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KUMALO,  
JOHN

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JOHN

A + B      ~~27/75-92~~      73/111-21

C              71/ 1-24

D              71/ 33-63

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Contact with Civilized Races

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8.12.00  
 The seduction of girls by their lovers. I, this day, had over two hours con-  
 versation with John Kumalo, John Africa and Ndukwana in my room,  
 Royal Hotel. John Africa is a man aged about 60, for he seems to think he is his  
 own age. His father was a native of Zanzibar. He says he comes from near  
 Zoutspanburg in Transvaal, was for years a slave of the Boers, and arrived  
 in Ladysmith in 1860, or just 40 years ago. Has a brother called William Africa,  
 well-known, who lives near Washbank in this Division. Appears to be of  
 Basuto bringing up and although his accent knowledge of Zulu is very  
 good, his accent is not pure. J. K. brought him & introduced to me. He is  
 a man with a clear head and of an inquiring nature. The subject was  
 broached by J. We dealt with it <sup>as far as</sup> from the young man's point of view was con-  
 sidered, and then in so far as the girl was concerned. J. K., J. A. and  
 N. whom I will style K., A. & N., were all agreed that the amount of  
 seduction (including <sup>making pregnant</sup>) of girls is altogether abnormal and a matter which  
 calls out urgently for treatment. All assure me that nothing of this kind  
 ever occurred under the Zulu Kings, there were seductions, but a girl  
 who became pregnant was looked upon as having disgraced herself and though  
 (VIMBAL) (32) was immediately married off to some other man, and the meat of  
 the beast killed in her honour would not be partaken of by the other girls.  
 Pregnancy arose through sheer accident. In these days, though young men  
 often plead 'accident', women are always, after inspection, able to discover  
 whether there was or was not a bona fide accident. (Kwochl' itonzi) as  
 they say. (33) Women are undoubtedly adepts in these matters. When girls or  
 women visit Ladysmith they may go to any houses they like, and the same  
 remark applies <sup>when in</sup> native locations. Parents have practically lost control  
 over their girls & women. They leave home; no time is fixed for their return,  
 and, if fixed, the time will probably be overstayed, leaving the father and  
 husband to get on at home with the young children and food as best he  
 can. Among Europeans, K. observes, when girls leave home, it is known ex-  
 actly where they are going, in the evening they have chaperones, & it is  
 known when they are due back, and they obey their parents' wishes. In  
 former times girls and women (native) rarely left home, except on  
 special occasions, a wedding, etc., and when they went they would return

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 P. 207 & transfer to N. of  
 Natal Customs

(N.P.)

all together with their brothers and young men. K. wanted to know how it is English people manage to control their children; how [is it] there is so little seduction amongst us. I pointed out that we sue for breach of promise, claiming £1000 or so, this acts as a deterrent. Then again, public opinion, as influenced by religion, acts as a great restraint. Every man has a natural desire to preserve his good name and reputation. It is among us a great disgrace to put a girl in the family way and not to marry her, and a girl's life is ruined. It is then public opinion, as far as I could see, which checks offences of this kind. It is, moreover, <sup>easier</sup> to sue for breach of promise because we are monogamists. There is a provision under the Native Code under which damages to the extent of £10 <sup>no limit</sup> may be recovered by the father in the event of a young man failing to marry a girl who engaged herself to him, and he may be fined for seduction, £10, or 6 months with hard labour. All three agreed that if young men could be imprisoned for <sup>say</sup> a year, with 25 lashes, as well as be liable for damages to the extent of say £50, much of the present nuisance would be put an end to. Natives do not know that the father can claim damages; they claim <sup>(merely)</sup> the vimba breast, this being according to custom, the other notion being foreign to them. K. points out that a daughter of his once went off to Estcourt without his leave, and when he sent for her and she was brought before Mr. Paterson, she pleaded that, being exempted from Native Law, and over 21 <sup>(Dim 22, she says)</sup>, her father had no longer any control over her. This fairly startled K; he did not know that exemption from Native Law carried with it emancipation of children from parental authority. In Zulu law, once a father, you <sup>whom</sup> always enjoy control over your children. A. observes that all girls should be, whilst still young, bent ~~(got hold)~~ to the way they should go. Owing to present influences, there is no opportunity for exercising that influence of bending into the right way. A Mrs Blackman (or some name like that) has a house or 'home' in P. m. Burg just below <sup>SQUARE</sup> Market Sq. in Longmarket <sup>STREET</sup> St, where many young native girls working in the town are housed for the night, being allowed out at 6 a.m. She, Mr. <sup>BLACKMAN</sup> B, goes about from place to place picking up girls. Such <sup>an</sup> institution would be a great boon, A. says, in Ladysmith. It seems impossible to prevent girls coming to Ladysmith or to other towns where,

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as K. remarks, there are such great attractions in the way of food, ~~clothing~~ <sup>ETC.</sup> the only alternative seems to be to make arrangements in the town that girls shall not get into harm's way. The placing of restrictions on Europeans in regard to girls working for them, should <sup>also</sup> be beneficial. K. thinks Europeans ought to enter into an undertaking to take as great care ~~over~~ <sup>of</sup> their native girl servants as they would do ~~in connection with~~ <sup>with</sup> their own children. I remarked that more drastic legislation in regard to girls wandering from their kraals into towns would be a means of checking them <sup>and</sup> by increasing the authority of the father, improve the unsatisfactory state of affairs which prevails at home. <sup>N.P.</sup> A. says he has married off several of his daughters. He makes it a condition that a man shall have a home, properly furnished, to take his daughter to and, instead of accepting lobola, causes the money that would go as lobola to be spent as indicated. I suggested that by his plan, the European parents and their daughters tended to separate, whereas lobola implies perpetual obligation to her father and mother ~~for~~ in respect to their daughter's welfare which time could not extinguish.

