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## Tracking down the sources of James Stuart's isiZulu readers

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### Introduction

In the period from 1923 to 1926, James Stuart, a former Natal colonial official, produced five readers written in isiZulu for use in Natal's isiZulu-speaking schools. They were *uTulasizwe* (1923), *uHlangakula* (1924), *uBaxoxele* (1924), *Ukulumetule* (1925), and *uVusezakiti* (1926). They were all published in London by Longmans, Green, a firm with long experience of producing textbooks for use by education authorities in the British empire, and were prescribed in Natal schools until they were replaced by a new generation of textbooks in the early 1940s.

Stuart's books each consisted of a number *izifundo*, or 'lessons', varying in length from one to a dozen pages, on what he and his contemporaries would have called 'Zulu history and custom'. The production, reach, and influence of the readers still needs to be researched in detail, but in their time they seem to have been widely read, not only by learners in Natal schools but also by isiZulu-speaking intellectuals and political figures. In his well-known compilation on Zulu cultural practices, *Isabelo sikaZulu*, first published in 1936, Petros Lamula praised Stuart for writing 'izincwadi eziphethe izindaba zakithi' (books concerning our stories).<sup>1</sup> In her study of the making of Zulu nationalism, Daphna Golan writes that the image (her singular form) of the past that Stuart's books provided 'was eventually incorporated into Zulu national consciousness'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Petros Lamula, *Isabelo sikaZulu*, Pietermaritzburg: Lincroft Books, 1963 ed., p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Daphna Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1994, p. 59.

IsiZulu-speaking writers on the *izibongo* of the Zulu kings of the nineteenth century drew on the *izibongo* published in Stuart's readers as late as the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> However, among the white scholars who overwhelmingly predominated in South Africa's academic world until the 1990s, the readers remained almost completely unknown. Relatively few of them were interested in the history of African societies, very few could read isiZulu, and very few had any interest in engaging in research into schools textbooks written in the 1920s.

At his death in 1942 Stuart had left a large collection of papers, which was lodged in the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban in the late 1940s. The collection included the voluminous notes that he had made in the period 1897 to 1922 of his conversations on the past with some 200 interlocutors, black and white. From the 1960s, the collection gradually became known to researchers, academic and non-academic, into the history of African societies in the KwaZulu-Natal region. Particularly since the publication from 1976 onwards of iterations of Stuart's notes of his conversations in the successive volumes of the *James Stuart Archive*,<sup>4</sup> the Stuart Papers have come to be seen as one of the most important existing sources on the history of African societies in the region before the establishment of European colonialism. Very little scholarly interest, however, has extended to Stuart's readers. In the eras of the 'discovery' of African history by western academics, and subsequently of moves to decolonize this history, very few researchers have seen works of this kind as important enough to spend time on.

In the prefaces to his books, Stuart mentioned that the material included in them had been obtained from African people ('[K]onk' o ku butene lapa ... kwa tatw' ku Bant' abamnyama'). But he identified very few of them by name: the 'abantu abamnyama' to whom he refers remain almost entirely anonymous. The result is that up to the present the books have generally been seen as Stuart's own writings on Zulu 'tribal traditions' and on Zulu 'tribal customs'.

However, the editorial work on the *James Stuart Archive* done by Colin Webb and me in the 1970s and 1980s, and by me alone after Webb's death in 1992, has led to the development of a quite different picture of the nature of the sources that Stuart drew on. It has become clear that the texts of many of the *izifundo* were drawn, often verbatim, from specific points in the

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<sup>3</sup> E.g. C.T. Msimang, *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright, eds., *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, 6 vols., Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press/University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 1976-2014 (in progress).

notes that he made of his conversations on the past with African interlocutors. The publication of six volumes of renditions of these notes in the *James Stuart Archive* since 1976 has made these points relatively easy to track down. We can now see that these particular *izifundo*, which constitute a little over half the total, were iterations of the original notes recorded by Stuart of statements made to him by named interlocutors on specific dates at specific places under specific circumstances.

Carolyn Hamilton, who has researched Stuart's recording work in some depth, has argued that Stuart's notes of his conversations with his interlocutors were faithful to what they told him.<sup>5</sup> This is also my own opinion, developed over many years of working with Stuart's material. The category of *izifundo* that I am pointing to emerges, then, not as one consisting of Stuart's original writings but as one consisting of accounts of history and cultural practices related to him by African individuals who can be named, and whose lives, to varying degrees, can be researched. This finding transforms our understanding of the place occupied by Stuart's readers in the historical literature written in isiZulu. In this paper I aim to take a step towards opening up this subject for further research by listing the individual interlocutors whom I have so far been able to identify.

## Context

People living in what is now the KwaZulu-Natal region have no doubt been making accounts of the past since the beginnings of human history in southern Africa several hundred thousand years ago. We know nothing about these accounts, or how they were made, until recent times. Oral histories and *izibongo* recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – and perhaps oral histories told today – reach back to the early eighteenth century, while written records that touch in passing on historical figures and events in the coastal regions date from the mid-sixteenth century. Africans and Europeans first came into sustained contact in KwaZulu-Natal early in the nineteenth century; since then, their descendants' historical discourses, shaped, as historical discourses always are, by political contingencies, have fed into one another in numerous ways. Knowledge-makers, black and white, have produced a wide and continually changing range of accounts, often fiercely conflicting, of KwaZulu-Natal's past, both orally and in writing. In the early twentieth

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<sup>5</sup> Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Cambridge MA: 1998, ch. 4; Carolyn Hamilton, 'Backstory, biography, and the life of the *James Stuart Archive*, *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 319-41.

century, Stuart was tapping into these ongoing processes, and seeking to fix into written form what he heard from his interlocutors.

