expect you to pay up these cattle and will give you some time to do so. I allow you five years.' Sikukuku agreed and sent his *induna* Makoropesi to *bonga* what S. had said he would do. It then seemed as if all trouble was at an end in that direction. Before these cattle were paid over, further disturbance broke out, caused by his (<Sikukuku's>) sister Lukulana. She quarrelled with her husband's younger brother Pogwana on the ground that she wanted to *be charge of (pata) the umuzi* in place of Pogwana, who was acting in charge of that section. They fought with one another - civil war. Lukulana then went and asked Sikukuku for assistance. Captain Clarke was then sent by S. to *mediate (lamula)*. Some hundreds of Cunus, armed with guns, joined Clarke. A war broke out and went on indefinitely until a war broke out with Sikukuku himself, for he had thrown in his lot with his sister.¹⁰⁸ The Swazis were called out to fight this *impi*, also *the Amatonga of Siwawa*, alias 'Albasina'.¹⁰⁹ There were many Basutos, loyal to Government, who also went to fight. Sikukuku was arrested. The campaign was very short and decisive, but many soldiers were killed. Sikukuku, Mabedhla (son of Mswazi, who had run away from a *succession dispute*), Msutu (son of Somcuba ka Sobuza) were arrested.¹¹⁰

S. said to Sintwangu that he was to tell Cetshwayo he would come to the boundary between Transvaal and Zululand. Presently some *envoys* arrived from Swaziland. They said they had been sent by Mamgangani, mother of Ludonga. Mbandeni had been *installed* but *affairs* were managed by the said *indhlovukazi*.¹¹¹ These messengers said, 'We have heard that the *inkosi* has arrived in the Transvaal. Mamgangani has told us to come and pay our respects. She is a subject of H.M. Government, for her husband died a subject of the same Government. She said she wanted to be governed by H.M. Government, for her country always had belonged to H.M. Government.' (I think one of the messengers was Sandhlana, the *induna*.)¹¹² S. said, 'I have heard what you say. I will come round presently and talk to you.' They then went off. S. then went off to eMatshitshini, i.e. Lydenberg, and on to the gold discoveries about there. He inspected the diggings. He then went to Maclachlan [Maclaughlan].¹¹³ He then went on to Spitzkop where the white people gave him a *stone pot (imbiza yetshe)* which had been found in the earth, and it was a basin-like vessel, of stone (free-stone).¹¹⁴

inkoto.


XABA

It was found about 2 feet below the surface. This was given to Sir T.S. and he took it
5 with him. This showed there were people who many years previously had been
engaged with gold digging.

We then went on to Mr Bell, son-in-law of Buchanan, on boundary between
Transvaal and Swaziland.¹¹⁵ We waited for Swazis to arrive, but they did not turn up.
Mr Bell came as far as Lake Chrissie and then went back to his home. He had to try a
case in which Bekane was concerned.¹¹⁶ When Bell summoned him he refused to
come to the Court house. Bell then went with a few police, whereas Bekane had many
followers. When asked why he did not come and getting no good answer, he gave the
order for his arrest, whereupon Bekane said, '*Why are you still just looking at them?*'
and they set on to Mr Bell and party and killed the lot of them. These men were
Swazis, but on Government side of line. This affair was reported. Bekane was
arrested by Mbandeni and subsequently put to death at Pretoria. Most of Bekane's
followers ran off to Zululand. Bekane's cattle were seized and brought to S. at
Utrecht. Rudolph (Tshele) was magistrate there then.¹¹⁷

6 Sabulawa ka Mavukesapela was sent by S. to Cetshwayo and to report that he had
arrived and if he should consider it too far for him to come, he could send Mnyamana
and other *indunas* to discuss matters re boundary matters relative to Sintwangu's
representations. Sabulawa came to say Mnyamana was coming as C. was unable to
come, having no carriage to carry him. When Mnyamana arrived, S. went to
eNhlazadolo, *near the iNcome river* - the hills near there are Ezingcepeni. S. was
accompanied by 25 Mounted Infantry under Capt. Corrington and Lt. Brown. When
S. *encamped* at Ezingcepeni, Mnyamana and the *uZulu* who were with him, <came>
from direction of Tafayiya's kraal where Mnyamana had *put up*. They crossed the
Ncome. They arrived armed with guns. S. sent to Mnyamana to say, '*Where is that
impi going? And why is it armed for war?*' The *impi* must not come here, only you
7 and the more important men, for it is you I called.' Mnyamana said they were
carrying nothing but sticks. The distance between the two - S. and Mnyamana - was
short. The Zulus crept up to join Mnyamana. Presently one heard a gun fired, the
bullet travelling high up over us. *The idea was strong in the Zulu country that
Somtseu was bringing Mbuyazi, for it was believed that Mbuyazwe was not dead.*¹¹⁸
For it became general talk that *Somtseu had an isifumbu.*¹¹⁹ When he heard the
gunshot, S. asked Mnyamana what it meant. Mnyamana said, 'It is nothing; the boys
are doing it.' The troops however were greatly surprized and quickly prepared for
action, but S. was undismayed. He simply asked what the guns wanted 'as we have
come here merely to talk over affairs'. S. said, 'Mnyamana, where is my child?' M.
said, 'I am here in his stead.' S. said, 'I would have been glad to see him himself
8 relative to what we have already spoken about. I have called you about what
Cetshwayo referred to when I installed him as King, viz. to give me a strip of land
between Zululand and the Boers, for he saw he and the Boers might quarrel over land
matters. On the west of the Buffalo C. said there was no question at issue; all was
satisfactory.' S. repeated all to Mnyamana that he had said to Sintwangu. He added,
'Cetshwayo said I was to talk to you, father. He said I was to *send people* to see this
land which was being given to me (S.).' S. said, 'I *sent* Manyosi ka Sigobe and others
and Cetshwayo gave Manyosi Nkomoyesiswebu to indicate the land to be given.

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Formerly the boundary was the Income. Today,' added S., 'I have come to receive the land I was made a present of in Zululand. I proposed our talking matters here on that account.'

9 Mnyamana said, 'Heu! You of Sonzica. We Zulus know nothing of that. Now that you have today gone and annexed Boer territory and then say that you propose annexing that of Zululand and give it to the Boers, I, Mnyamana, say there is no such territory to be handed over to you. I know nothing of that kind.' S. replied, 'Was it not your suggestion that I should get land so as to form a buffer between you and the Boers? Moreover I have annexed the Boer territory to H.M. Dominions, how then do you say I intend giving the land to the Boers? I don't believe you when you say you know nothing of the land that I was given. It is accordingly desirable that Cetshwayo should himself be present in order that I could remind him of what he said. Where is Nkomoyesiswebu who was the messenger who brought messages on this subject? His presence as well as that of Cetshwayo is desirable. I cannot believe C. would give expression to what you are now saying.' M. said, 'It is not Cetshwayo's land (izwe),
10 and it is not Nkomesiswebu's land. It is our land. Cetshwayo would never have thought of giving you our land without our knowing of it.' M. replied he could not understand why C. was wanted, for he was fully representing him that day. S. persisted in saying that C. would not give utterance to what M. was saying. I, Lasi, was present on this occasion. Gebuza was present.¹²⁰

Per Socwatsha. I have heard it said that Bejana called out, 'We, Somtseu!' and said something else, I do not remember what, about the land matter. I do not know what S. replied. When Bejana got back C. approved of what he had done instead of reproving him.

Lasi says: I do not recollect this incident Socwatsha refers to.

I have heard it said by Boers that when Mpande came into Natal and was sent back into Zululand,¹²¹ he was told that, although allowed to occupy Zululand, he must do so on the understanding that when the Boers increased in numbers and wanted
11 more land they would come and cut off a piece of Zululand for their use, and so on. I do not know what truth there is in this statement.

The result of the conference between Mnyamana and S. was an impasse. S. said, 'Look here, M., send men off to Cetshwayo to report to him what I have said and what your replies have been.' Mnyamana said he did not know why it was necessary for him to send messengers to C. but there was no objection to S. doing this if he so desired. S. pressed M. to send. M. persisted in his refusal. S. then said that as suggested by you I will send myself. M. presented S. with 2 oxen, but one of these S. gave back to M. to feed the boys who had come with him. S. in the afternoon said, 'Lasi, you must go off to Cetshwayo, as Mnyamana refused to send his own men. You must repeat all that has taken place here today. I will give you Sabulawa to go along with you.' S. added I was to say, 'Mnyamana and I did not come to an agreement.' Next day we - I and Sabulawa - left. M. went off day of conference and put up at Tafayiya's kraal (of the people of Seketwayo, of the Mdhlalose).

- 12 S. told me to pass by Mnyamana and ask for a native to show you the way to C. I should have mentioned that it transpired that on the same day of the conference Mnyamana had *sent off a force* to go and catch *isincinza* (sweetheart - *isiklebe*) who had run off to upper part of Ncome. S. questioned M. about having sent off this *impi*, and the latter replied, 'Is there anyone who when his wife has gone off will not send and fetch her back?'

I was told to tell Mnyamana that S. was going on at once to Pietermaritzburg.

- We got to Mnyamana. I told him I had been sent to Cetshwayo as M. had refused to send his own messengers; 'I am also to add that he has gone off to Pietermaritzburg.' M. said, '*Mamo! He is playing with me. Somtseu is playing with me.*' He said, '*Take them to Cetshwayo.*' He said I should take the words which you spoke yesterday, yours and his.' When I told him of S. having gone to Pietermaritzburg he replied, '*Ha! Are you all leaving me? Go, satisfy yourself. It is because it is you who are going; I would not have allowed another ikafula to go.*'¹²² I replied, '*No, son of Ngqengelele, you may do what you would have done to that kafula.*' He said, '*Ha! What are you saying? Do you know that this is Zulu country here (ku kwa Zulu lapa)?*' I said, '*In the white man's country I am an induna equal in rank to you.*'

He told me to go and say to Mgulugulu ka Nhlaka ka Dikane *of the Mdhlalose people* and say, 'I said he must *take you further; he must take you to the king in the Zulu country.*' I thanked him. We then went on, I and Sabulawa. We slept at Mgulugulu's. There was a man of Mgulugulu's at Mnyamana's who took us on to Mgulugulu. We went on to Diyikana ka Hlakanyana, *of the Emambateni people*. He was of Impohlo regiment. Diyikana was told the object of our mission. He then said to Mgulugulu, 'But what is the meaning of the horse that passed by here last night?'

- 14 (referring to a man mounted who had evidently been sent post-haste to Cetshwayo.) We next came to Hamu, at Ondini. Our arrival was reported. We went *to the upper end (enhla)* to see him as directed. Cetshwayo was away at eNhlungwane, at oLandandhlovu, alias Uve regiment, at kwa Mayizekanye. Mgulugulu reported well to Hamu exactly all that had taken place at the conference. Hamu, in reply, said, '*So Mnyamana acted to spill our beer (be be yo cit'u tshwala betu na)? We men ought to have been sent.*' He added, '*Go, Mgulugulu; you shall hear what the king has to say. This one (i.e. Mnyamana) was playing with my father*' (i.e. S.).

- We passed on and slept at Kwa Mtanotengayo; from here a *messenger* was sent to Cetshwayo to report our arrival. The messenger returned late at night and said, 'He said you must be quick and come.' We got up early, saddled up and moved on. We had 15 *matbearers* - on foot. We reached Cetshwayo's Mayizekanye. We found there had been a hunt the day previous where there had been a fight and many killed. We sat at the gate and were reported. We waited a long time. I saw C. *come out of the isigodhlo*. The boys there said to us, '*Which bird is going to eat you?*' ('*Ni yodhliwa nyonini?*') Mahlangeni came outside and *bonga'd* the king as he came out of the *isigodhlo*. (*His big girdle of leopard skin.*)¹²³ After he had finished, an *inceku* told us to go up. We went and found a *semi-circle (umkumbi)* formed up outside *the washing enclosure*, Cetshwayo in the centre. We entered with Mgulugulu. C. *rotshoza'd*, i.e. spoke as if his voice was hoarse. He called on Sabulawa to speak first. Sabulawa

said, *'It is not for me to speak (Ka ku ngangami); here is the induna of the inkosi.'* He, C., then said, *'Speak, Lasi'* (he had got to know my name per the horse that had come on). Sintwangu too knew I was *induna of Gebuza* and that Sabulawa was *induna of Tshele*. I then recounted all that had occurred at the conference, i.e. what S. 16 had said as well as what M. had said. After this Sabulawa made a few supplementary observations. On his finishing, Mgulugulu spoke. He spoke very well indeed. Cetshwayo said, *'This is a matter that affects your country, Zulu people (Nans' indaba yezwe lenu Zulu). Speak out.'* Numbers of people gave their opinions to the effect that the country of the Zulu people was being stolen.