23<sup>rd</sup> 9/12/00  
 Further conversation with same three men on same subject from about 6.45 am to 8.45 am. this morning. We were all agreed that mere punishment, however drastic, could not prevent men from having carnal knowledge of girls. It is, for instance, well known that in the days of the Zulu kings young men would enter isigodhlo and have connection with the girls there, even though the punishment for such offence was invariably death. Under the British Govt there are many laws devised to check the evil, but fine, <sup>imprisonment</sup> and even lashes, if for such offence they might be awarded, are all equally ineffective. John Africa (he is known by Europeans by the name John A., whereas natives call him Josiah) pointed to schaining <sup>circumcision</sup> both of young men and girls, which used to go on in the old days under the Zulu kings, the latter being required to go to the hill for some three months, <sup>instructed and admonished in preparation for</sup> during which time they were teged by elderly women who stayed with them. A. seemed to think that the father's influence over his children ought in some way to be increased. K. once spoke to a man who appeared in great distress about his daughter, <sup>she</sup> was engaged to a young man who said he had no cattle to lobola and yet wanted to marry the girl.

(and if not paid)

K. advised him to demand lobola openly for his daughter, <sup>(and if not paid)</sup> to break off all further dealings with her. The man took the advice, demanded the lobola; the young man gave his usual answer, but when the girl next met her lover, the father followed them up at once and found him ~~(hlobo)~~ <sup>(hlobo)</sup> with her. He then seized him and brought him before the Magistrate, Rogoza (W. D. Wheelwright), <sup>34</sup> whereupon the Magte, taking the father's side, fined the man £5 or so, and there was an end to the trouble. I pointed out that the causes of the ignoring of parental authority by girls were fairly clear; there were many of them; the evil exists, and the main question is not how it has arisen but how it is to be cured. If a child, when directed by his father to do something, as for instance to bring home the cattle, were to say, "Tula, msatanyoko!" <sup>35</sup> what would be thought of him? K., A., & N. all replied no such thing could or did ever happen. I asked what it was that restrained him from treating his father thus. Leaving aside fear of corporal punishment, K. said that he was afraid others would refuse to associate or have anything to do with him; in other words he was afraid of the opinion of all those who knew him. Public opinion it is which keeps a man straight. This public opinion is different in different countries; an Englishman will do things a Zulu would never do, and vice versa. Every man has a name or reputation which he wishes to preserve unspotted. Even a confirmed prostitute has the keen desire to live the true life; the only thing preventing her is the impossibility of being lifted by anything out of her present degradation. If only she saw a way she would undoubtedly seize it. Now public opinion, taste, sentiment, appears to be what needs to be modified. Natives must be made to feel that it is wrong and ugly (disgraceful) to seduce girls. Public opinion seems to be affected primarily by religion and, in the case of natives, by their belief in <sup>CANCESTRAL SPIRITS</sup> theology. K. and N. point out that if a woman is unable to be delivered of a child and recourse is had to an (isangoma), it very often happens this (isangoma) will say the complication has arisen because <sup>SPIRITS</sup> the amadhlage disapproved of something the woman said to her husband some time previous.

I pointed out to K. that he appeared to be greatly impressed by the integrity of Europeans in respect to their children, <sup>AND BY THE FACT THAT</sup> there is little or no seduction

observable. We are not another and the others that out h manner. A to live tra children, vast strugg different. is clearly prostituted English pe at home f in which ago. Thus natives, in myself tri The reason appearanc Europeans Deductions premiss is In my co Company - iples as question of A. obser the daughter + the brat her, her reproo The conu A. said th one another

observable among Europeans. I said he must not be deceived by appearances. We are not living in our own land; we are living well apart from one another, and there are only few of us. Everyone of us, moreover, knows the others' business and position <sup>ETC.</sup> It is therefore unlikely but that out here we shall, for the most part, behave in an exemplary manner. And I said that it is a frequently heard cry among us Colonists to live true and upright lives for the sake of the natives, who are children, young and impressionable. At home in England, where a vast struggle is going on between man and woman, things are very different. There the loss of control by fathers over their daughters is clearly manifest. There, and in all the towns and cities of Europe, prostitutes may be counted by the hundred thousand. To prove that English people are desirous of keeping the darker side of their life at home from the Natives, look at the clandestine & quiet manner in which <sup>those</sup> natives were brought back from Earl's Court some months ago. Thus, then, the true side of our life cannot readily be seen by natives, into whose life however we can readily <sup>fairly</sup> and <sup>easily</sup> gaze. I have myself tried to understand the life of the Indians <sup>(but)</sup> with indifferent success. The reason is clear. They are on their guard; they are keeping up a fictitious appearance. Natives therefore must not expect to read ~~us~~ us accurately. Europeans can read natives, but the reverse process is extremely difficult. Deductions from our life, as seen in the colonies, are not sound, as the premiss is shown to be false.

|| In my conversation yesterday, I referred to the Gothenburg 'Bilag' or Company System. I indicated as well as I could the fundamental principles as an illustration of what we must do in dealing with this question of seduction.

|| A. observes that formerly a man or woman would not hesitate to correct the daughter of a friend or relation if he found her doing wrong, or even beat her, <sup>& this would, by the father, be taken as a kind of proof.</sup> Now this cannot be done, for the child will at once question her reprover as to his authority.

|| The conversation also proceeded thus:

→ A. said there is a tendency for natives to be entirely independent of one another, for all of them to be <sup>(CHIEFS)</sup> ~~autonomous~~ living in their own houses

apart. K. says Mr. Moor, Secretary for Native Affairs, once remarked that it would be a good thing to allow Natives to have liquor, to be able to purchase it with their three pences and their six pences, as they <sup>(then soon)</sup> would find themselves compelled to go out to work. The true policy will be a combination of that of the Zulus and of the English people, for there are good elements in the Zulu way of living as in that of Englishmen. I expressed this opinion to K. several weeks ago; he repeats it today as his own. <sup>(and yet it may have been his as well as mine)</sup> A. appeared to be of opinion that Chieftainship will in time die out, even though 100 years may be required to do that. K., N., & I were against him, and he explained that he meant only customs would die out, and people to all intents and purposes be like Europeans. K. & N. were decidedly opposed to the notion. I observed that at this very day natives say 'Bayete' to their Chiefs, and <sup>DIVINERS ARE ACTIVE</sup> ~~isangoma bala~~, in every direction. Moreover, look at the Celts in England, in existence to this day though defeated ~~and almost~~ by foreigners 1000 years and more ago. Look again at the Jews, though I did not happen to mention them. I observed A. like every man, speaks from experience. His own experience is slavery under the Boers, where - by he was removed from his home years & years ago and never returned. With the Boers vanquished, there will nevermore be slavery in <sup>SOUTH</sup> Africa, and therefore people will continue in their own homes, thereby preserving their traditions. A. referred to these bring many classes in Ladysmith: there was the Kolwa, the Kumutsha (himself), the Diggokwa and the ordinary kraal native. Kumalo thinks Natal natives should be represented by more than 4 Europeans, <sup>(37)</sup> approving thereby what he says was my formerly expressed opinion. The next meeting of Congress will be in P. M. Burg in January. <sup>(1 space)</sup>

Further conversation today between J. K., N. and self; subjects, various. There are two young men K. recommends who live in P. M. Burg, viz. Francis Magwaza and another, well known to Francis <sup>MAGWAZA</sup> who comes from Inanda. These two, especially <sup>FRANCIS</sup> F. M., are intelligent and take a deep interest in Native Affairs. F. M. can speak English slightly; he is a teacher and employed by <sup>Rev. J. Green</sup> in P. M. Burg. Is going to try and bring Mabaso, an elderly native living <sup>18 miles from</sup> Roosboom, next Saturday. He and Mabaso frequently discuss Native Affairs, sometimes all night. About the time of the Zulu War, J. K. proposed at a meeting of the Kolwas

of a mission man, the should not girls and to each of even the yo father until being expla -ing to tr -ly. By ab by the you apparently above note infingme will be seen to the matt after the r p. 3 on bear K. says J and both a at present says was a though the K. says th -sentatives Native m <sup>(native)</sup> (do desire the Queen (with Resp (Secretary) in P. M. Bu nature to direct to Imperial



of a Mission Station near Estecourt that, as soon as a girl <sup>(CHOOSES)</sup> ~~gives~~ a young man, the latter should ask for her father's consent, and such consent should not be withheld, except for strong reasons. Men, women, girls and young men attended the meeting. K. placed the proposal to each of the sections indicated separately. All thought it a good one, even the young men, who at first asked how they could go and ask the father until they were sure the girl would have them - this, of course, being explained away by K. After this, followed 20 marriages according to this self-initiated custom, and it seemed to answer admirably. ~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~at this stage,~~ <sup>SOME</sup> the custom fell into desuetude because broken by the young men. Law could not enforce it, so the notion, though apparently a sound one, came to grief. K. is of opinion that if the above notion <sup>had been</sup> embodied in the form of law, with penalties for infingement, it would have been a complete success. Nothing, it will be seen, was said about ~~blotonga~~ <sup>PREMARRITAL INTERCOURSE</sup>. K. specially omitted to refer to the matter, leaving it to the engaged couple to do as they saw fit after the necessary consent had been got. [See what K. said bottom of p. 3 bearing on above suggestion; also top of p. 4].

K. says Josiah (John) Africa has two daughters married to Europeans, and both according to Christian rites, by Archd<sup>ARCHDEACON</sup> Barker. One of these is at present living in Ladysmith with her husband. Josiah's father, K. says, was a Zanzibari, whilst his <sup>(45)</sup> mother was probably a Basuto woman, though there may be <sup>(46)</sup> Nkhwenga blood in him.

K. says that the proposal that there should be <sup>(4)</sup> European representatives is not one which has originated or been initiated by the Native mind. It is not unanimously and spontaneously approved. What <sup>(natives)</sup> do desire is ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~appointment~~ <sup>an</sup> officer in this country who represents the Queen (Imperial Govt), apart from the Governor, who is hampered with Responsible Govt affairs. I suggested that there be an Induna (Secretary) to the Governor with an office of his own, clerks <sup>(ETC.)</sup>, resident in P.M. Burg, whose business shall be all matters of a political nature touching native interests. Natives could come with their grievances direct to this officer, whose duty it will be to keep the Governor & Imperial Govt correctly & truly informed <sup>of</sup> native affairs, grievances &

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aspirations, very many of which, K. assures me, are purposefully withheld because there is no one to express them to. Samuelson <sup>(41)</sup> was practically nominated by Natives, but Natives find now he is simply an officer under Responsible Govt. I added that the man holding the appointment referred to must be a good & reliable Zulu scholar, be entirely independent of the Natal Govt., hold office for five years at a time and be allowed to be re-elected, or let him go on indefinitely, during pleasure, and be in direct touch with natives in every part of Zululand & Natal. Let all native cases, civil & criminal, all executive work, be dealt with by the present SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS ETC. & H. A. & Co, and let the officer's duties be purely diplomatic. K. & N. thought such proposal would give great satisfaction. I think such an appointment, of a man who has native interests at heart, would safeguard & promote Native interests better than having representatives in the House; moreover, though I did not say so to K, it would to a great extent satisfy the Aborigines Protection Society.

At public meetings of Natives some of the young men get up & speak in English; the older men strongly object and <sup>(SAY)</sup> if a secretary were given them they <sup>(WOULD BE)</sup> quite ready to leave and hold their meetings apart. This speaking in English, when there is no necessity for so doing, is due to a species of pride and sense of importance.

Dear Green once said that all men desire to be amakosi <sup>(CHIEFS)</sup> and that ubukosi <sup>(CHIEFTAINSHIP)</sup> is derived from ukulungu (righteousness); it is an upright and honest heart that transforms a man into a king. K. says: I asked myself what the meaning of this saying was, for I could not understand it!