Stuart's career as a colonial official and as a researcher into the past has drawn a certain amount of scholarly attention.<sup>6</sup> Suffice it to say here that he was born in Pietermaritzburg in 1868, the son of a Natal magistrate. He grew up speaking isiZulu as well as English, and in 1888 entered the colonial service as a clerk and interpreter to a magistrate in the recently annexed colony of Zululand. From 1895 he held appointments as a magistrate in various centres in Zululand and Natal, and in 1909 became Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal. After the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, he was posted to Pretoria, but, finding his position not to his liking, he took early retirement in 1912, and returned to live in Pietermaritzburg. In 1922, he left Natal with his wife and two young sons and went to live in London. He died there in 1942.

From the late 1890s, as mentioned above, Stuart began making detailed notes on conversations on the past that he held with a long succession of interlocutors, most of them African men, many of whom were elders of high status in their communities. Over the next twenty-five years he amassed a large collection of notes of his discussions with some 200 individuals. In the early stages of his career he was impelled by the desire to establish as informed an idea as possible of the system of government that had been developed in the nineteenth century by the Zulu kings, a system that he saw as forming the best possible basis for ruling Africans in the colony of Natal in his own time. His idea was to make his accumulated knowledge in this field known as widely as possible, both in government circles and in the sphere of white public opinion.

This idealistic aim probably began to break down after the rebellion of many Africans in Natal against colonial rule in 1906, and Stuart's involvement as an intelligence officer with the colonial forces in suppressing it. The shifting of the centre of Natal's 'native administration' from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria in 1910, and Stuart's retirement in 1912, left him more and more distanced from the centres of power and influence where he had previously operated. He continued to seek out African interlocutors on the past, and to make notes of his conversations with them, but from at least 1916 his prime concern in doing so was to record what he could of elements of a 'traditional Zulu' culture that he, like many

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<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*; Hamilton, Hamilton, 'Backstory'; John Wright, 'Making the *James Stuart Archive*, *History in Africa*. vol. 23 (1996), pp. 333-50.

others at the time, saw as rapidly eroding under the impact of ‘progress’. Out of this grew his aim of publishing selections of his notes in books aimed at the education of an expanding generation of African schoolchildren.

Worthy of discussion in this connection is the point that in the earlier stages of his career Stuart had mostly recorded passages that were the product of the to-ings and fro-ings of ongoing conversation with his interlocutors. They consisted of relatively brief historical anecdotes and passages of cultural description, recorded largely in English interspersed with Zulu. From 1916 onward Stuart was soliciting longer passages of uninterrupted narrative, which he almost invariably recorded in isiZulu. Clearly by this stage he had their possible publication in mind.

Stuart had become a well-known figure in Natal government circles and among students of Natal’s history and of the isiZulu language. He was also known as the author of a major book on the rebellion of 1906, one which remained the standard work on the subject until the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> He had connections in education circles: Daniel Malcolm, who had been a junior colleague of Stuart’s in the colonial service, and who became Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal in 1920, was a good friend. Stuart embarked on the business of producing readers in isiZulu in the knowledge that he would fairly certainly be able to find promoters of his project in senior administrative quarters in the province. With breaks, he remained active until he left for London in 1922 in setting up meetings with African interlocutors, new and old, and in recording oral accounts of the past towards his planned books.

As far as I have been able to establish, there are no surviving records of Stuart’s dealings with the publishing firm of Longmans, Green. There is nothing on the subject in his collection of papers in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, and much of Longman, Green’s own archive was destroyed by enemy bombing in World War II. Nor are there any records in existence of how Stuart planned the readers. How far did he seek advice from the publishers, and from officials like Malcolm? How far did he operate on his own? We do not have answers to these questions. We have to surmise what we can about the production of the readers from studying the nature of the texts that he selected to put into them.

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<sup>7</sup> James Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906*, London: Macmillan, 1913.

## Profiling the readers

By way of preliminary remarks, I give a brief profile of the readers, with their titles, followed by informal English translations, dates of publication, length in pages, number of *izifundo* included, and the school grades at which they were aimed.

*uTulasizwe* [Be silent and let us hear] 1923, 123 pp., 47 *izifundo*, Std. 4 (Grade 6)

*uHlangakula* [Let the *uhlanga* ('people') grow] 1924, 160 pp., 40 *izifundo*, Std. 7 (Grade 9)

*uBaxoxele* [Tell them stories] (1924), 224 pp., 50 *izifundo*, Std. 8 (Grade 10)

*uKulumetule* [Speak while they listen] 1925, 240 pp., 47 *izifundo*, Std. 9 (Grade 11)

*uVusezakiti* [Revive matters of our house] 1926, 128 pp., 57 *izifundo*, Std. 3 (Grade 5)

Of the total of 241 *izifundo* in the five books, 39 consist of *izibongo*, ten of *izinganekwane* (children's tales), and eight of *iziga* (sayings and proverbs). The sources of these still have to be identified. Another 50 or so, 34 of which were published in the reader for Grade 6, *uVusezakiti*, were compositions written up by Stuart in his own words from a variety of oral and published sources which he does not identify. I write '50 or so' as the differences are not always entirely clear between the *izifundo* written up by Stuart in his own words from unnamed sources and those in which he was reproducing more or less verbatim the original notes which he had made of his conversations with named interlocutors.

In this latter category, the one that I am primarily concerned with in this paper, there is a total of some 134 *izifundo*. Of these, I have so far been able to identify the specific interlocutors whom Stuart conversed with in 105 cases. Stuart drew on accounts of the past given to him by a total of 36 individuals, with 19 accounts given by Socwatsha kaPhaphu Ngcobo, 17 by Mshayankomo kaMagolwana Jiyane, and 15 by Mshaphi kaNohadu Magwaza. The other 33 interlocutors provided between one and nine accounts each.