When C. found that their various observations were not to the point C. said (same hoarse voice),¹²⁴ *'No! Is that what you have to say, Zulu people? It is not what I have to say.'* They were simply talking about war. C. said, *'No! For my part I ask what land Somtseu wants. Does he wish to squeeze (fingqela) me by the head inside at Nodwengu?'*¹²⁵ *I said that our country reached as far as esikaleni se Nyanga (Hadberg on the Berg in the Xosa country, across Umtate). Did I not say that our 17 country reaches as far as Emlinganto? Is that a small country? Did I not say here is the ruler (umnikazi) of the land who burns with the long grass at kwaDukuza?'*¹²⁶ *Is that a small country?'* I asked C., *'To which of the words which I brought is the king of the Zulu replying with the words which he speaks, with the names of rivers which he mentions, Malinga (Marico), Mbolombe, Sikukuku etc.?''*¹²⁷ He said, *'I hear you, Lasi.'* He added, *'You are confusing the matter, Zulu people, by replying like that. I have spoken. That is all, Lasi, those are my words. Go back; I shall send Nkomowesiswebu to convey our words.'* He then gave orders that we were to be given food in the *isigodhlo*. We were taken there by the *inceku*. Mgulugulu was kept back from entering with us. Our horses, all this time, it being now near sunset, had not been offsaddled.

When we got into the *isigodhlo*, the *inkosikazi*, one of C.'s mothers <said>, *'This matter is too much for the men. Why is it not handed over to us womenfolk? We shall call Somtseu's wife to come and point out the old homestead site of Sonzica, to 18 see if he ever lived here.'*¹²⁸ I replied, *'Does the inkosikazi say this because she sees us? Our inkosi from the white man's country did not send us to you; he sent us to the king of the Zulu people.'* She said, *'No! I am simply speaking for myself. I did not say it because I saw you.'*

The *inceku* who had brought us in had returned to C. He now came back again, as I thought to beg for food. He said, *'Lasi! The king says did you hear the words?'* I said, *'Say to the king, "He says that he heard them, Nkosi".'* He left and returned again. He asked the same question. I replied as before. He went and returned again and said, *'The king asks, did you really, truly hear?'* I put the *pot* down sharply before me. I replied, *'Go and say that the inkosi must do what he wants to do.'* I said 19 *this because he had asked three times*. Sabulawa pinched me and said, *'Keep quiet, you little coward' (ivakana)*. The *inceku* did not go off. The men there were amazed. I then said to the *inceku*, *'Say to the King, "Lasi has heard. At our place, in the white man's country, I shall begin with the words which I brought here to the king of the Zulu people. The inkosi of our place will hear whether I spoke his words".'* For Somtseu's plan was to hear first of all that his messenger had been directed to say,

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then to say what the reply thereto was. When he gave a message he always got the messenger to repeat it so that he found he had grasped it properly.

I explained to *inceku* the reason for my having asked Cetshwayo in what way his observations about the extent of his country in various directions formed a reply to the message I had brought. 'Say that to C.,' I said to the *inceku*. He went and returned to say, 'He sees that "My father has sent a man. Those are my words".'

We then left and returned home.

20 *Ugweje* or *umtakati* = odd number - per Socwatsha.¹²⁹

The true style of the Zulu is to hold assegai and shield in one hand and *dance* (*giya*) with other.

7.5.1910

File 54, nbk. 3, pp. 20-55.

Lazarus Xaba continues.

Sabulawa and I returned. On leaving, C. said to Mgulugulu he was to tell Mnyamana to *slaughter a beast* me for there was no beast at his (C.'s) kraal. When we got to Undi we again found Hamu there. He asked Mgulugulu for news. Mgulugulu told him everything C. had said. H. said, '*We just don't know, son of Nhlaka, for the country is being ruined by its ruler (umninilo). I said at the time of the impi in the Swazi country that the king did not know the land (izwe). How does he say that the Swazi are amankengana of this place? And at the time of the impi of Sikwata, the king knew the country; why does he say that the Besutu are amankengana of this place?*'¹³⁰ That was all. We made our goodbyes and went on to sleep at *kwa Ndabakawombe, the ikanda of the people of Mgulugulu*. Next day we went on and met Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele at Nhlazatshe *at the place of Mngandi*

21 *ka Mtshana*.¹³¹ Mgulugulu related to Mnyamana all that had occurred. He said that Shepstone had sent one of his men to take his words to Cetshwayo. *He praised his words for he had heard that Cetshwayo's words had been arrogant (qotshile), like those which had been spoken by Mnyamana at the Ncome.*

Mgulugulu then said that C. wanted Mnyamana to give me a beast to *slaughter* as I had had nothing *at the place of the king*. He, M., <said>, 'There is no beast here; go and look for one among *those of your people at kwa Ndabakawombe*.' Then we left to sleep *at Mgulugulu's place*. Mgulugulu asked us to wait in order that beer might be made and then the beast would be killed. I replied I could not wait as I had been sent by the *inkosi*. I wanted to kill the beast at once and *for the boys to take up pieces of meat and go off*. We left and slept *at the place of the people of Mbemba ka Liba* of Mdhlalose tribe; this was quite near eNcome. There we found some goats belonging to a Boer who however was away. We were very hungry. We asked for a goat and
22 promised to report to Sir T.S. who would refund value. They agreed. When, later, I told Sir T.S., he offered to refund but the Boer replied that he would not receive payment as the messengers were engaged on important land negotiations. We went on

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to Greytown to find S. had not returned from Pietermaritzburg. On his arrival we related all that had taken place with Cetshwayo. We ended off by saying that *the words of his place (awakubo) would be brought by Nkomoyesiswebu* [correct spelling] (may have been an *isibongo*).¹³² We all waited till this man came, and later Mgulugulu arrived; he was accompanied by Mbemba ka Liba, these being special messengers.

When they arrived, they said C. said, '*Nkomoyesiswebu is not here. These are the words, Nkosi, which Lasi spoke, that, hau! I had given my father the whole Zulu country from where it begins, there at eMbolombe, to where it ends at Ebulinganto*'. (Origin of name. It is said, '*People do not cross that river. When a person crosses, he takes mud from the river and smears it on his face between the eyes, and on his stomach below the navel. Then he crosses.*' I do not know how this arose. But the owners of that part of the country speak of the river as Malikwe, and there is not associated with it any such custom - taboo - as that referred to.)¹³³

'*So he is now squeezing (fingqela) me by the head in the hut at kwa Nodwengu?*', i.e. *he is now pressing (cindezela) me*. S. said, '*Is that the end of what he said?*' S. called Manyosi ka Sigobe, as he was the one who had been shown the territory by Nkomoyesiswebu. He was the witness. When this talk took place Manyosi and Mvunyelwa were absent. [What principle S. proceeded on to get his <messengers>].¹³⁴ Mvunyelwa had not been sent on any message. He was simply required as a counsellor. S., in reply to Mgulugulu and Mbemba, said, 'I agree with C. that the messengers on this occasion should have included Nkomoyesiswebu, for he was the man sent to indicate the territory.' S. said he had asked Mnyamana where Nkomoyesiswebu was. 'I have called Manyosi and he will be here, for he is the one I specially deputed to be present when the land to be given me was pointed out.' After Mgulugulu and Mbemba had finished and gone out, S. asked me, 'What is your opinion about this affair?' I said, 'I think war will break out between us and these people.' The *inkosi* said '*What did you hear?*' I said, '*I heard nothing.*' '*What did you see?*' I said, '*I saw their eyes.*' All this happened about a year before the beginning of the Zulu War.

This was the end and the messengers returned. At this stage C. *sent out two groups (imizila) of amabuto* to go and build a kraal of his at eNgcaka (where Germans now are).¹³⁵ The kraal to be called iNdhlabeyitubula (food which they thrust or prod - I cannot quite explain). [See Socwatsha].¹³⁶ I saw from all this that C. was averse to standing to the promise made to S., for this kraal was to be built beyond the very country that was pointed <to> as given to H.M. Government. S. heard of the regiments going to build this kraal as they were leaving Ebaqulusini.¹³⁷ The *inkosi* sent Ngini (Major Clarke) and Tshele (Rudolph) to inspect what it was that was being
25 done. They were told to direct the *induna* in charge to leave off *building their ikanda*. I went with Clarke and Rudolph.

[Afternoon.] We went to find out from the *induna* in charge why they were building and to leave off doing so. We went and slept at Iloyi hill, near Bivana. Next day we made for the Dumbe hill looking about for the Zulus. We found their track this side of Bivana. We went on to eNgcaka. We found the forests about there all full of

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Zulus. We then went to the *induna*, Msebe. The Germans had taken refuge in their fort. Clarke asked Msebe what was the meaning of all this. Msebe said he had been sent by C. to *build an ikanda*. Clarke said, 'You say C. sent you to do this, but who is the owner of the territory on which you are building?' Msebe said, 'Here are our *amankengana* who *konza* us and for whose benefit <we> are putting up the kraal.' The chief of these subjects was uMagobocwana, a woman chief, wife of Nyamayenja ka Nciliba.¹³⁸ He was a leading Swazi chief, chased away by King Mswazi.

- 26 Nyamayenja at this time had long been dead. <Clarke> said, 'As you are a man, what reply did you make to the King when he gave orders for you to come and build, i.e. build and occupy another man's land?' He replied, 'Does a messenger ever make a reply? I was simply sent.' Ngini said, 'Even a child, when sent by its father to do wrong, makes some remark and thereby advises its parent.' Ngini (Clarke) said, 'I have been sent by Somtseu to tell you to leave off this and go back.' He said, 'I don't know anything; I was ordered to come and build here.' Clarke said, 'If you are a smart or wise man, you will leave off building, for by so doing you are bringing on a conflict.' But although the Zulus were there, they had done no wrong, seized no cattle etc. Tshela (Rudolph) remained in the fort, whereas Clarke and I went back by night to Utrecht. Clarke reported to Somtseu there what had happened. But little as Clarke
- 27 thought he had impressed the Zulus, his words had caused them to consider and to desist from building, for they left the bushes they had cut on the ground and went off and did not build the kraal. Rudolph returned the next day to say the Zulus had desisted and gone off. S. then sent Nongamulana ka Nohehe and Sabulawa ka Mavukesapela to Cetshwayo to ask what was the meaning of this, namely that whilst negotiations were going on between us, you go ahead and build *amakanda* in territory that belongs to me. If I were not a man but a boy, *would this be acceptable? You are like Mnyamana who, when I was talking to him about the matter of the boundary, sent out an impi to raid in my country, behind me. Go and say this. Say that this is what I am asking about.* They then went off. They were both mounted but there were also several others, as well as *matbearers*. When they all got to Zululand they took
- 28 their *mutshas* and, taking off their trousers, put *mutshas* on, but when I or Europeans were present they would wear the *mutshas* over trousers on getting to Zululand.¹³⁹

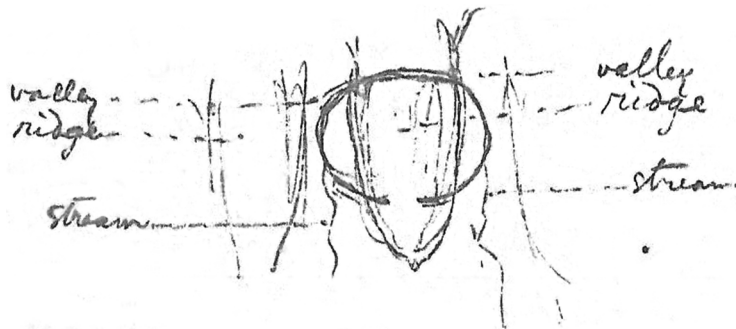
Sabulawa and Nongamulana returned to say <that> C. said that Magobocwana and her followers were his *amankengana* and that the kraal was to enable them to 'warm themselves in the assembly' there. *There is no intention of causing conflict.*

- After this *his amabuto fought one another; the Ingobamakosi and uVe fought with the Tulwana, their fathers, at the time when the umkosi was being held at kwa Nodwengu.*¹⁴⁰ *They fought, stabbing one another with assegais.* Many died. The same two messengers were sent to *reprove*. *'What is this? I hear people saying that they have finished one another off. Why are they killing one another? Why are the boys, the Ingobamakosi, killing their fathers, the Tulwana? Is the Tulwana not your*
- 29 *own?'*¹⁴¹ When they returned they said the regiments fight sometimes even to *dispute river crossings; there is no great matter there.*

After this, Tshela and Gebuza (Henrique) were sent on these affairs regarding the boundary and regarding Mbilini ka Mswazi who had *attacked* at Wakkerstroom and

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killed Natives there; they also went about Bekane's affair, i.e. the killing of Mr Bell, and about *the son of Sirayo*, i.e. Mehlokazulu, who had killed *a wife of his father* after getting her back from Msinga into Zululand; they also went to speak about a horse belonging to Somtseu which had been stolen by Sirayo.¹⁴² These were the affairs that had to be negotiated with C. about. I was with them on this occasion but did not speak, for Gebuza, Tshele and Manyosi ka Sigobe were the speakers. After we passed Nhlazatshe we passed eZihlalo and came to a missionary who was at Sitshwili ridge (*where the amabuto were put into order - linganise*). Nongamulana and Sabulawa
30 went ahead to C. to say that Gebuza and Tshele had arrived. At cockcrow an *envoy* arrived (don't know name). *'He says hurry now, Gebuza and Tshele, and come to him.'* I went and reported. I went and woke Gebuza and Tshele and told them. They directed me to tell the messenger that they had heard. After the man had gone another arrived almost at once so as to give the impression that they had passed one another on the road. The second messenger said, *'So you are still with the white man of your place? Why haven't you come to the king?'* I went and reported this. They got up, it being daylight. They told him to go and that they were following at once. No meal was partaken of, and coffee was drunk standing. We started off and when we had gone about 500 yards we met a further *envoy* <who> said, *'Is the sun burning you now?'* We went on and met *a small herd of oxen called inyonikayipumuli*. The oxen
31 had come from the royal kraal, Ondini. We got off our horses as we got to the gate of the kraal. We went to the upper end, leaving the horses with our boys at the gate. We found Cetshwayo sitting on his chair made of *umncaka*, a reddish wood of which the king's chairs were usually made, rather like European chairs.¹⁴³ He had his *council (ibandhla)* with him, made up of *izikulu alone*. He was seated outside *the calves'* or *washing enclosure*. The kraal was built thus:



Gebuza and Tshele were given European chairs to sit on, but Cetshwayo was a little backward in giving chairs. G. and T. remained standing until C. said, *'Are you not*
32 *going to sit?'* G. and T. <said>, *'Are we going to sit on the ground, then?'* C. said, *'Here at our place there is only one person who sits on a chair.'* This was said jocularly. G. and T. reminded him that he knew Europeans usually sat on chairs. The third European present (don't know his name) was given a box to sit on. The time was about 8 a.m.