It is apparent that in some directions there is, among girls, a disinclination to be one of the women of an izitebe <sup>(HOUSEHOLD WITH MANY WIVES)</sup> for if, in Natal, a young man has been <sup>(CHOSEN)</sup> by say 3 girls and he proceeds to the father of one of the three to ask his consent, the other two will immediately break off their engagements because they feel the chosen one will be the amakosi <sup>(MAIN WIFE)</sup> and so above them in rank, whereas they hold they are in every way her equal. And these two girls will be laughed at by others <sup>(for)</sup> not having been passed by.

I propose now to make several of my own observations. As I write, there are staying at the hotel some 4-<sup>(FOUR TO SIX)</sup> <sup>(two of them are European women)</sup> coloured people of what I fancy is

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at Ladysmith for instance. <sup>10</sup> K. thinks natives ought to be allowed to go into <sup>Magistrate</sup> ~~Magistrate~~ <sup>Magistrates</sup> offices, just as Indians do. I pointed out to N. that to a large extent we cannot help ourselves as very few Europeans can speak the Indian dialects. I said yesterday to K. in N.'s presence, that I had warned his son Solomon that those in the van would not reap the fruits they expect to reap, and which appeared within measurable distance, until the whole of the Natives, the vast mass behind, which they were deserting, had been raised to their own level.

<sup>10.12.00</sup> (per Ndakwana, in presence of John Kumalo. 10.12.00) Some days ago, say 10-14, I and Balizwe were going along the street in Ladysmith towards our quarters when soldiers (Europeans) came to each of us offered us 10/- each saying they funa'd jigijigi. I was horrified when I discovered what they wanted and so was Balizwe. We referred them to some brothels which we indicated and went off. We were accosted after dark but quite early in the evening. I never take the same route again after dark has set in. J. K. remarks that his children, where N. is staying, say Natives themselves are to blame for this. Once a soldier accosted one of them, believing her to be a prostitute, but when informed that she was not a prostitute they not only went away but the next time the soldier met her in the street he touched his hat to her and humbly said 'Good-day, mam'. Soldiers are attracted by dissolute women and, being unable to distinguish, will go up to respectable native women, thinking all are inclined to loose living.

I myself had, today to deal with the following case :- Mrs Williams, her daughter (a minor) and Andrew Roux - all Cape people, the two last engaged to one another. All are coloured and speak English very fluently, though, as the mother & daughter seem to be Hottentots, they may speak Dutch better. Mrs W. is very anxious that her daughter should be married to Roux because, as she said to me in their presence, that in these days one cannot keep an engaged couple from one another, and it is better to grant consent and have a lawful Christian marriage than, by delaying to give it, run the risk of unfortunate circumstances arising. Her husband is away, has been away for 9 months in O.R.C., I think. The point before me was whether a marriage between man and girl can take place, after publication of banns in the ordinary way, when the latter is a minor and has only obtained her mother's consent. All seemed respectable people & the young man, rather darker coloured, is at present employed at the Royal Hotel, Ladysmith. I was impressed by the urgency with which Mrs W.

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parents to come to white people was in P. M. Burg when he was still quite a young man, say 30-40 years ago. [VIDE P. 16L BELOW] Mabaso says he has passed nearly all his life in Newadi's location <sup>AMONG THE NEWADI</sup> in this Division and did not have opportunities of observing early effects of European influence. Still, many years ago at the German Mission Station near where or at which he lived, he remembers <sup>young</sup> weddings taking place, and after they had been concluded the guests remained on, congregated as before, for two or three days; such a practice led to trouble. Another cause was young men coming with concertinas; the playing of these drew audiences, and here again, the sexes coming together brought trouble, for they went home, when <sup>they</sup> dispersed, two & two <sup>ETC.</sup> in the dark. In such ways did parents begin to lose control over their children. I referred to Zulus <sup>running</sup> to white people at Durban for protection in Tshaka's day and Dingana's, & laid stress on the fact that it was this protecting which appeared to cause the mischief. We protect missionaries, being bound to do so because they preach our faith, and they, in their turn, protect children from their fathers. The cause of the trouble seems to arise, we found, out of the missionaries. Mabaso said the truth of the matter was that ukukanya (Christianity) was the cause of the mischief. Now followed an inquiry into the meaning of ukukanya, for N. strenuously maintained that the Zulus life and civilization was ukukanya <sup>that life</sup> for it was far more clearly apprehended by the natives than the ins and outs of European life, which had Christianity for its basis. I suggested that both civilizations were, or possessed, ukukanya and that it seemed merely a question of degree, & Europeans had no right to call Christianity "The Light", though it was "a light", & possibly a far more powerful one in some respects than Dhloziism. Mabaso said that <sup>in light nayut (Knowledge)</sup> light may be compared to a garden with growing crops. Into such crops cattle will break in. So it was with isigodhlo in Zululand; though men were distinctly forbidden on pain of death, they nevertheless entered & suffered death, <sup>LEUTIC</sup> but that the same course might be followed by others shortly afterwards. Thus the tendency seems to be a perpetual struggle between light and darkness, and it seems as if light is always on the weaker side and in <sup>(constant)</sup> danger of being overcome. I observed that there was a fallacy here; viz. if men were without testicles they would not have been killed for entering the isigodhlo, for then ~~no~~ there would have