As can be established from a cursory glance at the published volumes of the *James Stuart Archive*, in the course of his career Stuart's conversations with his 200 or so interlocutors covered a wide range of topics in the political and cultural history of African societies in the KwaZulu-Natal region from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth. Many of these topics fell into the period before the emergence of the Zulu kingdom in the late 1810s and

1820s, and others into the period after its destruction in the 1880s. Many were on the history of groups other than the Zulu. But in researching and writing his readers Stuart was clearly working primarily to present topics on the history of the Zulu kings. Of the 134 *izifundo* drawn from statements made by his interlocutors (not all of them yet identified), 91 dealt with the reigns of the kings. If these, 31 were on Shaka, 14 on Dingane, 23 on Mpande, 21 on Cetshwayo, and 2 on Dinuzulu.

Stuart's concern to present 'Zulu' history in his readers was very much in keeping with political and ideological developments of the times. The 1910s and 1920s saw the emergence and first articulations of a Zulu ethnic nationalism which sought to present the leaders of the Zulu royal house as the ordained leaders of all people who spoke what had come to be known as the isiZulu language.<sup>8</sup> Academics were beginning to research the ethnography of what they increasingly saw as a coherent Zulu 'tribe'.<sup>9</sup> Missionaries and colonial officials were beginning to write historical accounts that centred on the Zulu kingdom, even if, as in Alfred Bryant's exceptional case, their coverage went much wider.<sup>10</sup> After decades of seeking to undermine the power and status of the Zulu royal house, officials in Natal were coming round to the idea of recognizing its senior figure as a 'paramount chief'. How ideas of this kind fed into local education systems is a topic that badly needs research, but, in preparing his readers, Stuart was clearly aligning them with the emerging trend of presenting the history of African people in the KwaZulu-Natal region as largely the history of the Zulu royal house and its close associates. Why he chose to include the particular accounts that he did would be a major subject for investigation.

Thus were the words of many of Stuart's interlocutors, particularly those with whom he conversed in the period 1916 to 1922, being captured and put into print towards a particular discursive end. From Stuart's five readers, the ideas put forward by these interlocutors were taken up by other authors and turned to yet further ends. Bryant used all five readers as sources for the clan histories which he published in 1929 in his *Olden Times in Zululand and*

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<sup>8</sup> Magema Fuze, *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona*, Pietermaritzburg: private publ., 1922 (English translation by H.C. Lugg, edited by A.T. Cope, *The Black People and Whence They Came*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979); Petros Lamula, *UZulukaMalandela*, Durban: Star Printing Works, 1924. See also Nicholas Cope, *To Bind the Nation: Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu Nationalism 1913-1933*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993; Paul la Hausse de la Lalouvière, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c.1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c.1936)*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Eileen Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus*, London: Longmans, Green, 1936.

<sup>10</sup> A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, London: 1929.

*Natal*, which has remained widely used as a source-book on the past to this day. Rolfes Dhlomo used at least three of the readers as sources for his widely read semi-fictional history *UShaka*, published in 1937.<sup>11</sup> He may also have used them in writing similar works on the other four Zulu kings. Like Stuart's works, they were aimed mainly at a readership of schoolchildren, which at the time constituted the only market of any size for books written in languages of African origin. As far back as 1942, writer and critic B.W. Vilakazi described Dhlomo as an author 'of great importance in Zulu', who, in his works on the Zulu kings, had 'succeeded better than any other Zulu writer'.<sup>12</sup> According to Golan, who was writing in the early 1990s, Dhlomo's historical works were still regarded by Zulu intellectuals as the main source of information about the kings. They had contributed greatly, in her view to the spread of ideas about the past among isiZulu-speaking schoolchildren.<sup>13</sup>

Further research can be expected to show more about the afterlife of ideas on the past articulated by Stuart's interlocutors in the early twentieth century, and put into print in his readers. We also sorely need studies of their 'backstories': where these ideas came from in the first place, and how and why they were recorded by Stuart. Carolyn Hamilton has written on this topic in her studies of Stuart's work.<sup>14</sup> I have written on the careers of two of Stuart's interlocutors, Ndukwana kaMbengwana of the Mthethwa and Socwatsha kaPhaphu Ngcobo.<sup>15</sup> Cynthia Kros and I have written on Thununu kaNonjiya Gcabashe,<sup>16</sup> and Kros is currently working on a study of Mqayikana kaYenge Zondi.

The history of the production, circulation and consumption of Stuart's readers forms part of a colonial past that many people in South Africa nowadays want to forget about. But, at a time when there is an increasing interest in the 'African archive' and in the black humanities, I think it is history of a kind that a new generation of scholars in the present cannot afford to ignore in thinking towards a decolonized future.<sup>17</sup> In this paper I report on the results of

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<sup>11</sup> John Wright and Carolyn Hamilton, "'Black" histories, "white" histories, "mixed" histories: perspectives from Zulu historiography', unpublished conference paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001, pp. 12-16.

<sup>12</sup> B.W. Vilakazi, 'Some aspects of Zulu literature', *African Studies*, vol. 1 (1942), p. 274.

<sup>13</sup> Golan, *Inventing Shaka*, pp. 77, 78, 88.

<sup>14</sup> Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Invention*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998, ch. 4; Carolyn Hamilton, 'Backstory, biography, and the life of the *James Stuart Archive*', *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 319-41.

<sup>15</sup> John Wright, 'Ndukwana kaMbengwana as an interlocutor on the history of the Zulu kingdom, 1897-1903', *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 343-68; John Wright, 'Socwatsha kaPhaphu, James Stuart, and their conversations on the past, 1897-1922,' *Kronos: Southern African Histories*, vol. 41 (2015), pp. 142-65.

<sup>16</sup> Cynthia Kros and John Wright, "'You can write and remember but we are simply *izithunguthu*'", ms. in press.