Cetshwayo opened the proceedings by sending an *inceku* to fetch *food*, i.e. beer. He then called another *inceku*, holding up his two first fingers thus,

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evidently referring to a beast that had to be brought. The beer came. The *inceku* to whom the sign had been made <returned>, driving two cattle. G. and T. were then given a grey, small, shabby beast, an ox, very small, which gift amounted in our opinion to a slight. It was then driven off and killed at Kwa Mfundisi in the afternoon. C. had many cattle. The beer presented was very sour, having stood very long so that
33 when stirred up the froth was like soap suds and would not subside. *Pots* were brought and we all drank. That day G. and T. ate nothing.

Gebuza said, '*Nkosi*, we have been sent here by my father Somtseu with regard to that affair of the land you gave him,' namely that his father had expressed thanks for the land given him but that when later he met Mnyamana they could come to no understanding. 'The object being he should come in between you and the Boers and so prevent a quarrel taking place. My father (S.), when he had installed you, Cetshwayo, he went to England; when there he was told that *the country under the Boers is being ruined (izwe li yonakala ku maBunu)* and that he must go there. He went and annexed the country. You then sent Sintwangu, when S. said he would *come down* and come to you about the same affair. My father then sent Sabulawa to say it is so far for you to come to the territory that you had better send Mnyamana and
34 *izinduna* in order that discussion can take place on the spot, i.e. on the boundary itself.

'My father was unable to arrive at an understanding with Mnyamana. He has accordingly directed me, *Nkosi*, to come with Tshele to you. With regard to your having sent Nkomoyesiswebu to indicate the territory, here is Manyosi, to whom the land was indicated by that messenger of yours. The affair of Mbilini, who had *attacked* at Wakkerstroom, where he *surrounded the place of Ndengezi's people*; also Bekane's affair, who caused Mr Bell to be put to death on the Swazi boundary, it is said the members of his tribe who took part in that affair ran off and took refuge in your country; then we come also about Mehlokazulu who crossed into Natal and took his mother and killed her when he got into Zululand; then there is the horse stolen by Sirayo on the occasion the *inkosi* came to *install* you - a black one. These are the affairs which my father has directed me to bring to you.'

35 But Cetshwayo paid no regard to admitting or denying what Nkomoyesiswebu had done, all he said was, '*Hau! The country that we gave him, is it not that of our Zulu people? For there is our boundary at eMbolombe*' (i.e. across the Umtate); '*there too is our boundary at the Malinga. And the country which he has given to the Boers is ours. The people of Sikukuku were our amankengana; they paid tribute with wild animals (izinyamazane). Is he now squeezing my head at Nodwengu? And there is Tshaka, the ruler (umnikazi) of this land, who is burnt in the long grass at kwa Dukuza*' (i.e. *the graves of his people were not protected from being burnt - for the graves of kings are not burnt*; the same rule in Swaziland). 'How is it that Somtseu annexes the Boer territory and then wants to get more of Zulu territory only to give the Boers? *If Somtseu has bugs (izimbungulu) on his back, I'll get down*' (i.e.
36 S. was his - C.'s - father and mother; he is carrying me, therefore if he has bugs on his

back I'll get down). Tshele said, *'What does that mean, Nkosi?'* C. said, *'If a person is being carried on the back by his mother, and her back becomes itchy, does he not get down?'*

That is how the talk went. What more did S. want, seeing he had already been given territory? And Cetshwayo simply wouldn't reply to the particular questions brought forward by Gebuza; he would not address himself to any of them. Mnyamana, Ntshingwayo and others in the *council (ibandhla)* said, 'We can't think what country Somtseu wants; which is the country?' 'Where then is Cetshwayo to go and live?' added Mnyamana. The discussion went on for a long time but this was the substance of what took place as far as I recollect.

Mgebisaqolo ka Njoko (Dhlambedhlu regiment - Dingana's) said, *'If someone tries to take our country by force, we will crush one another (sibikeza)'* (i.e. to rub close up against one another), i.e. *'we will kill one another.'* This man was of Isigqoza faction. One of the men in the *council* said, *'Mgebisa, do you hear in the white man's country that the Zulu country would be crushed?'* (Hamu was not present. I do not know if Zibebu was there, but Ziweddu and Siteku were.)¹⁴⁴ The Zulus simply avoided all discussion of the representations made by Gebuza; neither they nor Cetshwayo admitted or denied that any promise had been made by Cetshwayo to S. about his being given land between himself and the Boers. Manyosi replied, *'But, Mnyamana, at the time when the king was installed, I was told to go and see the country which was being given to our inkosi,¹⁴⁵ the Zulu country which was being given to him. I was to be shown by Nkomoyesiswebu. Where is he? Where is he? Then you made out that Somtseu had said, on getting hold of the Boer country, that*
 37
 38 *he would take your country and give it to the Boers. You said, "On no account. Are we people of the Boers?" I said that when we iHlaba (regiment) had gone off with the king of the country to kwa Mtanutengayo, you found another man and installed him, and said he was king;¹⁴⁶ you went off with him to the Boers, and turned your back on the king of the land (meaning Dingana), who was then killed by the amaSwazi. Then it was we of the English who fought the Boers, we drove them out of this country (i.e. Cape). We were given it in the Zulu country. It is you who belong to the Boers!'*

That is what Manyosi said. I cannot relate all the expressions they tossed at Manyosi in reply to these words of his. All Zulu replied. *They all spoke at once*, in such a way that there was no one who said even, *'Please be quiet.'* All spoke at once.
 39 *Then Manyosi again spoke, saying, 'What is making you all talk at once, Zulu people, while we of the white man's country remain silent? Are you making us into your amankengana?'* (Manyosi once said to me when on a journey, in joke, *'Look, we shall speak nicely in the Zulu country; we shall eat the birds of our people.'* I said, *'Hau! Will we beg to be allowed to speak, so that we can eat the birds of our people?'* For, according to our custom, <for> a boy it is a very great event for him, on killing a bird, to present it to his father, so that when a man does wrong it is said, *'Don't you want to eat the birds of your people? Do you want to be caused to leave them, so they remain to be eaten by others?'* *It is a saying among our people.*)

The Zulus paid no attention to what Manyosi said to them. They simply *continued*
 40 *making a hubbub.* The *inkosi* (Cetshwayo) then *spoke to Manyosi.* Whilst all the

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noise was going on Cetshwayo made some observation to Manyosi which I did not catch. The *inkosi*, finding Manyosi did not hear what he was saying to him, shouted, 'We, Manyosi, we Manyosi! So it is we who are your *amankengana*? I talk and talk, Manyosi, and you don't take notice. You know, Manyosi, it is the place of your people, here in the Zulu country. I should simply kill you.' As Cetshwayo made these hasty, angry remarks he vigorously scratched the sides of his head with his long nails and snatched the *shield* (*irawu*) which formed a shade over him (held by a man) and pitched it angrily aside. Manyosi replied, 'Pardon, Great one (*Amanga, Silo*). It is the fault of these people of yours; why do they all talk at once? The king speaks; they no longer hear me.' (Manyosi was indeed a man.)

Then Bejana appeared from among the *izinceku* (those who held the shield for shade). The *izinceku* were behind the king; they were an *idhlokovana*.¹⁴⁷



As I drew back a little I heard Bejana say in a low voice, 'The king has been sitting in the sun for a long time. When will that other thing be done?'

41 That is when I began to reply. I said, 'We, Bejana, we, Bejana, that other thing is for your *impi* there to attack. For our part, we came here knowing that this is what is done in the Zulu country. Where is Piti?'¹⁴⁸ They were startled. Gebuza, Tshele and the Zulu (*uZulu*) were startled. Gebuza said, 'What did you say, Lasi?' I replied, 'Are we going to die bleating like goats? Bejana said, "The king has been sitting in the sun for a long time; when will that other thing be done?" What is it that will be done because the king has been sitting in the sun?' They were astounded. All the Zulu, including Cetshwayo, looked down at the ground.

Before these words were spoken, a youth had appeared, going across from the side of the *umuzi* (*uhlangoti*) to the main section (*isibaya esikulu*). All the Zulu fell
42 on him and beat him, upon which he raced off across the *Ntukwini*, i.e. the little stream nearby. For the *iNgobamakosi*, the *uVe* and the *Ndhloyengwe amabuto* had been hidden in the huts. (My *amakosi* had thought that Bejana meant that the king was tired from sitting in the hot sun, but what he meant was something else, for the *amabuto* had been hidden in the huts.) I am quite certain that the intention was to put us to death.

After this, i.e. after I replied to Bejana, Cetshwayo said no more. He simply said, 'You, Gebuza and Tshele, go off and away now. I gave my words to Lasi when he came to see me at *oLandandhlovu*. I know of no king who speaks twice.'

Gebuza said, 'No, *Nkosi*, if you are tired we might leave off now and return tomorrow though not to say anything.' Cetshwayo said, 'No! Go now; go home. I do
43 not know what more you want here.' That was the end of it. We remained a little longer in expectation that C. might say more, but he said nothing further. Our *amakosi* then said goodbye to him and we left. As we were going down to the horses,

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the Zulus followed close after us, I following just behind our *amakosi*. *A man came up from those who were following us and said, 'Mpande was an inkulelane from the white man's country, Lasi.¹⁴⁹ Don't you agree?' At that point, before we had reached the horses, I looked back and saw a large impi dancing (guba) before the king, at the place we had come from. It was the amabuto. I said, 'Hau! Gebuza and Tshele, look there. What is that? What did you say to me? Where did it come from, this impi which is now dancing there? There is the gate for the amabuto (pointing at it to our*
44 *left); there is no gate for the amabuto in the isigodhlo. This impi has come out of the huts.' They too looked, but said nothing. We then got on our horses and went to the missionary.*

I omitted to mention that Cetshwayo denied all knowledge of Mbilini; he said he knew nothing about it, nor about Mehlokazulu, nor about Bekane. But he said nothing about the horse. His denials were barefaced for everyone knew what the facts were.

At the missionary's the little ox was killed (*that little ox*). Very early the next morning a messenger arrived to say, '*Let Manyosi, Lasi and Nongamulana return.*' I reported this to my *amakosi*. G. and T. said, 'Perhaps the *king* is thinking about something else; will you go?' I said, 'If the *king* says we must come, we cannot
45 refuse. When we came to Zululand we knew what to expect.' We accordingly got on to our horses and went back. When we got there we found Mnyamana seated outside the fence of the kraal with other men. Mnyamana said, 'The *inkosi* told me to call and tell you this. The black horse that was stolen, Cetshwayo knows nothing of it. Sirayo never told him anything about it. This is the only *word* that he did not *answer*.' That was all. We were very surprised to find that this trivial incident had been regarded as sufficient to call us all back.

We then went off and slept at another missionary at Nhlazatshe. Next day we reached Utrecht and found Somtseu still there.

After this we heard Cetshwayo had sent Sintwangu and Nkomoyesiswebu to Pietermaritzburg, but I do not know what their message was.

I know that Gebuza and Tshele were sent to meet Misjana and Gallwey at Rorke's Drift, the first two representing Transvaal and the others Natal, but I do not know what their conference was about.¹⁵⁰

46 I heard also of John Dunn having been sent on a message to Somtseu by Cetshwayo.¹⁵¹ I fancy he came to the boundary, where he was met by Gebuza and Tshele. I was not present, for I had been sent to Swaziland with Captain Clarke.

Formerly S., when going about in Natal, would order 3 or 4 men to come along, whereupon many others might follow on.

When we went to Mtshwetshwe - Luduzo, Manyosi ka Sigobe, and myself - Elijah Kambule, Teteleku and Samuel Kumalo asked to be allowed to accompany.¹⁵² But if many not invited joined the party they would be given food and even *had cattle slaughtered for them*.

Sometimes S.'s native followers would number thirty. But when we went to Basutoland there must have been 50 followers, for Teteleku and Manyosi each brought followers. Those forming party of their own accord got no remuneration.

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Manyosi was an *elderly man (ikehla)*. He was *a man of Ngoza ka Ludaba*. Manyosi was of *the Emapepeteni people (isizwe)*, of *the Gwala people* (his
47 *isibongo*). The Manyosi in regard to whom it was said, '*Sobohla Manyosi!*' is not the man above referred to.¹⁵³

Nomsimekwana used only to come and *konza* and then go home again.¹⁵⁴

Luzindela (Chief Nkandhla) used for some time to be S.'s *induna*.¹⁵⁵

Manxele ka Mzila was also S.'s great *induna*. He followed on Zatshuge ka Mbezwa, of *the Ngubane people*.