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been no prohibition necessary. I went on to remark that dress virtually turns every girl into an <sup>GIRL</sup> ~~isigodho~~ for she hides her person and creates a desire in men which would not otherwise have been so strong. N. and Mabaso discussed the meaning of ukukanya when the principle of loving one's neighbour as oneself was brought in <sup>(by the latter)</sup> with various illustrations. Mabaso said that during the Zulu War wounded Zulus were brought, I think he said to Msinga, where they were attended by a European doctor specially appointed to that work. Mabaso himself had a bad knee at the time and went to be attended by the same doctor. The doctor gave his full attention to the wounded Zulus who, after they got well, were allowed to go home, and some of them, no doubt, are living to this day. Now Zulus would never have allowed their enemies to escape thus; every people, it was well known, was given no quarter. Here then, Mabaso observed, was the ukukanya he meant. N. admitted at once the force of the illustration. J. K. <sup>added</sup> said that a perfect stranger drunk in the street is taken off for fear of his being run over or meeting with injury, carried off to a cell, locked up, & brought to the magistrate the next morning, who fines him money like a father chastising a child, and this money goes to paying the expense of the person who picked the man up. Another case is a person with an illness. He is taken to a hospital, cared for, cured & sent away; the Govt. bears the whole or most of the expense. Here is more ukukanya, illustrations of what was unknown in Zululand. And yet, as I remarked, there was a great fuss made if any person got ill in Zululand. I now went on to observe: True, the cases just given are illustrations of Enlightenment and Christianity, but what was the nature of such Enlightenment when cases of this kind occurred? Europeans receive a child, say a girl, who leaves her home, protect her against her father, practically adopt her, treat her as one of their children up to a certain age, and then, fearing to allow the child to associate <sup>too much</sup> with them, ~~takes the fullest~~ <sup>LETTERS</sup> ~~substant~~ cause a break by giving it its meals in the kitchen, and thereby <sup>LETTERS</sup> letting it understand there is an impassable barrier between the two! What kind of English Enlightenment is that which allows its clergy to shake hands with their native parishioners at the Mission Station, and when they meet them in the street in towns will pass them by practically as strangers?

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Mabaso gave a further illustration of this. The old missionary at Newadi's location (missionary now dead) when celebrating the Holy Communion to his native converts was in the habit of wiping the chalice with a cloth after he had finished passing it round his parishioners and it was his turn to drink; and natives saw him do this. Let it be, however, added that this man, who, on the approach of old age, retired to the farms of his sons, leaving the mission work in other hands, ~~then~~ when he <sup>got ill &</sup> felt his end was near, directed that natives only ~~then~~ were to be pall~~ors~~ bearers, and this did, in fact, take place, much ~~to the~~ against the wishes of the <sup>(local)</sup> Europeans; ~~where~~ a large number of whom attended the funeral. If, I urged, these are the fruits of light, can this be light? ~~where did loving one another vanish to here?~~ Johannes Kumalo, J. K. says, is always the same; he never behaves one way at one time, and another way at another. || Mabaso referred to prostitutes, saying they sell them-  
 selves; they are <sup>(practically)</sup> articles of purchase. I remarked: Europeans speak of lobola being purchase, but how can that be; is not the truest purchase here in a practice taught the natives by <sup>the</sup> Europeans <sup>themselves?</sup>

|| We spoke about a Secretary or Native Representative being appointed for the purpose of advising Her Majesty's <sup>(Govt)</sup> as to Native Affairs, i.e. stating grievances and pointing out ways in which there could be relief and improvement. Both Mabaso & I think it impossible to create such office, as no <sup>single</sup> man could be got to fill it as it ought to be filled. || Mabaso thinks Magistrates ought to be more in touch with natives than they are, to call natives up <sup>to their offices</sup> and discuss native affairs in public. || Samuelson's appointment as <sup>SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS</sup> Under ~~S. Att.~~ does not give satisfaction, for the reason that natives feel he is not theirs but the Govt's servant. They do not derive that benefit from his appointment which they expected to be able to reap. || I mentioned the occasion on which I met a girl when riding to Mbikiza's <sup>(47)</sup> who was frank and open & not in any way afraid, ~~as~~ a very picture of innocence, thereby causing me to realize the greatness of the Zulu <sup>(STOCK)</sup> <sup>SEE ATTACHED SHEET</sup> ~~Glaga~~. || Mabaso says that when his son is of age <sup>he dare not</sup> by appropriate <sup>by his</sup> ~~by his~~ earnings with <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~ possession. || (Solomon) I had conversation from about 6.30 am to 8.45 am. today with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Josiah Africa in the presence of Mankwana at <sup>the</sup> usual place, viz. my room No. 2 at Royal Hotel, Ladysmith. Josiah was introduced by John Kumalo though, of course, I have before had talks with him, as these notes show. I began by calling on each for their first experiences ~~the son would at once bring an action against him in a Court of Law. See attached cutting from Mercury 15.12.05. (48)~~

15-20



of the unsatisfactory conduct of girls, on which subject we have already said so much recently. I want to get at ~~origins~~ <sup>origins</sup>. John Kunnala said: "The first case I know of whereby a native girl left her home to go and work for Europeans occurred about the coming of the Prince [Prince Alfred] to P. m. Burg <sup>(49)</sup> and some years after the Mondakusuka battle, when I was about 30-32 years of age. I was then in P. m. Burg in the employ of Mr. Gelikis (Brise). The girl in question was the daughter of Sipida <sup>(OF THE MUKA PEOPLE)</sup> <sup>somewhere</sup> <sup>(50)</sup> was Emahletshing (a tribe near P. m. Burg). She was a grown-up girl, ~~above~~ <sup>above</sup> beyond 15 years of age. She arrived with ox-waggons which had come to Maritzburg from the country, and these waggons outspanned at the usual outspan ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> P. m. Burg. The girl came to work at the house next to that at which I was working [or staying, K. lived in one house + worked at another, I believe]. Presently her father came to P. m. Burg in search of her and, coming across him looking about, I told him where he would find his child. He went to the white man, who had a wife. I was present when <sup>(+saw him)</sup> he went. The first thing he did was to take hold of his daughter and attempt to drag her off with him. Such conduct led to the father being struck by the European. The native then went to the Court to complain; the Clerk of the Court [was it my father, <sup>(AT THE PLACE OF)</sup> <sup>(51)</sup> ~~for it was~~ <sup>for it was</sup> ~~from Nyoni-ntaba~~] dealt with the matter, saying, nothing could be done as the girl had engaged her services to the white man, and ~~as~~ <sup>such</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>such</sup> agreements could not be ridden <sup>over</sup> ~~rough~~ <sup>rough</sup> shod by the father. Repulsed both by the European and the Court, what more could the father do than go home? The upshot was that in time this girl left her employer, joined ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> others in the town like herself who had no home to go to, and, after apprenticing herself to them, became herself a prostitute, after which what necessity to tell her story further?"