<sup>17</sup> See also John Wright, 'Thununu kaNonjiya Gcabashe visits James Stuart in the Big Smoke to talk about history', *Natalia* 2019 (in press).



preliminary research that I have done into the provenance of the *izifundo* that Stuart included in his readers. It brings to the fore the names of numbers of people, hitherto largely overlooked, whose ideas about the past contributed directly to the different kinds of KwaZulu-Natal's history that were being put into print from the early twentieth century onward. The paper will, I hope, help point the way towards further studies into their lives and the making of their ideas.

## Appendix

Here I list the *izifundo* in Stuart's readers whose provenance I have so far investigated. In each case I give the number and title of the *isifundo*; an English translation of the title; the name of the pertinent interlocutor where known, and the date of his conversation with Stuart (the great majority of Stuart's interlocutors were men); the location of Stuart's original notes of the particular conversation in the Stuart Papers; and the location of the iteration published in the *James Stuart Archive*.

### **uTulasizwe (1923)**

1. uManqondo u fukul' isitole, a gijime naso  
[Manqondo lifts a heifer and runs with it]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 2 April 1918  
File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 18-20. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 65-6.
6. uQubabanye u jijikel' isikuni so mlilo, a s'eqis' umful' u gwele  
[Qhubabanye throws a burning brand across a flooded river]  
Ndabankulu kaQhubabanye, 23 August 1919  
File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 6-8. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 181.
7. Umlingo o w-enziwa uMabaso ebaTanjini  
[The strange powers worked by Mabaso among the Thembu people]  
Lugubhu kaMangaliso, 31 May 1916  
File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 48-52. *JSA*, vol. 1, pp. 288-9.
8. Ku fuq' umusi emlonyeni ku Tshaka  
[Smoke comes from Tshaka's mouth]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 1 April 1918  
File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 13-15. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 64-5.

13. Izindhlondhlo e za zi bulal' abantu kwa Zulu  
[The vipers that used to kill people in the Zulu country]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 18 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 42-6. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 131-2.
14. uNtanjana u bulal' uSibiba nge sibamu, mhla ku zingel' inqina  
[Ntanjana kills Sibiba with a gun during a hunt]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 18 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 41-2. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 130-1.
17. Indhlu ka Ntombazi wa oLanga  
[The house of Ntombazi wa oLanga]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 3 October 1921  
File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 1-2. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 142-3.
18. Indhlala ka Madhlantule  
[The time of hunger known as the Madhlantule]  
Socwatsha ka Phaphu, 27 August 1921  
File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 19-23. *JSA*, vol. 6, pp. 125-7.
21. uMpitikezi u citsh' uku-bulawa inkosi  
[Mphithikezi is nearly put to death by the king]  
Baleka kaMphithikezi, 16 July 1919  
File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 86-8. *JSA* vol. 1, p. 7.
23. Ukubulawa ku ka Manembe, inyang' enkulu ye-mpi  
[The killing of Manembe, the great inyanga of the army]  
Mangathi kaGodide, 14 June 1920  
File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 11-13. *JSA* vol. 2, p. 206
25. Ukupumputis' inkosi, ku buyw' empini  
[The doctoring of the king, on returning from battle]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 23 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 80-2. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 147-8.
29. uMantingwane ka Ndinginyana u bona lukulu  
[Mantingwane kaNdinginyana witnesses a shattering event]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 26 October 1913  
File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 1-11. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 94-7.
31. Impi ya seMaqongqo, no kufa ku ka Dingana  
[The battle of Maqongqo, and the death of Dingane]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 30 August 1921  
File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 29-36. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 129-32.
33. Ukudabuka kwe sifunda sa kwa Zulu  
[The separating-off of the Zulu as a distinct group]  
Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi, 16 September 1921  
File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 9-11. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 195-6.

35. Ukubulawa ku ka Matshukumbele ka Gcwabe, wa sEmbo  
[The killing of Mashukumbele kaGcwabe of the eMbo people]  
Mandlakazi kaNgini, 2 February 1922.  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 86-91. *JSA*, vol. 2, pp. 192-3.
37. Ukubazwa kwe zicamelu ne zinkezo  
[The carving of headrests and spoons]  
Ntshelule kaGodide, 27 February 1922  
File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 14-17. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 200-1.
38. Ukwonakala kwe zintombi, zi menyezalwe ukuti ka zikehle, zi gan' iNdlondlo  
[The wrong-doing of the girls who had been ordered to put on the topknot and marry men of the iNdlondlo]  
First part (pp. 104-5) of this *isifundo* given by Mshaphi kaNohadu, 9 April 1918.  
File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 64-6. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 79  
Second part (pp. 105-110) given by Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 20 January 1922.  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 47-54. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 132-5.
39. Ukubulawa ku ka Zihlandlo ka Gcwabe  
[The killing of Zihlandlo kaGcwabe.]  
Mandlakazi kaNgini, 2 February 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 86-7. *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 191-2.
43. Insumansumane e y'enziwa uTshak' eZimpohlweni  
[The trick played by Shaka on the iziMpohlo]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 10 May 1918.  
File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 28-31. *JSA*, vol. 4, pp. 92-3.
45. Abalobokazi ba ka Cetshshwayo ba m ciba nge mnyakanya  
[Cetshwayo's young wives fling down the widow-bird feathers]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 10 May 1918.  
File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 23-4. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 90.
46. Inkasa-kabili, i sa u'pind' i suke nje na?  
[One who crawls a second time, will he ever stand up again?]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 10 May 1918  
File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 25-7. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 91.