I know nothing of *millet (upoko)* from Cetshwayo, nor of the ox hide sent back. I do not say it did not occur for there are rumours that this happened.¹⁵⁶

I was Gebuza's *induna*. I was so appointed by Sir T. Shepstone.

When Sir Bartle Frere and Colley came to look into the state of affairs re Zululand, S. was sent for, being in the Transvaal. He, S., replied that his colony was in a state of unrest and that he could not come at once. However he did come, leaving
48 Lanyon in office.¹⁵⁷ At the time he came, fighting was going on with Msutu on account of having killed a white man, Thompson, at Christianna near Kimberley. When S. got here he found the army had already gone out against the Zulus, for the Native Horse was at Greytown. I think the European forces were on ahead. I came down from Transvaal with Sir T.S. to find that war had already begun with the Zulus. The Sirayo fight had occurred. This was the start of actual fighting.

Sir T.S. told me that in his view there should not have been resort to arms with the Zulus but that negotiations should have gone on for say 5 years. Sir B. Frere and Colley could not accept this advice, having regard to Mehlokazulu's conduct.

Sir T.S. did his usual Native business at the office, but one or two at a time of the bigger men used to come and see him at his house. He might there sit under a *wild fig (umkiwane)* tree.

I accompanied Gebuza when he took Cetshwayo to London.¹⁵⁸ Mkosana ka
49 Zangqwana, Ngcongqwana of *the Zulu royal family*, of *the Ndabezita people*, Ngobozana, Ngcoiyana, Ntshingwayo - not the *induna* but a *mature man (ikehla)* - was *the king's doctor (inyanga)*, Mgiwu (was *inceku*), Lasi (i.e. myself) - also of course, Gebuza, Mr Dunn, Mr Fynney (Mxakaza); the last-named arrived after our interview with the Queen and very shortly before we had to go back. When we went to Woolwich, Fynney was present. Mr Bramston was deputed by Lord Kimberley to be associated with our deputation and take us about.¹⁵⁹

I was present at the interview between the Queen and Cetshwayo.¹⁶⁰ We saw the Queen at Osborne. C. was trembling when he arrived at Osborne. The Queen saw that C. was very nervous and began to talk. She said she was glad to see one with whom her troops had fought but now there was peace. C. said, 'Don't let the Queen say she *rejoices*; the *rejoicing* is on my side, for I see what is not visible, and what I do see,
50 namely, this skin of ours, like that on my hand, has never seen what I have today seen, and I believe I am not only the first but the last to see what I have seen.' The Queen asked, '*How did you find the sea? It is a long way to where you come from in*

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Africa. C. replied, 'What could the sea have done to me? *We are but the train (udwendwe) of the Great Lord.*'

It was Gebuza who interpreted.

Somtseu assisted my father and Adam Molife, also Mbunda, to buy Crown Land at Mpofana, Mooi River. He said to Mbunda, *'If you are sharp, take action and buy some land, a small piece. Among my people, even if I have put you on a place, and you think you are settled, someone will come along and buy it from under you (pansi kwako) [notice metaphor - not 'over your head'],¹⁶¹ and you will be in trouble. Furthermore, do not buy close to this place; go far away, so that you have to sleep on the way when you come to attend to matters here. And you must live with your*
51 *back against a rock. If you live out in the open, my people will come and surround you. If you have your back against a rock, the young of your goat will be able to go out onto the hill, and not stay in the yard.'* He advised him to live right under and against a hill, so that a European could not get behind him.

'If you should happen to go and build on open, vacant, unoccupied land, you will see our race will follow you there.' Which was quite true, as events proved later.

He, S., it was who assisted us in regard to Driefontein.¹⁶² He advised that the land should not be divided into shares but kept intact and vested in trustees. Today we see the wisdom of that advice.

I believe the very first American ploughs that came to this country were introduced by Sir T.S. My fathers got theirs through him.

Somtseu <spoke> to Johannes Kumalo and my father Jonathan Xaba, also Adam Molife who had come to him.¹⁶³ *'We are crowded here. When our children grow up*
52 *and have houses of their own, the ploughing ground will no longer be sufficient for our joint requirements. Will you give us advice as to where our children can get pieces of land on which to plough?'* S. said, 'Yes?' They said, 'Yes, Nkosi.' 'You know that we Africans go and pick inkondhlwane (tinder, for flint and fire), and twist it and smear it with cow dung and then set it alight. We then go off with it. When we stop to sleep, we light a fire there. When it gets dark, the inkondhlwane is put out, for a fire has been made. The next morning it is set alight again as we go off.' He said, 'Go off, and sleep this number of nights (holding up three fingers). On the fourth day you will come to the place where you must find a site for an inhlonhla and live there.'¹⁶⁴ He said, 'It should be that men sleep three days on the road before they come to the chief's place (kwomkulu). There where you build the
53 *inhlonhla your calves will increase well in number, and your goats too.'* His object in advising this was that they should be a long way off Government headquarters. And it was on this policy that we founded Driefontein, and nothing to vex us has occurred because we followed his suggestion.

He (S.) also used to say to those applying for land, 'We Africans (aboriginals), when we want a place to build on, we first satisfy ourselves that it will be able to yield us a good crop of *amabele*; after this we look for a suitable place for cattle, and after this the next consideration is the water supply, and lastly the site for the kraal. That is how Africans (aboriginals) act.'

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Somtseu - *inkosi* of all Africans, for all speak of <him> and like him. Wherever he set his foot he became the *inkosi* of that part.

Another characteristic was to desire to speak with all people. He spoke to no one without saying, 'My child (*mntanami*)' to him. I never heard any bragging when
54 speaking to Natives; even when *little old women (izalukazana)* wished to speak to him he condescended to converse freely with them. He did not *give himself airs (qenya)*.

In all his journeyings he was always visited by everybody, those who knew him and those who did not. When travelling about the Transvaal and when halted with our waggon, he would call in the horses and, taking me with him, we would ride off to any little insignificant house belonging to a Boer he espied away in the distance. One day he directed an outspan, having with us our mule waggon. He told me to saddle up his horse. I did so, also mine, knowing there was some 'expedition' in view. He had seen a little hovel built of reeds and belonging to a Boer. We had Dhlaba with us then. We went along. When we arrived, S. got off his horse and entered the hut. He sat down and chatted with the Boers who happened to be present, being a very fluent linguist. He sat a long time. When leaving, to my astonishment and amusement, he
55 invited his Boer host to send his kaffir along with him in order that he might make him a present of some sugar and coffee. A 3 or 4 lbs. parcel was made up for the Boer and carried back. Instead of our having been hospitably treated by the Boer, S. put the boot on the other leg.

8.5.1910

File 54, nbk. 3, pp. 55-6.

I notice that Lasi always, when speaking of S. in narrative, refers to him as *inkosi* or the *inkosi*. This term of respect has been sometimes omitted, especially in the former Notebook. It indicates that Natives regarded him as *inkosi* indeed.

I discussed last night with Lasi the subject of Cetshwayo's having been forced into war with England by Sir T.S. constantly pressing the land C. had promised at his coronation to give but which C. no longer desired he (S.) should have, pointing out that the object C. had in view in first making the promise was that England should act as a buffer between the Boers and the Zulus, but later on, when S. went to England, returned and annexed the Transvaal, the motive C. had originally in view no longer existed and therefore he should not have been pressed because the particular reason which led to his offering the land no longer existed, especially as his neighbours on
56 the northwest were no longer the Boers but the friendly English. C. could not understand these demands, even though Nkomoyesiswebu had been sent to point out the land to Manyosi, and it seemed to him as if S.'s insistence meant that the land was required by him only to join to the annexed territory and then to give over to the Boers.

Lasi looks on the gift as irrecoverable, just as a beast not only given but pointed out to the donee. But, says Lasi, this dispute about land was not a cause of the war that followed; it was only an aggravating element in the negotiations that arose. The true causes were the blood shed by Mehlokazulu, by Mbilini and by Bekane.

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9.5.1910

File 54, nbk. 3, pp. 56-79.

Also present: Socwatsha kaPhaphu, Mgodhi kaManxele for part of interview

Lazarus Xaba, with Socwatsha.

Lazarus speaks. My grandfather was Makogo ka Mgulugulu ka Mdaba ka Mlotsha ka Xaba, *of the Xaba people*.

We *split off (dabuka'd) from the amaHlubi*. We are said to have eaten *food meant for the assembly (isinkwa si y' ebandhla)*, i.e. *meat*; that is, there was a *leg* off which Xaba's mother cut some meat. When asked why she had done so, she said it was for
57 her child. The child was then called Xaba because this *xatshwa'd* things and caused <that> the *chiefship* then remained with Hlubis.¹⁶⁵ Others say there was *insonyama* and a *leg*, but Xaba preferred and picked the *leg* and so lost his *chiefship*, which was taken by amaHlubi, as the same kind of thing that happened with Cunus etc.¹⁶⁶

My father first met Sonzica *in the Sutu country, at the place of Sigonyela*.¹⁶⁷ The Mgulugulu referred to as my ancestor went off and *konza'd among the beSutu*, i.e. to Sigonyela's father, Mgotsho. I was born near Ficksburg, Orange River Colony. I came from there with Allison to Natal, as also my fathers, as already mentioned.

Tax-collecting (telisaing). When S. came to *collect tax* at Ndaleni and *the peoples of the amaKuze*, this side of Mkomazi. He *collected at the places of* Kukulela, Mbazwana, Bidhla.¹⁶⁸

Mr Allison first of all lived where Ford's carriage works now are. On Allison's first arrival the Governor and S. went and met our party above Kettlefontein.¹⁶⁹ I was only a little boy and paid no particular attention to S. at the time.

58 I cannot say how long S. stopped at Ndaleni when *collecting tax*. He went on, I think, to Mkomanzi to *collect*.

Dhlaba was of Dhloko regiment. His quarrel with Jojo was about a *dark brown (mdaka) ox presented to S.* by Mqikela, before Mqikela was *made chief (bekwa'd)*. This happened at eQaukeni kraal.¹⁷⁰ Jojo wanted this ox to be killed but S. told me to *slaughter* one among those we had with us; we had got these from Gebuza as well as from Natives who had *made presentations to us*. J. kept on asking when the ox was to be killed. S. then directed it to be killed and 'We'll see if, after finishing it, they won't want more meat (i.e. want to kill cattle I have brought).' J. seemed to prefer Pondo cattle. I told Nobanda ka Bunyana to go and *skin* the ox. It was shot. I told Dhlaba to *skin it*. Jojo then wanted to *imela* the beast, i.e. superintend the cutting up. Dhlaba and Jojo then *quarreled over the entrails*. Dhlaba was carrying a *stabbing assegai (iklwa)*.

59 He cut a *piece of the entrails*; as he did so, Jojo attempted to snatch it. Dhlaba *spilt it over him*, i.e. over his great coat. Jojo then shouted, '*You are hitting me, you are hitting me.*' '*I have hit you, Mpande,*' said Dhlaba. Jojo came to *complain to the inkosi*. We saw all going on as we were not many yards off. Gebuza got furious with Jojo, for J. was Gebuza's *induna*.

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S. inquired into the affair and asked why J. thought it necessary to *supervise*. S. said that Dhlaba *struck* him *lightly*; he ought to have struck him harder. Gebuza then went for Jojo as having no right whatever to interfere. The matter then was settled.

Dhlaba's praises: '*Nongulazi-xuku; the korhaan which cries as it runs, the son of Nkayitshane; Mqakama whom they carried*'.¹⁷¹

Not only chiefs but *abanumzana presented cattle to S.*, i.e. when we happened to *stay (ngenisa) there*. But *abanumzana would make presentations* notwithstanding he had not actually *stayed* but only *passed by*. Beer was also *presented*. I sometimes sent to *ask for beer to have with food (bilis' isinkwa)*. The *indunas* used to *report* themselves to *abanumzana*, whereupon beer was made for them. S. requested nothing of Natives;
60 all he asked for was milk, and Dhlaba went for this as a rule. It was his business.

Chiefs *installed (bekwa'd)* by Somtseu

- (a) Those where there was no *dispute*.
 1. Mqikela ka Faku
 2. Cetshwayo ka Mpande
- (b) Those where there was *a dispute*¹⁷²
 1. Dibinyika *dispute*, where Mzimba ka Dibinyika was appointed.
 2. Nodada *dispute*, where Mganu was appointed.
 3. Luntshungu

Mentioned by Socwatsha¹⁷³

4. Musi *disputed with Mamfongonyana*, Musi appointed.
5. Ndhlokolo ka Nkungu ka Mepo, *of the abakwaBengu people*, and Hlangabeza. *Ndhlokolo was appointed. They were of the abakwaNgcolosi people.*

[See notebook similar to this under date 9.5.10 and at p. 27 thereof.]¹⁷⁴

<In the original, the notes which follow are written up on pages originally numbered from 27 to 45. These pages previously formed part of notebook 18 in File 58 of the Stuart Collection, but were cut out by Stuart, placed in their present position in notebook 3 of File 54, and renumbered from 61 to 79 to continue the sequence in this notebook. We have retained the new page numbering. In the top margin of what is now p. 27 of notebook 18 in File 58 Stuart recorded the following note: 'pp. 27-46 cut out (25.1.12) contin<uation> Lazarus Xaba's account of Sir T.S. life assisted by Socwatsha etc.' – eds.>

61 [Continued from another Note Book similar to this.]¹⁷⁵

9.5.1910, 4.30 p.m. Lazarus Xaba, Socwatsha and Mgodu ka Manxele, one of Sir T.S.'s principal retainers [continued from another book].