Solomon Mabaso said: "The first occasion on which I observed unsatisfactory conduct on the part of girls was in the year 1872 at the German Mission Station at first established by Rev. Possell <sup>(?)</sup> who was followed by Rev. Zunckel, <sup>who</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>person</sup> <sup>(52)</sup> I said yesterday, wiped the chalice and directed that his pall-bearers were to be natives. I remember a young man, living at the <sup>(school)</sup> <sup>(mission station)</sup> having been <sup>(CHOSEN AS A LOVER)</sup> <sup>chosen</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>girls</sup>. He was ~~then~~ <sup>then</sup> questioned by the older men, who called him before them, <sup>(casto)</sup> <sup>what</sup> <sup>he</sup>, a Christian, meant by engaging himself to <sup>(3)</sup> <sup>girls</sup> instead of to one, for to be so engaged meant that he must hlobonga with each of them in accordance with native customs. He replied that the girls merely liked him + that he did not hlobonga with them. The older men carried the matter to the Missionary in charge, who ~~said~~ <sup>said</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~who~~ <sup>who</sup> said he could do nothing; ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~matter~~ <sup>matter</sup>

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he saw no cause for interference until actual and visible wrong and injury had been done. <sup>Up to the</sup> present, he urged, no wrong had been done. "I myself," said the <sup>(when young)</sup> missionary, "was liked by six girls, and yet I, in the end, married one. Why then may not this young man be liked by (3)?" The men remonstrated, saying harm had been done by the mere fact of engagement, for the young man would succeed in meeting each of his girls secretly, and with rare evade detection by their respective fathers. The Missionary had, however, stated his view of the matter; the evil was not nipped in the bud, the result being things proceeded from bad to worse. <sup>(NP)</sup> I know also this which occurred in respect to myself. At the said Mission Station I was in my young days liked by four girls; three of these were Xosa girls (when Mr. Percell came to found the Station [school] he brought with him a number of Xosa people who formed the nucleus) and the other, a Basuto. Now what at once struck me in being liked by these girls was the fact that they, without my courting them, liked me and proceeded to attach themselves to me. I could not understand how a girl can select without first being selected, did mere looking at a girl constitute courtship? I did not, in consequence of this state of affairs, care really for any of these girls who had thrown themselves at me. My father about this time ~~brought his~~ exercised his authority over me. He said he knew of a girl at Edendale who, he thought, was an excellent girl and would probably be a person after my own heart's desire; in short, he wished me to marry her. I at once saddled my horse and proceeded to where my intended bride lived. I met the girl and her father. He lit a candle, showed me his daughter, and I courted and won her hand, and shortly afterwards married her. She was & is still my only wife. In 1877 I removed from the Mission <sup>(Stn)</sup> to somewhere near Bester's Railway <sup>(Stn)</sup> and Driefontein (where Johannes Kumalo lives). I bought land there and settled there, and there I still am. There are a number of other <sup>(Koloa)</sup> farmers about me. In the old days drivers (waggon) would come by with their concertinas and attract our daughters. In 1872 I had young children, so the incident re Xosa girls would have occurred prior to 1872. My father is still living. Before coming to this part of the country, I lived at the foot of Table Mountain beyond Maritzburg.

Josiah Africa said: I arrived at Ladysmith in 1860 and have lived in and about Ladysmith ever since. I have property at Blue bank to which I shall return as soon as hostilities between Boers & British cease. The first

knowledge I have of loose morals among girls was at the time of the Zulu War of 1879 when hundreds of waggons, which were drawn both by mules & oxen, arrived and stationed themselves round about Ladysmith on the hills. I cannot say how many hundred waggons came; there might have been five hundred. Ladysmith was the base of supplies for troops which had gone into Zululand, and all the waggons referred to had brought food &c. The commissariat was of stupendous proportions. Now all these waggons were driven by Boers, Cape Boys, Hottentots &c. whilst a considerable number of Hottentots went on to the front, being enrolled as Light Horse. No sooner did this concourse of men arrive than the (Kholwa) and other native women began to go wrong. The women ran after the foreigners who had arrived. At that day did that blight begin which ever since has remained over Ladysmith, for large numbers of Boers, Cape Boys &c. who arrived are here to this day with all their progeny.

As regards the fact that so many coloured people speak Dutch in Ladysmith, I may mention that I know certain <sup>(SIX) WHO</sup> men escaped years ago from the Boers whose "apprentices" they were and took refuge in Ladysmith. This formed a nucleus; these men were followed by others who knew them - other "apprentices", all of whom of course knew Dutch - and so the numbers increased. I can give the names of the six (Amazumutsha) (as we are called) who first came to Ladysmith. For some time I lived at (or near) William Africa's, outside Ladysmith, he being my brother.

I observed that this question of the loose morality of native girls seems to resolve itself into a conflict between the Government and parental authority. In the old days in Zululand there was never any conflict between the State and the Parent; all heads of kraals were treated with the very highest respect, were in fact the true kings of Zululand, not Ishaka, Dingana &c. In Natal there is a struggle; the Govt. stands in direct opposition to the householders. And this opposition arises out of the will to protect whatever appears to be oppressed. The essence of the position, the ultima ratio, is this principle of the strong protecting the weak from an exercise of the authority of the original owners. I observed further that in Zululand it frequently happened that members of one tribe would flee for protection to another chief, & such refugees would not be given up. Here then, <sup>it</sup> seems to me, is an illustration of that principle which, as regards the loose morality which prevails,

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we regard or tend to regard as the true source of all the mischief, the causa causans of the many different manifestations of loose morality, be it the seduction of girls, disrespect shown by young men towards their fathers or others, disrespect to constituted authority, to morals generally, and religion. N. remarked that, though men in Zululand fled from one chief to another, yet they fled with their whole families, and this family system in its new environment was not in any way tampered with; if protection was shown in Zululand, it was only to a complete unit of the state, not to mere solitary individuals. I replied that nevertheless there was an exercise of protection, for such unit was part of the body politic of another tribe, and therefore to protect a whole unit of a particular tribe was wrong if once we allow that abstr. protection of what rightfully belongs to another is wrong. [I used the word (isihlangu) for 'protection'; Mabaso, who is a man possessed of an extensive Zulu vocabulary, suggested the verb (biyela)] <sup>53</sup> The protection of a family seems to me, <sup>merely</sup> a particular illustration of the general principle. How then, I asked, are Europeans to attempt to remedy this evil of 'protection' of a man's children if such, under the ordinary existence of a Zulu, is one of the fundamental principles of his government or, rather, if such is one of the conditions of his own natural & undisturbed mode of life?