### **uHlangakula (1924)**

1. Imp' enkulu e ya-liwa uTshaka no Zwide, eMhlatuze  
[The great battle fought by Shaka and Zwide at the Mhlathuze]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 3 October 1921  
File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 2-9. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 142-5.
2. Ukubaleka ku ka Ngoza kwa Zulu, kanye ne sizwe sake  
[The flight of Ngoza from the Zulu country, together with his isizwe]  
Lugubhu kaMangaliso, 30 May 1916.  
File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 31-46. *JSA* vol. 1, pp. 284-7.

## 3. Ukulwa kwa kuqala

[Fighting in former times]

First part (p. 20) of this *isifundo* given by Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi, 16 September 1921.

File 55, nbk. 3, p. 11. *JSA* vol. 3, p. 11.

Second part (pp. 20-1) given by Lugubhu kaMangaliso, 31 May 1916.

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 54-6. *JSA* vol. 1, p. 290.

## 4. uGala u-t' uTshaka ma fak' itsh' esisweni

[Gala tells Shaka to put a stone in his stomach]

Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 2 October 1921.

File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 36-8. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 139-40.

## 7. uKukulela-ngoqo

[The sweeping-up of every last nonentity]

Mshaphi kaNohadu, 9 April 1918.

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 59-75. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 80-2.

## 8. Amaqaw' amakul' a kwa Zulu: uNozishada ka Maqoboza

[The great warriors of the Zulu country: Nozishada kaMaqhoboza]

Narrator(s) of pp. 36-7 still to be identified.

Narrators of pp. 37-8: Phindulimi kaMashekana and Mgundeni kaMashekana interleaved.

Phindulimi kaMashekana, 11 July 1918

File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 60-1. *JSA* vol. 5, p. 222.

Mgundeni kaMashekana, 11 July 1918

File 58, nbk. 16, p. 34. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 122-3.

Narrator(s) of pp. 38-41 still to be identified.

## 9. Ukulimala ku ka Hlathi no Ndhlela, empini ya kwa Ndwandwe

[The wounding of Hlathi and Ndhlela in battle with the Ndwandwe]

Mangathi kaGodide, 15 June 1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 18-20. *JSA* vol. 2, p. 209.

## 11 and 12. Ukuwela ku ka Mandhlakazi no Kwili, be-y' Engilande, ngo August, 1914

[The journey of Mandlakazi and Khwili across the sea to England in August 1914]

Parts I and II

Mandlakazi is named as the narrator on p. 44.

No original MS yet located in Stuart Papers. Account not published in *JSA*.

## 14. uBongoza ka Mefu, wa kwa Ngongoma

[Bhongoza kaMefu of the Ngongoma people]

Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 29 August 1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 25-8. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 128-9.

## 16. Umlingo wa sebaTanjini

[The strange powers worked among the Thembu]

Lugubhu kaMangaliso, 31 May 1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 58, 53. *JSA* vol. 1, pp. 289-90.

## 18. O-ka-Siguyana (uNomantshali)

[Daughter of Siguyana (Nomantshali)]  
Mandlakazi kaNgini, 7 January 1921  
File 57, nbk. 9, p. 11. *JSA* vol. 2, p. 188.

20. Ukufa ku ka Masipula  
[The death of Masiphula]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 15 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 21-27. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 125-8.

21. Ukubulawa ku ka Nomantshali, intandokazi ka Mpande  
[The killing of Nomantshali, Mpande's favourite]  
First part (pp. 77-8) given by Mandlakazi kaNgini, 5 June 1921, followed by paragraph given by Mgidlana kaMpande immediately afterwards.  
File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 7-8. *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 189-90.  
Second part (pp. 78-80): Interlocutor(s) still to be identified.

22. Ukuluma kwe ngwababane, kanye no kwe-nja  
[The talking rook and the talking dog]  
Madikane kaMlomowethole, 28 May 1905  
File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 8-11. *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 56-7.

25. Upoko o lwa tunyelw' uSomsewu uCetshwayo  
[The millet which was sent to Somsewu (Theophilus Shepstone) by Cetshwayo]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 3 October 1921  
File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 13-14. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 147-8.

26. uMbangayiya ka Godide u linyazwa isibamu  
[Mbangayiya kaGodide is wounded by a gun]  
Given in part by Ntshelule kaGodide, 27.2.1922  
File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 10-13. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 198-9.  
Other sources still to be identified.

27. uMalimade u citsh' uku-bulawa abalobokazi ba ka Cetshwayo  
[Malimade (Melmoth Osborn) narrowly escapes being killed by Cetshwayo's wives]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 4 October 1921  
File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 46-7. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 158-9.

31. Impi ya beLungu e ya-lwa no Cetshway' Ondini, yo kugcina  
[The final battle which the white people fought against Cetshwayo at oNdini]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 6 April 1918  
File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 40-3. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 72-3.

32. Umkosi  
[The umkhosi]  
Part I  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 11 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 4-10. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 115-18.

33. Umkosi  
[The umkhosi]

## Part II

Much of this given by Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 11 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 28-36, as re-ordered by Stuart. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 118-21.  
Sources of other passages still to be identified.

39 and 40. uMlamulankunzi u yo hlab' umkos' eRini  
[Mlamulankunzi (Dick King) goes to raise the alarm in Grahamstown]  
Parts I and II

Narrative composed by Stuart, dated 18 September 1905. Based on discussions with  
Ndongeni in August-September 1905.  
File 20, pp. 78-85. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 249-56.

**uBaxoxele (1924)**

3, 4 and 5. uDingiswayo ka Jobe  
[Dingiswayo kaJobe]  
Narrator identified by Stuart as Mashwili kaMngoye kaDingiswayo (p. 14). Account given in  
November 1903.  
Parts I, II and III  
Original notes not located in Stuart Papers.