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How all the countries came to know him. When S. left Cape he was already a man of position there. He came to Natal finding no one in charge of Natives.¹⁷⁶ Mbuyazi, Wohlo, Pobana had no official position.¹⁷⁷ He became Government Chief over Natives and was thoroughly familiar with ancient habits and laws of Natives. That is the way by which he ruled. He also sent out *messengers (amanxusa)* to various chiefs, viz. amaMpondo, and the Pondo chief would send back his own messengers. The same as to Zululand and Swaziland and Transvaal (viz. Langa ka Macibi where I heard S. had sent to, as well as to other chiefs; he sent Nozaza, *an induna from the eMnambiti area, of the Mbokazi people*; he went to say the Queen proclaimed that all people *who had been captured (tumba) by the Boers were now free, i.e. from the Boers.*)

- 62 On account of all this S. *was famous (duma'd)* as if he was the real *Government (Rulumeni)* here in Natal, just as if he was the real 'Queen' - *uKwini*. I think that is the secret of his fame, viz. that he *ruled according to the laws - those customs and habits (imivelo) which the people had originated (dabuka) with; he ruled according to those customs and those laws.*

These laws were not in books; they were in his head. I think it is this which made him famous.

- The people ruled by Sikukuku, and all those up-country, began to work in the Cape. They crossed the iSangqu;¹⁷⁸ they strongly wanted guns; others were izinyanga who went about doctoring (elapa) people; they received cattle. When they came back to go home, however, they were robbed (pangwa'd) by Abesutu and then when they entered Boer territory they were robbed by Boers. And when they got home they had possibly lost all their earnings. The way to Natal presently opened up;*
- 63 *they came and worked all over the colony (Natal) and were among the first who cultivated sugar cane before the coolies came. They were well treated (pateka'd kahle) in this country of Somtseu and, when going back to their homes in the Sutu country (to Transvaal Basutos), when they reached the country of the Boers they would so arrange as to march right through it at night and reach their own districts next day, being afraid of the Boers, as they would harass them, etc. When they got to their tribes they would report that they had come from 'Somtseu of the amabuto', i.e. S. who had amabuto at his disposal. These reports caused Basutos gratification to know how well their sons had been treated when in Natal. As evidence of this statement that Somtseu used to treat their children well, I heard from Mjatshi ka Tobela who spoke very highly of S.'s treatment.¹⁷⁹ She spoke to Gebuza. She spoke when he was at her kraal. G. had gone to collect taxes there. Mjatshi said, 'I am kept out of sight; I am afraid. I had troubles when I was a girl, when I was attacked by the Boers, soon after my mother had died. My feet were bound with wagon chains.*
- 64 *From the time that I was released I have been kept firmly out of sight, lest an impi attacks me again and reveals me.' That is what she was hiding from. 'Because of this I am afraid of people of your colour. I have come to you because I have heard that you are one of Shepstone's people. He treats our people well; they speak favourably to us about his good treatment of them. Let us now see the goods which they come with.' That is the evidence I referred to. Sikukuku too spoke on these lines. He said his war was caused by Abel Rasmus.¹⁸⁰ 'For my part, I had no intention of*

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fighting the English.' Rasmus said that he and Sikukuku should join and fight the English; that is why Sikukuku said Rasmus had started the fight.

Socwatsha speaks. I agree with Lasi. <Shepstone>, when he got to Natal, found
65 the country occupied by Natives, refugees from Zululand, who had formerly *konza'd*
Zulus, who had come across at '*the breaking of the rope*', and those who *crossed*
because of the umdidi ka Ndhlela.¹⁸¹ When S. arrived, Smiti was Governor (in
charge), the one who fought Boers, and who was by them shut up in a fort.¹⁸² S.
arrived being already very familiar with Zulu language, for at Cape he used to *herd*
with boys, *eat the lungs and stab the insema*.¹⁸³ I have heard this said of him. Smiti
said you must *collect taxes of 7s.* for each hut. He *ruled wisely*. He found *the peoples*
of outside still fighting among themselves. He *ruled so that the country grew, and*
became important; he expanded it. He made it konza the Government (uRulumeni),
after it had long ruled itself. He had many *amanxusa, people who had konza'd him*.
66 He would send these messengers to *chiefs outside the country to make them pay tax*
and to prohibit them from going to war. He *buta'd* men and drilled them, getting
them from different chiefs, viz. Musi, Dubuyana, Mqawe, etc.¹⁸⁴ Drilled like Zululand
Police.¹⁸⁵

<The original does not make clear whether it was Socwatsha or Xaba who gave the
testimony which follows. Internal evidence suggests that it was the latter – eds.>

S. sent *messengers* at various times to Mpande and to Swazis, Basutos, etc., etc.
He *prohibited the Zulu from making war in the Swazi country; they had been*
causing trouble. He said all Natal Natives were not to fight; *he prohibited war in the*
Zulu country and in the Swazi country. I remember seeing messengers from
Swaziland carrying 2 tusks coming to *pay tribute (tela)* to Somtseu; this was after
Ndondakusuka.¹⁸⁶ Mkungo was at Sobantu's, also his mother Monase.¹⁸⁷ S. in the
meantime travelled thoroughly about the country, everywhere *laying down the law*
(bekaing umteto). And where there were any reports of disturbance, the first sparks
thereof, he would go himself and settle the matter.

(Daniel was S.'s great mule driver.)

67 All this territory - Natal, Zululand, etc., etc. - knew only Somtseu; they did not
know the Queen. I say this, for when Cetshwayo *sent out his <impi>* for
Isandhlwana, saying, '*Let it go out for such-and-such a purpose,*' they would rush to
the gate and then return and say to king, '*I have done it! I have done it!*' ('Ngati!
Ngati!') Then they would return to go out by gate. C. then shouted, '*I shall hear,*
then, assemblies of Mjokwane ka Ndaba.¹⁸⁸ *I say that the son of Sonzica has thrown*
pumpkin-water on his head' (i.e. *water in which pumpkins had been cooked*). *As for*
the Queen, those of Zululand used to look on her as someone in a story
(inganekwane), simply an image (isitombe).

Governments (rulumenis) were always changing and so on. *People said, 'We*
only know Somtseu, he who has never been anywhere else.' Mpande *sent*
messengers to S. *until his death*, also Cetshwayo. Mpande used to send to complain
of men of his having *run away* with his (M.'s) cattle, whereupon S. would *pick them*

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- 68 *out* and return <them> to Mpande. And Mawa ka Jama, *together with Makobosi* - Mpande sent and reported to S. that she had gone off with his cattle.¹⁸⁹ S. *returned* them. Bovu ka Nomabuqabuqa *was of the Intontela, of the Lutuli people*; he crossed with cattle. Mpande reported to S. and Bovu refused, saying he had taken none. Bovu was guarded by a policeman (I think a white man) - he, B., snatched a knife from a table and cut his throat because he denied having taken any of M.'s cattle. He was stopped before he had cut his oesophagus - only the *windpipe (uqoqoqo)*. He was asked why he did this; he said because he *made an oath* as he had no cattle of Mpande. He was doctored and got better and then allowed to go home. I knew Bovu. He died after Zulu War. When he drank water some came out, for there was a hole left though *it had healed*.¹⁹⁰ This was what *made S. famous*. In a fight case, S. would
- 69 fine only the aggressors but the attacked were not fined so much a halfpenny or a penny each. He would fine heavily those responsible.

Mgodi. S. *became famous through his wise words*, for when a wrong had been done he would *investigate (penya)* and see who had *provoked whom*. And *in his travels in the land he would speak to the men who were in charge of a district (umfula)*, and if anyone *replied in terms that were outside the laws that he had laid down*, he would say, *'Let people think about this, and I too shall think about it.'* After he had thought about it he would return to the man and say, *'Now see, So-and-so; I have thought. I think we should agree to go according to the law which I told you.'* And indeed the man would then agree, saying, *'Here is light which shows the way so that we hear each other.'* Indeed that is how he became so renowned.

- 70 I was once with S. *at the place of a son of Mbambi (Kani ka Mbambi - a Baca)*. <Shepstone> said when we got to him, *'I have come to you in order that our tongues should meet and become one, for you are this side of Mtamvuna.'* Kani said, *'I do not see the matter that you are talking about.'* Shepstone sent my father Manxele to him again, by direction of S., to say, *'I am now causing you to choose a husband. You, Kani, are a girl; I am a young man, and Faku is a young man.'* Kani said he chose the chief of the Amampondo. My father returned with that word. S. then went and put up his tents near where Kani was; the Umtamvuna district had not yet been annexed.¹⁹¹ We had come down there with S. from Kokstad. S. then said to K., *'As you have chosen that young man, I give you 5 days to pack up your goods and cross*
- 71 *the Umtamvuna.'* Kani said, *'Why do you come to press me? Go back to your camping place' (inxiswa)*, i.e. where the tents had first been set up. S. went back there. On the 5th day, S. *sent men* to go and check the crossing of any further cattle, but not to interfere with those that had gone. The majority had gone over. S. said, *'I do not want bloodshed. You must simply arrest those who have not crossed.'* Although Kani had crossed with his women and cattle, he, finding many of his cattle still in Natal, returned to say, *'Nkosi, undengqele, I am now going to choose you, Nkosi.'*¹⁹² *If I had known that you are not an inkosi who kills people, I would not have run away.'* He then came back; he came back to this side. And this was a great object lesson to amaBaca so they all came and *konza'd* to him. He then *forfeited (hlaula'd)* 500 head of cattle, but he fined himself; S. did not fine him.

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All *confiscated* cattle were killed and kept <illegible> all huts for Natives, visitors, etc., the *izinduna*, etc.

- 72 S. was renowned I think because he had *soft words*; to someone who had argued with him he would reply *gently*, 'Go away and think, we'll talk over matters tomorrow.' S. said, 'I do not do as a chief does; I do not use force (*qwaga*); I act according to the law.'

A man would agree that he had *thrown himself away*.

He used to say to those who fetched witnesses that they would *laya* them,¹⁹³ but when they were in front of him they would find out the truth, for on being searched they would not agree.

- Izangoma*. S. called together about 50 of these, men and women, on Mountain Rise near where Samuelson lives, in Acting Governor Bissett's time.¹⁹⁴ One whole day was spent on a visit to these. Money was hidden in boots, in the *long grass* and on different people - the Governor was present too. The doctors were then told to
- 73 *smell out the money*. I was there as a waiter. A tent (marquee) had been pitched there. The doctors were seated *in an area of newly burnt grass*. They all *gyrated* and *leaped about*. They then *looked for the thing that had been hidden*; they were not told that it was money. There came forward three *izangoma* out of the 50, Nomadwala ka Masumpa, another woman from Mapepetweni district (where Kamanga now is, near Mgeni), and the 3rd was a *youth (insizwa) from the Mvoti*. Nomadwala *pointed to the money which was in Somtseu's boot*. 'I smelt you out, Nkosi. There are five pounds in the right-hand boot.' S. told her to take off the boot. She undid it, and lo and behold the five pounds were taken out and *poured onto the table*. She then went to the Governor; the Governor was told to get up, and she then dug up where his feet had been and took out £10 in gold which she placed on the
- 74 table; the Governor told her to sit down because he was satisfied and that she would finish and find all. He wanted the others to have a chance. Another woman went and *took a snuffbos (of rhinoceros horn - about five inches in diameter - held enough snuff for two months), from the long grass next to the burnt patch* where it had been hidden. The woman sat down and *poured out some snuff from the snuffbox*.

The *youth* also found something, but I did not see what. All I know is he was singled out.

S. then said, 'All you *izingoma*, should I hear you are *smelling out*, you will all be *arrested*,' but these three were told they might *smell out*, for they were *genuine (ba ne qiniso)*; they knew how to *smell out the money*. Nomadwala is still living; she is very old. She rides on horseback. She is allowed to *smell out*. Nomadwala still *smells out*.

Socwatsha says Nomadwala *lives near Mhlola ka Magqubu*.¹⁹⁵ She has plenty of property.

- 75 Lasi says: I lived away at Mpofana, that is why I did not know of the incident just related.

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Socwatsha says: Somtseu also *put an end to the stealing of cattle*.

Lasi says: *At the 'breaking of the rope', Natives used to get cattle by stealing them (ngoku bilinga); this was caused by the breaking up of the people*. Under normal conditions there was no such thing as theft of cattle. Even at this day theft of cattle is unknown in Zululand, as also in Swaziland. This crime arose out of people of different tribes being intermixed. They came from Pondoland and Xoza - these speak of theft as *ukujola ukweba*.¹⁹⁶ When Boers were turned out of Pietermaritzburg, people (Natives) *became rich* owing to cattle *which were left behind as people were running away*, for the Boers ran off in haste from Natal.¹⁹⁷

Socwatsha. *Ukweba* is like *ukutakata*, and *ukupinda*.¹⁹⁸

Can enlarge considerably on this head, giving numerous instances - especially that of Sibetshe *ka Maganyana of the Ngongoma people, of the place of the people of Gcugcwa ka Ncameni ka Sizana*.¹⁹⁹

Lasi insists that Zulus are not naturally stock thieves, i.e. under normal conditions.