Both Solomon Mabaso and John Kumalo laid a great deal of stress on the independence of children, both girls and boys. The English system is apparently to allow everyone to do as he <sup>likes</sup>. ~~that~~ A girl has a free choice of her ~~own~~ husband, and ~~at~~ The Zulu plan is ~~that~~ to exercise control over the marriages of their children and to get them to marry where, by long experience, the father has found out to be the most desirable direction, not only where he may acquire cattle (lobola), but where he feels his child's welfare will receive the greatest care and attention. In these days, Mabaso says, one's effort is often destroyed by the influence of others; e.g. a man may naturally desire to bring about a marriage of his daughter with a particular young man; this girl, if left alone, might have married the proposed person quite contentedly and lived happily afterwards, but she will associate with others of her own age and these girls will suggest to her that she may successfully withstand her father's wish and marry whomever her own heart most truly fancies. This then leads to disharmony ~~to~~ between father & daughter, &

the negotiations for a marriage, eminently desirable in every way from the parents point of view, <sup>ARE</sup> brought to naught by the uncontrollable caprice of a girl. As soon as children reach the age of 21 they cry out that, having reached their majority, they are independent of father and mother, and may do as they like. It is this allowing children to follow their own desires <sup>(izinkanuta)</sup> that tends to bring about the unsatisfactory state of affairs that exists. Another destructive tendency is observable in everyone being a little king on his own dung-hill; all are <sup>(amakozi)</sup>

I said I thought the whole thing resolved itself into a conflict between Christianity and what we may call the old Patriarchal system, which, I asked, is true? Mabaso thought Christendom would eventually swallow up <sup>(giving)</sup> the African nations by obliging all to come, volens volens, into their fold, be it the true one, or not. Being the rulers of the land <sup>(ie Europeans)</sup>, what can the Natives, who are without power, do? They must conform. Yesterday I said all these Zulu grievances must be uttered; all must come out, and it is <sup>FROM</sup> the feeling that urgent necessity that K. seems so keen on the appointment of a Secretary for Native Affairs responsible to no one except the Natives on the one hand and the Queen's representative on the other (the Governor). I said (today) the world is very old; there have been many civilizations which have come and gone, as for example the Roman Empire, and it seems, unwilling and afraid as we are to confess it, the British Empire, that great <sup>(59)</sup> <sup>(shlozi)</sup> I called it, which is in the act of swallowing the Zulus and other Nations, is itself doomed one day to come to an end. If this is so, to what is thought to be anchored?

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Further conversation this 16.12.00, 4 P.M. to 6.30 P.M., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Ndikwana. The subject was changed from laxity of morals among girls to the land question and then, as bearing directly on that, the labour question. Natives do complain a great deal about the rents they <sup>have</sup> ~~have~~ to pay to Europeans. They look upon the Govt as having sold them to the Europeans for the purpose of being fleeced by the latter, who, it would seem are the rightful governors of the country, and the Govt follow up behind and call upon natives to pay a hut tax. Mabaso thinks that the natives do not mind paying the rent; the only thing they do mind is not having the money to pay it with. Of the two things, <sup>17.12.00</sup> <sup>EVIDENCE GIVEN 16.12.1900</sup> <sup>71/20-4</sup> ~~favoured~~ labouring themselves and paying their money as rent, they prefer paying the money. Their love for money is not so great that, after procuring it, they would exert themselves to retain ~~their~~ it. Their natural desire is to have no

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worries, no sooner to pay their rent and hut tax than revert to an existence of inactivity, until ~~at~~ the necessity again to pay arises. A native, <sup>I think,</sup> has very little desire for wealth; what he wants is for his immediate requirements, his standard of living being such that there is no ambition for earning large sums of money and hence no need to exert oneself beyond a certain point. J. K. pointed to a number of chiefs in this division who live partly on location and partly on ~~own~~ Private lands (<sup>FARMS</sup> amapulazi). There are numbers of Kolwas who live on land they have purchased for themselves. Natives were first advised to buy land by Mr Allison, Umneli, ~~the~~ the one who was at Mahamba. <sup>(55)</sup> He said, "Beware, the white people are coming." His words have turned out truly and Kolwas feel very grateful for the advice he gave. <sup>(N.P.)</sup> N. then stated the conditions under which land was occupied under the Zulu kings, remarking that no tax was levied on account of it by the King. N. explains that the reason why no tax was claimed was, of course, because all the people were soldiers; the natives did no labour because their only labour was to fight and be always prepared to fight. N. says that outlying districts like Jongaland, Sambana, Mbikiza & Mtshela-skwana's, all <sup>paid tribute</sup> ~~paid~~ <sup>but</sup> this was not a tax paid by individuals but by whole tribes or nations. <sup>(56)</sup> N. remarks that these outlying peoples ~~and~~ paid tribute in <sup>BLUE MONKEY SKINS</sup> izimwango, elephants tusks and what-not, with which the Zulu warriors proceeded to decorate themselves ~~(and~~ umwaka). What these foreigners paid as tribute the Zulus used to dress and ornament themselves with.