7. Ukulobola  
[Transferring of ilobolo]  
Narrator(s) of pp. 44-7 still to be identified.  
Narrator of pp. 47-50: John Gama, 18 December 1898  
File 74, pp. 105-6. *JSA* pp. 138-9  
Narrator(s) of pp. 47-55 still to be identified

9. uTshaka, - ukuzalwa kwake  
[Shaka – his birth]  
Ndlovu kaThimuni, 2 September 1919  
File 57, nbk. 10, pp. 15-32. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 219-24.

10. uTshaka, - e se ngumfana  
[Shaka – his boyhood]  
Ndlovu kaThimuni, 2 September 1919  
File 57, nbk. 10, pp. 32-41. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 224-6.

11. uTshaka, - e kwa Mtetwa  
[Shaka – among the Mthethwa]  
Ndlovu kaThimuni, 2 September 1919  
File 57, nbk. 10, pp. 41-8, and File 57, nbk. 19, pp. 1-5. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 226-30.

13 and 14. Amaqaw' amakul' a kwa Zulu: uZulu ka Nogandaya  
[The great warriors of the Zulu country: Zulu kaNogandaya]  
Parts I and II  
Narrators identified by Stuart as Mkhehlangu, Zulu's chief son and heir; Mkhothana,  
another of Zulu's sons; and others (p. 85).

The account in these two *izifundo* was put together by Stuart from his notes of statements made by at least three interlocutors: Mkhehlanguana and Mkhothana on 11 and 18 April 1905, and Mandlakazi kaNgini on 23 May 1916.

Stuart's overall notes of his conversations with Mkhehlanguana are to be found in File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 19-24; File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 1-10, 12-15; File 62, nbk. 62, pp. 1-6, 22-4; and File 62, nbk. 63, pp. 1-8. See *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 210-18.

Stuart's overall notes of his conversations with Mkhothana are to be found in File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 14-24; File 61, nbk. 58, pp. 1-7; File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 23-4; File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 2-3; File 62, nbk. 75, p. 1; and File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 15-17. See *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 222-9.

Stuart's notes of his conversations with Mandlakazi specifically on Zulu kaNogandaya are to be found in File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 82-99. See *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 179-83.

#### 16. Ukutung' isicoco

[The sewing on of the headring]

Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 26 March 1922

File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 34-9. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 167-8.

#### 18 and 19. Impi ya kwa Mzilikazi, ka Dingana

[Dingane's war in the country of Mzilikazi]

Account put together by Stuart from statements given by Ngidi kaMcikaziswa on 22 and 23 October 1905. Ngidi is identified as the narrator on p. 110.

Parts I and II

File 62, nbk. 81, pp. 2-24; File 62, nbk. 82, pp. 1-4. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 79-89.

#### 21, 22 and 23. Ukuhamb' olwandhle

[Going by sea]

Account put together by Stuart from narrative told by Frank Ogle in London in July 1923.

Parts I, II and III

File 57, nbk. 11. Not published in *JSA*.

#### 28. Ukwakiwa kwe-ndhlu

[Building a house]

Nsuze kaMfelafuthi, 26 March 1922

File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 39-42. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 180-1.

#### 29. Ukubuyiswa kwa madhlozi

[The bringing back of ancestral spirits]

First part (p. 170) given by Micah Msimanga, 28 February 1922

File 59, nbk. 38, p. 19. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 41.

Second part (pp. 170-5) given by Ntshelale kaGodide, 26 and 27 February 1922. (Final paragraph added by Stuart.)

File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 1-9. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 194-8.

#### 30. Ukubanga kwa makos' a pansi, uTshaka no Dingana

[The quarrel of the kings from the world below, Shaka and Dingane]

Mshaphi kaNohadu, 11 May 1918. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 93-5.

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 31-6.

#### 31. Ukufa ka Mpande

[The death of Mpande]

Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi, 18 September 1921.  
File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 8-10. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 202-3.

33. ‘Umbeki we nkosi ka busi nayo’  
[‘The one who installs a chief does not rule with him’]  
Madikane kaMlomowethole, 29 May 1905  
File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 19-22. *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 58-9.

35. Udadewab’ uZihlandhlo w-aliwa uZombane; uzwani lu ka Phaphu o lwa nqamukayo  
[Zihlandlo’s sister is refused by Zombane; Phaphu loses one of his toes]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 16 April 1916  
File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 47-53. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 114-16.

40. Mhlazana kw-akiwa uTulwan’ eMabedhlana  
[When the uThulwana went to build at eMabedhlana]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 21 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 59-63. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 137-9.

44. Umbango wo muzi ka Masipula ka Mamba  
[The dispute in the house of Masiphula kaMamba]  
Micah Msimanga, 28 February 1922  
File 59, nbk. 38, pp. 26-7. *JSA*, vol. 4, p. 44.

45. Ukuzalwa ku ka Dinuzulu  
[The birth of Dinuzulu]  
Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi, 18 September 1921  
File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 6-8. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 201-2.

47. Umbango ka Qetuka no Mpeyana  
[The dispute between Qethuka and Mpeyana]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 1 April 1918  
File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 9-13. *JSA*, vol. 4, pp. 63-4.

49. uMpande u qamb’ umuzi ka Noradu, eKwelamaneni  
[Mpande names Nohadu’s umuzi eKwelamaneni]  
Mshaphi kaNohadu, 11 May 1918  
File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 38-41. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 96-7.

50. Ukumiswa kwe nkosikazi ye sizwe sa kwa Nyuswa  
[The designation of the chief wife among the Nyuswa]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 10 April 1916  
File 70, pp. 112-13. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 102-4.

### **uKulumetule (1925)**

1. Mhla uSomsewu e land’ abantwana (ba ka Monase) ku Cetshwayo  
[When Somsewu (Theophilus Shepstone) went to fetch the children of Monase from  
Cetshwayo]



At the beginning of this account Stuart identifies the narrator as Lutholuni kaZucu. In fact, the account was narrated to Stuart by Socwatsha kaPhaphu, who had heard it from Lutholuni. Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 15 April 1916  
File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 35-45. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 111-14.