Amaqwelana - Korannas, like *abatwa*.²⁰⁰

76 Lasi gives good and full account of expedition after the Bushmen under command of Captain Allison.²⁰¹ Some of his own cattle had been stolen.

About 30 men, women and girls were killed - only two of these were men. There were 9 women and children prisoners, one of these died on road. The women and children were armed with bows and arrows and actually fought. Bushmen eat meat only. All our prisoners died through eating our food. Women can run very fast. There was no real fighting. The men got away. The cattle stolen were not recovered. There was no more cattle raiding after this.

Imitshoko - arrows. Maqandalingopi - Socwatsha says he uses a *bow (umcibitsholo)*.²⁰²

He did not take aim (komba); he extracted thorns (waye bangul' ameva) - said of Msamu, a dead shot with a gun.

The sleeping-place (isilili) of my father, the sleeping-place of my mother, the sleeping-place of the itombe (where goats stand) - floor of hut.²⁰³

Lasi speaks: When S. returned from Lusawana expedition, there was *disputing (bangaing)* to effect that 7s. a hut was too small; 14s. was required by Europeans. S. defended the Natives as having no money. S. said, 'Let the man who marries be the one who pays £5, for I do not see why the hut tax should be increased in the case of
77 all. The number of *lobola* cattle should at the same time be limited to ten, but *pregnancies* not to be counted. In this way the bridegroom would be in a better position to pay the £5 on the marriage.' For formerly there was no limit as to amount

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of *lobola* that could be claimed. But it was to be proclaimed that the older girls were to be married off *before the law came into effect* and their fathers to be allowed to claim what they liked on account of them. And because the country was S.'s, the law was agreed to in the *assembly (ibandhla)* where it was discussed. The men then invited S. to act. S. went forth and proclaimed the law and said that the old girls should *marry*.²⁰⁴ *There was a great rushing-about (ubunikilili, bidhli). Some were married off when still young (ubucubudede) (i.e. near-children),²⁰⁵ because people were greedy for cattle before it became law that there should only be ten.* This was called *isitabataba*, just as the 4 000 cattle of Lusawana were called *isitabataba*.²⁰⁶

Isigwede, isigwedana, i.e. a bird before its feathers have grown.²⁰⁷

78 Socwatsha says the marrying took place daily. No sooner would one *udwendwe* go out than another would go and *dance (sina)* on the morrow, then another next day.²⁰⁸ The meat killed could not be consumed and got bad. Men and boys got tired of singing; they got quite hoarse. Even young girls got married. There were batches of *young wives (abakoti)* at many kraals.

S. helped us when Sobantu *complained (mangalela'd)* against us to the Queen, saying we *traded (tengisa'd)* with our children. When S. got to England he denied that any such thing took place; to *tengisa* was to buy a sack of mealies, or thing in a store, but a word of its own, viz. to *lobola*. He got the better of the accusation, showing *lobola* was not purchase but a giving of property as a guarantee that the child would be *cared for (ondhla'd)* and brought up properly.

79 Lasi. *Isibalo*.²⁰⁹ The first I saw of this was at Kettlefontein, just after getting to Edendale, before the battle of Ndongakusuka; it was about four years after we arrived in Natal.²¹⁰ This *isibalo* dug the road, main road to Town Hill, different from Boer road. The men that worked on this road were from Edendale. But this was not a compulsory affair; they were told they would get money to buy land with. After this I saw boys working the road from Pietermaritzburg to Durban.

There used to be compulsory labour under the Zulu kings. The word *isibalo* arose from boys being written down, i.e. their names.

I also saw *izigqoza* working on the roads; this they did at Ntshangwe (Inchanga) cutting.²¹¹ Refugees from Pondoland, Swaziland, Zululand, or Orange Free State were *registered (balwa'd)* for three years in some European service.²¹² The custom sprang up after this to send messengers to chiefs to say so many must turn out for the roads.

The responsibility for this must rest on S. for he was in charge of Native Affairs.

Notes

¹ In the original, this sentence appears as a heading inserted in the upper margin of the page. It suggests that Stuart's prime purpose in interviewing Xaba was to obtain biographical information on Theophilus Shepstone. The latter was successively

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Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. A note pinned to the inside of the front cover of notebook 2 of File 54 in the Stuart Collection reads as follows: 'Life of Sir Theophilus S. begun by James Stuart on request. Later told in London by a member of the family that the family would not bear cost of publication'. The note is initialled 'E.S.', i.e. Ellen Stuart, James's wife.

² A biographical note on Lazarus Xaba can be found in Jones, *Biographical Register of Swaziland*, p. 629. There is a photograph of him in Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, foll. p. 108; also in Jones, plate XV, foll. p. 284. Stuart's interview with Xaba as recorded in the present volume took place in Pietermaritzburg. See also Stuart's notes of the conversations he held with Xaba and others in Ladysmith in 1900 in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 241-66.

³ 'The breaking of the rope' (*ukudabuka kwegoda*) which held the people together is a reference to Mpande's flight from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.

⁴ James Allison of the Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station at Mahamba in the south-west of the Swazi country in 1844. After the outbreak of a civil war in that country, he moved to Pietermaritzburg in the colony of Natal in 1846. He established Ndaleni mission station near Richmond in 1847.

⁵ The Natal Native Police force was established in 1848, with a strength of 100 men, later increased to 200. It was disbanded in 1851. J.W.S. was John Wesley Shepstone, younger brother of Theophilus.

⁶ Mqundane (Jantshi) of the Ximba people later became one of Theophilus Shepstone's *izinduna*. Mahlanya was his brother.

⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 612, gives *intantikazi* as '... young heifer ready for and already freely associating with the bulls'. In the late 1840s the Natal government imposed a hut tax of seven shillings per hut. Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone.

⁸ The reference is to File 54, nbk. 2, p. 11, where, in a note to Shepstone's praises, Jojo's father is given by Socwatsha as Sotshokoyi.

⁹ I.e. senior *induna* to Theophilus Shepstone.

¹⁰ A.J.S. was Arthur Shepstone, a son of Theophilus. At the time of Stuart's interview with Xaba, Arthur Shepstone was Secretary for Native Affairs and Stuart's immediate superior in the Natal Native Affairs Department. It is not clear whether he was actually present at the interview with Xaba, or whether this and other notes marked 'A.J.S.' constitute an interpolation on Stuart's part.

¹¹ Berg Street was in central Pietermaritzburg. Nomsimekwana kaMcoseli of the Nyavu people was a chief under the Natal government until his death in 1901. EmKhambathini or Table Mountain lies some thirty kilometres east of Pietermaritzburg.

¹² The Zulu original reads:

*Mashiqela upondo lwendhlovu
uNdhlovukaipendulwa.*

Mashiqela was the Zulu name for Charles Saunders who held office in Zululand from 1898 to 1909, first as Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and then as Commissioner for Native Affairs.

¹³ Sonzica was John William Shepstone, a Wesleyan missionary and father of Theophilus.

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¹⁴ The names are of men who were members of the *amakholwa* Christian community in Natal. Edendale lies on the western outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. It was the site of a mission station established by James Allison in 1851.

¹⁵ *Voorloper*, literally 'front-walker', is the Afrikaans term for the boy or man who leads a team of oxen.

¹⁶ The events described here took place in 1857.

¹⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 288, gives *umkhala* (*umkala* in his orthography) as 'Grass-rope thrust through the nose of a cow and bound over the head, for holding it when being milked ...'.

¹⁸ Lt.-Col. Edward Boys commanded the 45th Regiment in Natal from 1845 to 1853.

¹⁹ Kropf, *Dictionary*, p. 466, gives *ixhama* (pl. *amaxhama*) as '... an outcast; an outlaw, banished, proscribed person'. For use of the term by Mqayikana kaYenge, another of Stuart's informants, see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, pp. 16-17.

²⁰ The names are of chiefs who ruled in the nineteenth century. Khukhulela was of the Khuze people, Mbazwana of the esiPhahleni section of the Dlamini, Bhidla of the main section of the Dlamini, Fodo of a section of the Nhlanguwini.

²¹ Mqikela succeeded his father Faku as paramount chief of the Mpondo in 1867.

²² The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Mpande died in September or October 1872.

²³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 123, gives *ukudunguzela* as 'Be ill (only used of the chief, and of small children, in which case it is not advisable, or possible, for the public to be told what is actually wrong with the sufferer)'. On p. 161 he gives *isifuthane* (*isifutane* in his orthography) as 'Ailment of infants, accompanied by markedly quick breathing, perhaps from fever'. *Umkhuhlane* is the name for any illness accompanied by aches and fever.

²⁴ Mswati, ruler of the Swazi kingdom, died in August 1865.

²⁵ Mjantshi or Mjantshi is the isiZulu form of Modjadji, the name given by the Lobedu people to their successive queens. Somaphulana (Ramabhulana) was a Venda chief. Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu of the Hlubi people was an important chief in Natal until he was deposed by the colonial government in 1873. Siyephu was his chief son.

²⁶ Ludvonga, son and designated successor of Mswati, died while still a minor in March 1874.

²⁷ Tifokati was sent by her brother Mswati to Shepstone in the early 1860s.

²⁸ Prince Alfred, son of Queen Victoria, visited Natal in 1860.

²⁹ Mnyamana kaNqengelele of the Buthelezi people became chief *induma* in the Zulu kingdom in the reign of Cetshwayo (1872-79), after Mswati's death.

³⁰ Mhlophekazi entered Shepstone's service in 1859 (Gordon, *Shepstone*, p. 239). He was apparently the model for the figure of Umslopogaas who features in several of Rider Haggard's novels.

³¹ Dibinyika of the Zondi people was a chief in the Pietermaritzburg area.

³² *Mntanami* means 'my child'.

³³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 403-4, gives *umnawe* as 'Any brother or sister younger than oneself ...; used by married women to their brothers (married or unmarried) even when older than themselves ...'.

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³⁴ ‘*Ndi-*’, meaning ‘I’, is the isiXhosa equivalent of isiZulu ‘*Ng-*’. The Xhosa and Zulu sentences here translate as ‘Listen while I tell you’. Misjana was John Shepstone, brother of Theophilus. He was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1876 to 1884 and a judge in the Native High Court in Natal from 1884 to 1895.

³⁵ Nodada kaNgoza of the Thembu people was a chief in the lower Mtshezi (Bushmans) river region.

³⁶ Phakade kaMacingwane of the Chunu people was a chief in the region about the confluence of the Thukela and Mpofana (Mooi) rivers.

³⁷ This should presumably read ‘... for she was borne by P.’s brother’.

³⁸ UmGungundlovu was the isiZulu name for Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal Colony.

³⁹ The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 23-4, gives *ubhaqa* (*ubaqa* in his orthography) as ‘Native “lamp” or torch for lighting up in a hut ...; a beast given by the bride’s family to the bridegroom’s father “to light up the *lobola* cattle” he has parted with on his son’s account’. On p. 653 he gives *insika* (*intsika* in his orthography) as ‘Pillar, such as support the roof of a Native hut ...’.

⁴⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 413, gives *umne* as ‘Elder brother; used by girls to any brother, older or younger ...; also by one man to another older than himself, even though not his brother ...’.

⁴¹ Ngoza died in 1869. His son Gencane, or Mbazo, needs to be distinguished from the Gencane, previously mentioned by Xaba, who was a son of the Zondi chief Dibinyika.

⁴² Possibly a reference to Mdunge Majozi of the Qamu (Qanyini) people who in 1910 was an acting chief in Natal.

⁴³ Possibly Hlubi of the Tlokwa people who, together with a group of adherents, was settled by the British in the Nquthu area after the defeat of the Zulu in 1879.

⁴⁴ Langalibalele and many of his adherents took flight from Natal into Basutoland in 1873, an act which most white settlers in Natal cast as a ‘rebellion’. After the outbreak of war between the Basotho kingdom and the Orange Free State in 1865, Lesawana, a Basotho chief, led a raid across the border into Natal to seize cattle from a number of Boer farmers.

⁴⁵ See Xaba’s testimony below.

⁴⁶ The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The incident referred to took place in October 1877 during a meeting held at the Ncome river between delegations headed respectively by Mnyamana and Shepstone to try to settle the border dispute between the Zulu kingdom and the Transvaal. Bhejane kaNomagege was one of Cetshwayo’s senior *izinceku*.

⁴⁷ For many years before his death in 1893, Shepstone had lived at the upper end of Loop Street (now Jabu Ndlovu Street) in Pietermaritzburg. At the time of his interview with Xaba, Stuart was living in the same neighbourhood.

⁴⁸ George Shepstone was a son of Theophilus. We have been unable to identify Adam Ndhlovu.

⁴⁹ G.A. Lucas was magistrate at Ladysmith in the 1860s. The Berg means the Drakensberg.

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⁵⁰ Simahla of the Shabalala people had formerly been a chief in the region about the sources of the Phongolo and Mkhondo (Mkhondvo) rivers. He was attacked by the Swazi king Mswati in about 1860, and, with some of his adherents, found refuge in Moshweshwe's kingdom. (See Jones, *Biographical Register of Swaziland*, p. 518.)