2, 3 and 4. uMgungundhlovu  
[The *umuzi* of Mgungundlovu]  
Parts I, II and III

Put together by Stuart from accounts given to him by interlocutors whom he identifies on p. 17 as Thununu kaNonjiya, Ngidi kaMcikaziswa, Lunguza kaMpukane and Sivivi kaMaqungo.

References to Stuart's original notes of his conversations with these interlocutors can be found in the published *JSA* as follows:

Thununu, May-June 1903, *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 252-302

Ngidi, August 1904, November 1904, and October 1905, *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 28-95.

Lunguza, March 1903, *JSA* vol. 1, pp. 297-345

Sivivi, June 1905 and March 1907, *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 367-79.

5. Ukulahlwa kwe zikali za makosi  
[The throwing away of the spears of the kings]  
Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 14 January 1922  
File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 15-18. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 124-5.

7. Ukuhlasela ku ka Tshaka kwaNgongoma, kwaNgcobo  
[Shaka's attack on the abakwaNgongoma people, of the abakwaNgcobo people]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 2 October 1921  
File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 24-35. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 135-9.

13. Uku wu-nquma kwak' uTshaka umbango wa kwa Nyuswa  
[Shaka's decision on the dispute among the Nyuswa]  
Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 9 and 10 April 1916  
File 70, pp. 113-15. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 104-5.

14. Amaqaw' amakul' a kwa Zulu  
[Great warriors of the Zulu country]  
(a) Mvundlana kaMenziwa of the Biyela people  
Sources still to be identified.  
(b) Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo of the Mdlalose people  
Put together by Stuart from accounts given by at least three interlocutors:  
Dinya kaZokozwayo, 1 April 1905  
File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 10-12. *JSA* vol. 1, p. 107.  
Madikane kaMlomowethole, 26 May 1905  
File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 15-18. *JSA* vol. 2, pp. 52-3.  
Mgidlana kaMpande, 7 June 1921  
File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 24-5.  
(c) Nyambose kaManqondo of the Magwaza people  
Sources still to be identified.

15, 16 and 17. Izibongo  
[Praises]

## Parts I, II and III

Put together by Stuart from various sources, including accounts given by several of his interlocutors. Among them are the following:

Hoye kaSoxalase, 15 September 1921

File 58, nbk. 26, pp. 42-3. *JSA* vol. 1, pp. 168-9

Mshaphi kaNohadu, 6 April 1918

File 58, nbk. 17, p. 47. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 73-4.

Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 10, 11, 22 and 23 January 1922

File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 9-10. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 106-7.

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 1-2, 64-6, 75, 83. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 113-14, 140-1, 144, 148

## 19. Inxele ka li wu bus' umuzi

[A left-handed person does not rule the house]

First part (pp. 116-19) narrated by Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 3 October 1921

File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 39-42. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 141-2.

Second part (pp. 119-20): narrator(s) still to be identified

## 20. Inkata ye-zwe

[The inkatha of the country]

First part (pp. 120-3): narrator(s) still to be identified.

Second part (p. 123): based on Ndukwana, 21 June 1903.

File 60, nbk. 28, pp. 19-21. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 373.

## 21. Intombi e ya gana uMavovo wa seMbo

[The girl who married Mavovo of the eMbo people]

Mandlakazi kaNgini, 3 February 1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 92-4. *JSA* vol. 2, p. 194.

## 23. Ukubulawa (a) ku ka Dube ne sizwe sa kwa Nyuswa; (b) kwa baMbo

[The killing (a) of Dube and the isizwe of the Nyuswa; (b) of the amaMbo]

(a) Mshaphi kaNohadu, 2 April 1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 20-22.

(b) First paragraph narrated by Mandlakazi kaNgini, 2 February 1922

File 59, nbk.28, pp. 85-6. *JSA* vol. 2, p. 191.

Second paragraph written by Stuart.

## 24. Ukudabuka kwe goda

[The breaking of the rope]

First part (pp. 129-32) written by Stuart.

The narrator of the passage that follows is identified by Stuart on p. 132 as Sivivi kaMalungo.

It is not clear where his narration ends. There appear to be no notes of it in the Stuart Papers.

The passages from p. 134 to 137 draw in part on an account narrated by Mangathi kaGodide on 1 July 1918.

File 57, nbk. 4, pp. 16-19. *JSA* vol. 2, 200-1.

The passages from Mangathi's account are interleaved with passages from a narrator or narrators not yet identified.

## 26, 27 and 28. Ukulotshwa kwe siZulu

[The writing of isiZulu]

Parts I, II and III

Composed by Stuart.

29. Ilanga li ka Mbete

[The drought of Mbethe]

Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 11 January 1922

File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 12-16, 20-1. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 111-12.

30. uBovu ka Nomabuqabuqa

[The story of Bovu kaNomabhuqabhuqa]

Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 26 August 1921

File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 14-18. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 121-3.

31 and 32. Ukubuya ku ka Cetshwayo, e buyiselwa kwa Zulu uSomsewu

[The return of Cetshwayo; his restoration to the Zulu country by Theophilus Shepstone]

Parts I and II

Socwatsha kaPhaphu, 4 October 1921

File 58, nbk. 22, pp. 43-6; File 58, nbk. 21, pp. 2-8. *JSA* vol. 6, pp. 157-8, 160-5.

34 and 35. Ukukanya

[Enlightenment]

Parts I and II

Pixley Seme, 1 January 1925

File 59, nbk. 35, pp. 1-15. Not published in *JSA*.

36. Umuzi we nkosi o wa u yo kwak' emaBunwini

[The umuzi which the king wanted to build among the Boers]

Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 21 January 1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 54-9. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 136-7.

37. Impi ka Zibebu ya soNdini, no kwa vela ngemva kwayo]

[Zibhebhu's attack on oNdini, and what happened afterwards]

Put together by Stuart from accounts narrated by Ndabazezwe kaMfuleni and Khamisile kaMahleka, 24 June 1921.

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 44-8; File 57, nbk. 5, pp. 1-5. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 186-9.

38. Ukulahlwa kwa makosi, (a) uMpande, (b) uCetshwayo

[The burial of the kings, (a) Mpande, (b) Cetshwayo]

Narrators still to be identified.

39. eMakosini

[The place of the kings]

Put together by Stuart. Narrators still to be identified.

40. Izinkomo zo mzimu

[The cattle of the ancestral spirits]

Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 22 January 1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 76-7, 77-80. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 144-5, 145-6.

43. Amaqaw' a kwa Zulu: uDiyikana ka Hlakanyana

[Warriors of the Zulu country: Diyikana kaHlakanyana]

Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 22 January 1922  
 File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 69-75. *JSA*, vol. 4, pp. 141-4.  
 Additional paragraphs on the umdidi ka Ndhlela (the rectum of Ndlela) also narrated by  
 Mshayankomo, 10 January 1922.  
 File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 11-12. *JSA* vol. 4, pp. 107-8.

44. Ukukungwa kwe nkosi  
 [Making presentations to the king]  
 Mshayankomo kaMagolwana, 23 January 1922  
 File 59, nbk. 28, p. 82. *JSA* vol. 4, p. 148.

### **uVusezakiti (1926)**

2. Ubude a bu pangwa  
 [Growth does not take place quickly]  
 Pixley Seme.  
 First two paragraphs in File 59, nbk. 35, p. 28; the rest in File 59, nbk. 8, pp. 15-18. Not  
 published in *JSA*.

6. uTshaka u-ti a ku twalw' intaba, i-siwe kwa Zulu  
 [Shaka orders a hill to be carried to the Zulu country]  
 Narrator still to be identified.

11 and 12. uTshaka no hlanya, kwa Mtetwa  
 [Shaka and the madman in the Mthethwa country]  
 Parts I and II  
 Narrated mostly by Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi, 17 September 1921.  
 File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 33-7. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 197-8.  
 Other narrator(s) still to be identified.

18. Ukupepa ku ka Tshaka empini  
 [Shaka escapes being killed in war]  
 Narrator of first part: Mbokodo kaSikhulekile, 9 November 1913  
 File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 95-6, 100-101. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 19-20.  
 Narrator of second part still to be identified

21. Amasongo a-t' uTshaka ma lahlwe  
 [Shaka orders that armrings should be thrown away]  
 Narrator still to be identified.

23. Ukutolwa ku ka Nomanzi  
 [The adoption of Nomanzi]  
 Fairly certainly put together by Stuart from published sources.

25. Amagam' a kwa Zulu  
 [Songs sung in the Zulu country]  
 The fourth song, from the reign of Dingane, narrated by Thununu kaNonjiya, 6 June 1903.  
 File 60, nbk. 26, p. 10. *JSA* vol. 6, p. 281.  
 Narrators of the other four songs still to be identified.

26. uSituta ka Sopane  
[Sithutha kaSophane]  
Mmemi kaNguluzane, 20 October 1904  
File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 15-16. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 259-60.
- 27 and 28. Ukukandwa kwe nsimbi, kuse kwa Zulu  
[The manufacturing of iron in the days of Zulu rule]  
Parts I and II  
Put together by Stuart from various sources, published and unpublished.
30. Ubuhle, o wa-t' umuntu (e se zo bulawa), u bu shiya emhlabeni  
[The beauty being left on earth by a man about to be put to death]  
Narrator still to be identified.
31. Ukushiswa kwe sidumbu se nkosi ya kwa Qwabe  
[The cremation of a chief of the Qwabe]  
First part (pp. 60-1) based on account narrated by Mmemi kaNguluzane, 9 September 1904  
File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 4-5. *JSA* vol. 3, p. 239.  
Second part (pp. 61-2) copied by Stuart from H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (Springvale, Natal: Springvale Mission Press, 1870), pp. 213-14. Originally narrated to Callaway by Mpengula Mbanda.
32. uNomsimekwana u banjwa amazimu  
[Nomsimekwana is caught by amazimu]  
Narrator(s) still to be identified
34. Umuti wa beLungu o wa-piw' uTshaka, be-ti ka wu-dhle  
[The white people's medicine which was given to Shaka to take]  
Composed by Stuart from an anecdote written by Henry Fynn and published in John Bird, ed., *The Annals of Natal*, vol. 1 (Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis, 1888), pp. 78-9.
- 43 and 44. uDinuzulu  
[Dinuzulu]  
Parts I and II  
Pixley Seme, 11 May 1925  
File 59, nbk. 35, pp. 17-22, 25-8, 29-32. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 270-3.
49. Ukudabuka kwa maNgadi  
[The origins of the amaNgadi]  
Put together by Stuart from accounts narrated by Mmemi kaNguluzane, 8 September 1904, and Mkhothana ka Zulu, 11 April 1905.  
Mmemi: File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 1-3. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 238-9.  
Mkothana: File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 21-2, 23-4. *JSA* vol. 3, pp. 223-4.
54. Ukunumuza  
[The ukunumuza custom]  
Khambi kaMashobana, 11 April 1903  
File 70, p. 93. *JSA* vol. 1, pp. 211-12.

55. Inkomo

[Cattle]

Parts I, II and III

Section on pp. 120-3 narrated by Pixley Seme, 18 May 1925

File 59, nbk. 36, pp. 52-7. *JSA* vol. 5, pp. 274-6.

The remainder seems to have been composed by Stuart.