⁵¹ IziGqoza was the collective name for the supporters of Mbuyazi, a son of Mpande who contested the succession to the Zulu kingship with Cetshwayo. The reference here is presumably to refugees who established themselves in Natal after the crushing defeat of Mbuyazi's forces by those of Cetshwayo in 1856.

⁵² Xaba has previously referred to Mbunda, father of Hlubi (see note 43 above). We have been unable to establish whether or not the Mbunda kaMgojo referred to here is the same person.

⁵³ It is not clear whether the note in parentheses forms part of Xaba's testimony or whether it represents an interpolation on the part of Stuart. The reference to 'Native troops' may be to the force of Natal Native Police which had been disbanded in 1851 (see note 5 above).

⁵⁴ 'Mlambo' is a reference to Molapo, a son of Moshweshwe, who was a senior chief in the Basotho kingdom. He lived in the Leribe region.

⁵⁵ 'Mbelu' (Mbhelu) is a reference to Mopedi, a brother of Moshweshwe.

⁵⁶ Albert Allison was Border Agent for Natal, stationed at Oliviershoek.

⁵⁷ Phuthini kaMashoba of the amaNgwe people was a chief in the Estcourt region until his deposition by the Natal government in 1873. His grandson Manzezulu died in 1882.

⁵⁸ Lt.-Col. John Bisset was Acting Administrator of Natal from August 1865 to May 1867.

⁵⁹ I.e. the territory between the Mzimkhulu and Mthamvuna rivers. It had been annexed to Natal on 1 January 1866.

⁶⁰ Henrique Shepstone was a son of Theophilus. In 1870 he was appointed as magistrate at Harding in Alfred Division. The Xesibe people lived in what is now the Mount Ayliff region of the Eastern Cape.

⁶¹ Dr Percy Sutherland was Surveyor-General in Natal from 1855 to 1887.

⁶² Thomas Jenkins worked as a Wesleyan missionary in the Mpondo country from 1838 until his death in 1868.

⁶³ Nsizwa mountain lies fifteen kilometres to the north-west of Mount Ayliff village.

⁶⁴ Madonela was Donald Strachan, who operated a trading store on the middle Mzimkhulu river. He later became a major figure in the public affairs of what is now the East Griqualand region.

⁶⁵ The names in this list are those of Theophilus Shepstone's children: see Gordon, *Shepstone*, p. 381.

⁶⁶ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 643, gives *ukuthonya* (*ukutonya* in his orthography) as 'Gain or possess some occult, hypnotic-like ascendancy over another ... by some process of charming, etc. ...'.

⁶⁷ The journey referred to took place in the period March-May 1868. Robert Keate was Lieutenant-Governor of Natal from May 1867 to July 1872. Sir Philip Wodehouse was Governor of the Cape and British High Commissioner in South Africa from 1862 to 1870.

⁶⁸ The isAngqu (Sesotho: Senqu) river is marked on many maps as the Orange. John Austen was superintendent of the Witteberg Native Reserve on the border between the Cape and Lesotho.

⁶⁹ I.e. Letsie, senior son of Moshweshwe.

⁷⁰ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷¹ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 91, gives *ukudana* as ‘Get powerless, depressed, languid, as the body from excessive heat or weakness; get depressed mentally, out of heart, worry’. On p. 275 he gives *ukujabha* (*ukujaba* in his orthography) as ‘Be abashed, made ashamed, feel discredited, covered with confusion ...; be disappointed, feel one’s hopes destroyed ...’.

⁷² Cetshwayo was brought back to Zululand from exile in the Cape in January 1883. In 1882, during his period of exile, he had made a visit to England to ask for his restoration as Zulu king.

⁷³ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁷⁴ In 1873 Shepstone travelled to the Zulu country to convey the Natal government’s recognition of Cetshwayo as Zulu king.

⁷⁵ ‘Sikukuku’ was Sekhukhune, ruler of the Pedi kingdom. The Pedi and the South African Republic were at war from May 1876 to February 1877.

⁷⁶ Marshal Clarke, Melmoth Osborn and Henry Rider Haggard were on Shepstone’s staff when he went to Pretoria in April 1877 to annex the South African Republic to Britain.

⁷⁷ Mzilikazi kaMashobane, ruler of the Ndebele kingdom, died in 1868. Lobhengula was his son and eventual successor. G.M. Theal’s histories of South Africa, written from the 1870s until his death in 1919, went through numerous editions under various titles.

⁷⁸ In the original the date is mistakenly given as 5.4.1910.

⁷⁹ Zwide kaLanga was ruler of the Ndwandwe kingdom until his death in c.1825. The kingdom broke up after being defeated by a Zulu force under Shaka, aided by a small party of British traders from Port Natal, in 1826.

⁸⁰ Ntumbane mountain lies fifty kilometres east of the town of Vryheid. The Ngome forest is further to the south-east.

⁸¹ KwaBulawayo was Mzilikazi’s chief *umuzi* in the Ndebele kingdom. The iziMpangele was one of his *amabutho*.

⁸² Mzilikazi was driven out of the Marico region by a force of Boers and their African allies in November 1837. A Zulu force had raided into his territory in mid-1837.

⁸³ Elijah Kambule was a prominent figure among the *amakholwa* in Natal.

⁸⁴ ‘*Matshe*’, meaning stones, is the vocative plural of *i(li)tshe*, which is how the name ‘Elijah’ apparently sounded to Mncumbatha.

⁸⁵ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion. The second sentence makes better sense if the first ‘relevant’ is read as ‘irrelevant.’

⁸⁶ Lobhengula was installed as king by the senior chiefs of the Ndebele kingdom in March 1870.

⁸⁷ Mashobana was father of Mzilikazi.

⁸⁸ Lufenulwenja literally means dog’s penis.

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⁸⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 390, gives *umnyama* (*umnyama* in his orthography) as ‘... darkness of depression or sorrow in the heart, as brought over a kraal by the death of one of its chief inmates, and which is supposed to be removed by the *uku-hlamba* custom ...’.

⁹⁰ Matsheng (Matsheni in isiZulu) was ruler in the Ngwato country in the late 1860s and early 1870s.

⁹¹ Melmoth Osborn was magistrate at Newcastle from 1868 to 1877.

⁹² Marthinus Pretorius was president of the South African Republic from 1864 to 1871. Paul Kruger was commandant-general of the republic from 1864 to 1873.

⁹³ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The original of the praise reads, ‘*umdabulangwalo* (i.e. *izincwadi*) *zi ya ku Somtseu*’.

⁹⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 595, gives *isokanqangi* as ‘Eldest son, and daughter, of a man (whether heir or not); also applied to the first taken wife among a number (whether chief wife or not) ...’.

⁹⁵ The word in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The ‘r’ in Marada (which would be written as ‘h’ in modern isiZulu orthography) signifies a guttural ‘g’. The reference is to Mokgatle of the Bafokeng people who was the dominant chief in the Rustenburg area from the late 1830s until his death in 1891.

⁹⁶ Henrique Shepstone, eldest son of Theophilus, became Secretary for Native Affairs in his father’s administration in the newly annexed British colony of the Transvaal in 1877.

⁹⁷ The wording of this sentence is defective in the original. Thomas Burgers was president of the South African Republic from 1872 to 1877.

⁹⁸ In April 1877. Shepstone was Administrator of the Transvaal until March 1879.

⁹⁹ ‘Pensuan’ is probably a reference to Christoph Penzhorn of the Hermannsburg Mission Society who worked in Mokgatle’s country from 1866.

¹⁰⁰ Kruger was appointed vice-president of the South African Republic in March 1877, a month before the British annexation.

¹⁰¹ *Ukunquma* is to cut the throat of a person or animal.

¹⁰² In the passages that follow, Mhabyiyana also appears as Mrabiyana and Mahabuyana.

¹⁰³ ‘The Zulu people’ here means Lobhengula’s people.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Kame’ refers to Khama. He and Matsheni contended for the Ngwato chiefship in the early 1870s.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. headdress of the lion.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society worked as a missionary at Kuruman from 1821 to 1870.

¹⁰⁷ Sekhukhune, Sekwati and Thulare of the Maroteng people were successive rulers of what became the Pedi kingdom. The kingdom was at war with the South African Republic from May 1876 to February 1877.

¹⁰⁸ War between the Pedi kingdom and the Transvaal, now under British rule, broke out in April 1878 and lasted until the defeat of the Pedi in November 1879.

¹⁰⁹ Joao Albasini traded in ivory and slaves in southern Mozambique and the eastern Transvaal and then, from the early 1850s, in the Soutpansberg region of the South African Republic. He was official Superintendent of Natives in the region from 1859

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to 1868. His African name was Juwawa (Boeyens, “Black ivory”, p. 196).

¹¹⁰ Mabhedla waMswati had taken refuge in the Pedi country under Sekhukhune in 1875. He surrendered to the British after the defeat of the Pedi in 1879. Msutfu waSomcuba had lived under the protection of Sekhukhune since 1859. He was killed in the British attack on the Pedi in November 1879. (See Jones, Biographical Register of Swaziland, pp. 113, 150-1.)

¹¹¹ As a minor, Ludvonga succeeded his father Mswati as king of the Swazi after the latter's death in 1865. He was still a minor when he died in 1874. Mbandzeni became king after the death of Ludvonga. *Indlovukazi* - female elephant - was a title of respect for senior women in the Swazi royal family.

¹¹² Sandlane Zwane was a leading figure in Swazi public affairs until he was put to death in 1888.

¹¹³ The word in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is probably to Thomas McLachlan, a trader and prospector (Jones, Biographical Register of Swaziland, pp. 361-4).

¹¹⁴ The word *inkoto* (*inkotho*) which appears as a caption to the illustration below means a groove or hollow.

¹¹⁵ Robert Bell was a farmer, trader and justice of the peace who lived in the Lothair district in the borderland between the South African Republic and the Swazi country. He was murdered by the adherents of a Swazi headman in September 1877. Edwin Buchanan, Bell's brother-in-law, farmed and traded in the same area. (See Jones, Biographical Register of Swaziland, pp. 28-9, 51.)

¹¹⁶ Bhekane Malaza lived with a number of adherents in the borderland between the South African Republic and the Swazi country (Jones, Biographical Register of Swaziland, p. 380).

¹¹⁷ Gerhardus Rudolph was magistrate of the Utrecht and Wakkerstroom districts (Jones, Biographical Register of Swaziland, pp. 503-6).

¹¹⁸ Mbuyazi (Mbuyazwe), a son of Mpande, was the main rival of Cetshwayo for the succession to the Zulu kingship. He was killed in 1856 in a battle between their respective forces, but for many years afterwards the belief persisted in some quarters in the Zulu kingdom and elsewhere that he had escaped to the colony of Natal.

¹¹⁹ We have been unable to establish the meaning of *isifumbu*. It may be the equivalent of *imfumbe*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 156, gives as ‘Thing held in the closed hand to be guessed at; hence, riddle; any secret, affair confided in one to be kept quiet ...’.

¹²⁰ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Gebuza was Henrique Shepstone, then Secretary for Native Affairs in the Transvaal.

¹²¹ I.e. in 1839-40.

¹²² *Ikhafula* was a term of contempt used by people in the Zulu kingdom for black people who lived in the colony of Natal. Commentators differ as to whether the word derived from the English word ‘kafir’ or from the isiZulu word *ukukhafula*, to spit out.

¹²³ The words in parentheses are a translation of *umdada wayo wengwe*, a note which appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹²⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹²⁵ Xaba later indicates that this implies ‘Does Shepstone wish to squeeze me into a small country?’ KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.

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¹²⁶ KwaDukuza was the *umuzi* south of the lower Thukela where Shaka was assassinated and buried in 1828. Xaba later indicates that Cetshwayo's reference to 'the long grass' is to the site of Shaka's grave.

¹²⁷ The implication is that Cetshwayo was claiming that the territory under his authority extended as far as the Marico in the west, the Mbholompo region near modern Mthatha in the south, and Sekhukhune's country in the north.

¹²⁸ Sonzica was William Shepstone, father of Theophilus.

¹²⁹ This sentence and the next appear in the original as insertions in the top margin of the page. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 215, gives *ugweje* as 'The odd one left over (from any number), as when pairing or combining in any way (N)'. In his usage, 'N' denotes 'Natal, i.e. a word used in Natal (though not appearing in Colenso's *Dictionary*), and unknown or unused in Zululand' (*Dictionary*, p. 111*).

¹³⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 436, gives *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) as 'Any poor, destitute, common fellow ...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe ...'. Hamu is probably referring to raids which Zulu forces made into Swazi territory in 1847 and into Swazi and Pedi territories in 1852. Cetshwayo apparently participated in the latter expedition. Hamu here seems to be resisting what he sees as exaggerated claims being made by Cetshwayo as to the extent of the country ruled by the Zulu.

¹³¹ Mnqandi was of the Sibisi (eziBisini) people. Nhlazatshe mountain overlooks the White Mfolozi river from the north thirty kilometres west of Mahlabathini.

¹³² The words in square brackets appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹³³ Xaba has previously given Ebulinganto as situated in the Marico (Madikwe) region. The name Ebulinganto may derive from *ukulinga*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 358, gives as '... perform magic work, work an *um-Lingo*, as a doctor or conjurer ...'.

On the same page he gives *umlingo* as 'Any unusually strange, awe-inspiring, preternatural, magical performance, as done by an *inyanga* when treating his patients by certain peculiar practices, or by a conjurer ...'.

¹³⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹³⁵ The iNgcaka mountain lies on the north side of the upper Phongolo river overlooking the village of Luneburg. A number of German settlers and missionaries had lived in the region since the 1860s. Cetshwayo sent a force to build an *ikhanda* there in November 1877 (Jones, *Biographical Register of Swaziland*, p. 329).

¹³⁶ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. It is not clear what part of Socwatsha's testimony Stuart is referring to.

¹³⁷ EBaqulusini was a Zulu royal *umuzi* situated to the east of what is now Vryheid.

¹³⁸ Nyamayenja is usually given as a son of the Swazi king Sobhuza. He lived in the southwestern borderlands of the Swazi kingdom.

¹³⁹ *Umutsha* (pl. *imitsha*) is a girdle or loin-cover of skin.

¹⁴⁰ This fight took place in December 1877.

¹⁴¹ Cetshwayo was himself a member of the uThulwana *ibutho*.

¹⁴² Mbilini was a son of Mswati who was forced to flee from the Swazi kingdom in 1866. The following year he established himself with a following near the sources of the Phongolo river. In the 1870s he earned a widespread reputation as a cattle raider. (See Jones, *Biographical Register of Swaziland*, pp. 140-4.) On the killing of Robert

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Bell, see Xaba's evidence above. Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebeni people was a chief who lived in the south-western borderlands of the Zulu kingdom. The incident referred to involving his son Mehlokazulu took place in July 1878.

¹⁴³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 404, gives *umnca* as 'Red-ivory tree ...'.

¹⁴⁴ Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house. Ziweddu and Sitheku were sons of Mpande.

¹⁴⁵ I.e. Theophilus Shepstone.

¹⁴⁶ The reference is to the installation of Mpande in 1840.

¹⁴⁷ *Idlokovana* may be a synonym for *isidlokovula*, which Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 159, give as 'Wild, unruly person or animal'. The illustration shows the positions of Cetshwayo, Gebuza (Henrique Shepstone), Tshele (Rudolph), European, Manyosi, Nongamulana, Lasi.

¹⁴⁸ A reference to Piet Retief, who was killed on the orders of Dingane at the latter's principal *umuzi*, umGungundlovu, in 1838.

¹⁴⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 327, gives *inkulelane* as 'Person who has been adopted and grown up in a strange kraal, having no home of his own'.

¹⁵⁰ The reference is the Boundary Commission which was set up by the Natal government to investigate the border dispute between the Zulu kingdom and the Transvaal. The commission began its meeting at Rorke's Drift on the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river in March 1878 and submitted its report in June. Misjana was John Shepstone; Sir Michael Gallwey was Attorney-General of Natal.

¹⁵¹ John Dunn was a hunter and trader from Natal who had been allowed by Cetshwayo to establish a following in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom on the border with Natal.

¹⁵² Teteleku kaNobanda of the Mpumuza people was a chief with adherents in several magisterial divisions in the Natal midlands.

¹⁵³ The reference is to a man named Manyosi who achieved a reputation in the Zulu kingdom as a glutton. '*Sobohla, Manyosi*' means 'It (the stomach) will subside, Manyosi'.

¹⁵⁴ On Nomsimekwana see note 11 above.

¹⁵⁵ Possibly a reference to Luzindela of the Dlomo people who was a chief in the Nkandhla division in the early years of the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁶ Xaba is referring to a story that Cetshwayo once sent Theophilus Shepstone a presentation of a bag of millet to indicate that his people were as numerous as the seeds in the bag. In return, Shepstone is supposed to have sent Cetshwayo an oxhide to indicate that the British were as numerous as the hairs on it.

¹⁵⁷ Sir Bartle Frere was British High Commissioner for South Africa from March 1877 to September 1880. Sir George Colley was chief of staff to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who was High Commissioner for South-East Africa from June 1879 to April 1880. Subsequently Colley was Governor of Natal from July 1880 until his death in February 1881. Sir Owen Lanyon was Administrator of the Transvaal from March 1879 to August 1881.

¹⁵⁸ Cetshwayo visited London in August 1882 to request the British Government to restore him to the Zulu kingship. Henrique Shepstone was his official custodian during this visit.

¹⁵⁹ Mkhosana was of the Zungu people; Ngobozana was of the Mpungose; Robert Dunn and Lazarus Xaba were interpreters during Cetshwayo's visit; the Fynney

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referred to may be F.B. Fynney who had been Natal Border Agent on the lower Thukela in the late 1870s; John Bramston was an Assistant Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office; the Earl of Kimberley was Colonial Secretary from April 1880 to December 1882.

¹⁶⁰ This meeting took place at Queen Victoria's residence at Osborne on the Isle of Wight.

¹⁶¹ The words in square brackets appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁶² Driefontein was the name of a farm near Ladysmith which was bought by a syndicate of men of the *amakholwa* community at Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁶³ The men named were prominent among the *amakholwa* of Natal.

¹⁶⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 636, gives *inhlonhlo* (*intlontlo* in his orthography) as '... kraal of expediency for cattle, built for some particular purpose away from the residential kraal ...'.

¹⁶⁵ *Ukuxatshwa* is the passive form of *ukuxaba*, to cause difficulties.

¹⁶⁶ The *insonyama* or rib-meat was considered to be the prime part of the beast. The *insonyama* of the side with the stab-wound in it was the perquisite of the senior authority figure in the neighbourhood.

¹⁶⁷ Sonzica was John William Shepstone, father of Theophilus. As a Wesleyan missionary he was stationed in the country of Sekonyela (Sigonyela) of the Tlokwa, the dominant chief in the upper Caledon region, from 1840 to 1842.

¹⁶⁸ Khukhulela of the Khuze people was a chief in the Ixopo region. He died in 1888. Mbazwana was head of the esiPhahleni section of the Dlamini. Bhidla kaNgonyama was head of the senior section of the Dlamini, to which the Khuze and esiPhahleni were related, in the time of Shaka and Dingane.

¹⁶⁹ Allison and his party arrived in Pietermaritzburg in November 1846. Kettlefontein is a locality on the western outskirts of the town.

¹⁷⁰ Mqikela succeeded his father Faku as paramount chief of the Mpondo in 1867. EQhawukeni was Faku's principal *umuzi*.

¹⁷¹ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as an insertion in the margin of p. 58. The original of the praises reads as follows: '*uNongulazi-xuku, iNgagalu ekal' igijima, ka Nkayitshane, uMqakama a bem' pete*'.

¹⁷² Of the names that follow, Dibinyika kaDlaba of the abaseNadi section of the Zondi people was a chief in the mid-nineteenth century in what became the Swartkop location to the west of Pietermaritzburg. His son and successor Mzimba died in 1898. Nodada kaNgoza of the Thembu people was a chief in the mid-nineteenth century in the Ladysmith region. He was succeeded by his son Mganu. The reference to Luntshungu is possibly to the man of that name who was father of Kula, chief of the amaQamu (abasemaQanyini) people in the Umsinga division until he was deposed by the Natal government in 1906.

¹⁷³ Of the names that follow, Musi kaGodolozzi and Mamfongonyana kaGodide of the Qwabe people were chiefs in the Stanger region. Musi died in 1892. Ndlokolo and Hlangabeza of the Bhengu (Ngcolosi) people were chiefs in the lower Mngeni region. Ndlokolo died in 1915.

¹⁷⁴ The words in these parentheses have been scored out in the original.

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¹⁷⁵ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page, and have been scored out.

¹⁷⁶ Shepstone arrived in Natal in January 1846.

¹⁷⁷ Mbuyazi was Henry Fynn, Wohlo was Henry Ogle, and Phobana was Frank Fynn. All were hunters and traders in Natal.

¹⁷⁸ I.e. the Orange river.

¹⁷⁹ On Mjatshi (Mjantshi) see note 25 above.

¹⁸⁰ Abel Erasmus was a Boer notable who, from the 1870s, played an important role in the affairs of the eastern regions of the South African Republic.

¹⁸¹ 'The breaking of the rope' is a reference to Mpande's flight to the Republic of Natalia in September or October 1839. *Umdidi kaNdlela*, literally 'the rectum of Ndlela', is a reference to the adherents of Dingane who fled from the Zulu kingdom after the defeat of his forces, which were led by Ndlela kaSompisi, at the hands of Mpande and his Boer allies in January 1840.

¹⁸² Smiti was Captain (later Major) T.C. Smith, officer commanding a force of British troops which was besieged by Boers at Port Natal in 1842. The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal at the time of Shepstone's arrival was Martin West.

¹⁸³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 646, gives *insema* (*intsema* in his orthography) as 'Name of two species of ground euphorbia . . . , whose large bulbous root is rolled down a slope by boys to furnish a target for them to fling the *u(lu)-Kande* at'. The *ukhande* was a sharpened stick.

¹⁸⁴ This may be a reference to the force of Native Police which was formed in Natal in 1848 and disbanded in 1851. Musi of the Qwabe people, Dubuyana of the Nyuswa, and Mqhawe of the Qadi were chiefs in the colony of Natal.

¹⁸⁵ A force of Native Police was formed in the Zululand Reserve Territory in 1883.

¹⁸⁶ Ndongakusuka was the locality on the lower Thukela where the forces of Cetshwayo defeated those of Mbuyazi, his rival for the succession to the Zulu kingship, in December 1856.

¹⁸⁷ Mkhungo was a son of Mpande. Together with his mother Monase, he fled to Natal after the defeat of Mbuyazi (see previous note). Sobantu was Bishop John William Colenso.

¹⁸⁸ Mjokwane was another name for Senzangakhona, Cetshwayo's grandfather.

¹⁸⁹ Mawa fled from the Zulu kingdom into Natal in 1843. Makhobisi kaXube of the Ndlovu people was chief *induna* to Ndlela kaSompisi.

¹⁹⁰ For a similar story about Bovu see the testimony of Socwatsha kaPhaphu in this volume, pp. 121-4.

¹⁹¹ The territory between the Mzimkhulu and Mthamvuna rivers was annexed to Natal in January 1866.

¹⁹² We have been unable to gloss the meaning of '*undengqele*'.

¹⁹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 352, gives *ukulaya* as 'Correct or set a person . . . right authoritatively by word or action - hence direct, instruct, order, enjoin or admonish by speech of an authoritative nature, as to his duties, behaviour, and the like . . . '.

¹⁹⁴ Mountain Rise is a suburb of Pietermaritzburg. S.O. Samuelson, who is probably the person referred to here, was Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from

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1893 to 1909. Lt.-Col. John Bisset was Acting Administrator of Natal from August 1865 to May 1867.

¹⁹⁵ Mhlola, head of the senior section of the Zondi people, was a chief with adherents in several magisterial districts in the Natal midlands. He died in 1923.

¹⁹⁶ Kropf, *Dictionary*, p. 173, gives *ukujola* as 'To steal. A Pandomise word used by the Kafirs'. *Ukweba* is an isiZulu word meaning to steal.

¹⁹⁷ Natal was formally annexed by the British in 1843. Numbers of Boers left the colony over the next few years.

¹⁹⁸ *Ukuphinda* means to repeat. Socwatsha may here be using it in the sense of taking revenge or acting out of spite that the word sometimes carries.

¹⁹⁹ According to anecdote, Gcugcwa kaNcameni (Ngcameni, Nqabeni) was put to death by Shaka for stealing royal cattle.

²⁰⁰ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. It is not clear who the informant is. *Abathwa* (sing. *umuthwa*) is often glossed as 'Bushman'.

²⁰¹ Albert Allison was Border Agent at Oliviershoek. The expedition referred to took place in 1869: see Wright, *Bushman Raiders*, pp. 170-6.

²⁰² The notes in this and the next two paragraphs appear in the original as marginal insertions. We are unable to identify Maqandalingopi.

²⁰³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 356, gives *isilili* as 'Sleeping-place in a hut i.e. that part of the floor on either side of the hearth where the sleeping-mats are laid - the husband appropriating one side or *isi-Lili* and his wife the other'.

²⁰⁴ These marriage regulations came into effect in 1869.

²⁰⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 81, gives *ubucubu* as 'Chick, or chicks, of any bird or fowl; small fry (applied jocularly to children below the age of about five years, and contemptuously to an adult) ...'.

²⁰⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 606, gives *isithabathaba* (*isitabataba* in his orthography), as 'Universal proclamation of a disturbing nature - mostly confined to the *isitabataba* <of girls> in 1869, when Sir Theo. Shepstone reduced the legal number of *lobola* cattle and fixed it at ten head ...'.

²⁰⁷ The notes in this passage appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

²⁰⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 125, gives *udwendwe* as 'Train or file of people or cattle, moving or standing one behind the other ..., the train of people accompanying a girl to her wedding, the bridal-party ...'.

²⁰⁹ *Isibhalo*, from *ukubhala*, to write down or register, was a system of compulsory labour for African men instituted by the Natal colonial government in the late 1840s.

²¹⁰ Xaba arrived in Natal from the Swazi country with the Rev. Albert Allison's party in 1846. Allison established a mission station at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg in 1846. The battle of Ndongakusuka was fought between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi in 1856.

²¹¹ *IziGqoza* was a collective term for the adherents of Mbuyazi in his dispute with Cetshwayo for the succession to the Zulu kingship. After the defeat of Mbuyazi in 1856, many *iziGqoza* took refuge in Natal.

²¹² A law requiring refugees in Natal to work for a white employer for three years in return for wages was implemented in the colony in 1854.