<sup>N.P.</sup> Mabaso and N. feel that the Goot cannot, if it so desired, pass laws ameliorating the condition of natives living on private lands. The Goot is afraid of the vast body of private owners, and by taking the natives' side would at once bring a hornet's nest about their ears; hence it is that natives tend to look with pity on the position the Goot finds itself in. Instead of blaming, J. K. really feels compassion for Goot on account of its abject helplessness.

We also touched on the labour question on which I laid especial stress. I said natives called abelungu originally abalumbi from lumba to create; <sup>(57)</sup> this shows their leading characteristic. They are workers and inventors, a nation of shop-keepers. Their whole soul is wrapped up in commerce; money in all directions is the great objective of every individual. On the other hand, I said, the natives feel really oppressed on account of the heavy rents they have to pay, which cause them a multitude of sorrows. The matter seems to me

to be one for compromise. There must be a wedding of the land and labour questions. The natives must endeavour to awaken to the fact that what Europeans do require of them is labour; so much do they need manual labour that they have been obliged, owing to stolid inactivity of the native races, to send to India, and in Rhodesia they talk of sending off to China and to Abyssinia. As an evidence of a union of rent and labour, see the conditions under which natives live on Borro lands in this very Division. The two questions must be dealt with as one. There is among Europeans a great want which can be filled or supplied by Natives; among Natives again is a great want which only the Europeans, rulers of the country, can supply. Various schemes may be proposed whereby the two can be treated together.

(N.P.) K. thinks a factor in any scheme that may be proposed, which would tend to defeat it, is the fact that the great bulk of labour required is for Johannesburg; <sup>haugeto</sup> boys leave their country to work in another. I proposed that the formation of a great Syndicate or Company in Natal of men of private means, with the object of buying up large tracts of land at present held by European individual farmers, might effect this union I refer to. The Syndicate, after purchasing lands, could say to the natives that they were their tenants and call on them to name the conditions of occupation on the basis that what is required of them is labour. Such Syndicate could arrange that all men proceeding from their lands for service at Johannesburg would be treated in the best possible manner, have their own Indunas, work together, be kept from liquor & other mischief, be paid wages <sup>fairly</sup>. Legislation seems out of the question, as landholders will not consent to reducing their rents or relaxing the conditions of occupation. I referred to the Glen Grey Act as an attempt to deal with this very question of land occupation & the labour supply. <sup>58</sup> Mabaso said he found the matter very, very difficult & could see no possibility of a solution in any direction. I said that difficult or not, we must address ourselves to the problem & meet it fairly; it was no good passing over to other matters because this was too difficult. Again I said one way by which attention can be drawn to the matter is by some body of natives rising against their landlords & resisting exaction of rents. This would cause enquiry to be made into the whole affair. I spoke academically, not suggesting of course that any such course should be tried. Things may one

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day come to that. <sup>No. 6</sup> Mabaso drew attention to the way in which Kolwas are treated whenever they come to the Magistrate's Court, Ladysmith and elsewhere. Many years ago he went to a Magistrate's Office with a note; this he took direct to the Clerk of the Court, R. H. Addison. <sup>59</sup> Addison got very angry with M. for having the impudence to come straight to him instead of through the Court Induna. It ended in Addison dis-ordering M., then a young man, to carry a bundle of potatoes off to some place indicated as a kind of punishment. M. thinks that when natives come to apply for a licence to be married according to Christian rites, which in itself is a matter of no mere third-rate importance but a high mark of enlightenment, they ought not to be made to stand at a window, as Roberts (the Clerk) <sup>60</sup> makes them do, and give their names &c as if they were ordinary Kraffis natives. It would be better to treat such a matter as apart from native law & procedure, as in fact it is, and rather than make <sup>such</sup> natives stand at the windows, to deal with their cases in even some roughly constructed Shanty. Another grievance is that Christian natives are always obliged to go through the Induna, even though exempted from the operation of native law, and this native Induna, knowing the hold he has on Christian natives, will jeer at them, keep them waiting for a long time, <sup>and</sup> all the time <sup>these</sup> natives are wishing to get back to their work at home. In short, the Court Induna vents his spleen on Christian natives in every manner, and treats them as ordinary natives, which they are not, and despises them as well, ~~as~~ seeing they belong to another class, having become turn-coats. There is, M. thinks, room for improvement in these matters. Kolwas ought to be treated with some consideration to mark in some way the fact that they are apart from ordinary native procedure, having in some sense risen above it. <sup>NSP</sup> J. K. wanted to know very much what it was that caused the immense gulf between Europeans and the Natives, especially the more enlightened. I said there seemed to me various causes, ~~into~~ none of which, seeing the short time left for discussion, we could do more than touch on briefly. One great reason, I said, is that the Zulus or Natives of South Africa have never done anything. Other nations of the world, Indians and Chinese, for instance, had produced evidences of originality, but the Zulus, for instance, can show nothing. Thus it is, <sup>THAT</sup> Europeans despise Natives as beings of inferior intellect, though I dare say there are good reasons why no works could have been done.



For instance, it would seem the South African races have been in a state of perpetual motion, always fighting and chasing one another about, giving no opportunity for that rest which meditative wisdom and creative arts requires. This argument would tend to be supported by the case of the Tongas, who certainly appear to have advanced beyond the Zulus in manufactures, if not in other directions. K. said, "But we do work; we assimilate the cunning of the white man; we can <sup>+ do</sup> make chests of drawers, chairs, <sup>boots,</sup> boxes, <sup>ke?</sup>" "Yes," I replied, <sup>all monkeys</sup> "one can imitate; it requires more than that to create." You are like monkeys; you copy; any one can copy; the great point is to create for yourselves. It is, however, too late; if you were to create, now, such fact would not make so great <sup>AN</sup> impression in your favour on Europeans as would have arisen had they come and found you <sup>WITH</sup> something, in the shape of art and science, already done." Mabaso admitted that this argument was a vital thrust, and true.

I wish to say here that at the beginning of our conversation early in the morning (16<sup>th</sup> inst.), J. K. wished very much that I should meet, at some place other than this Hotel, six or so native men of standing and intelligence to discuss some of the same subjects we have already entered upon. I at once dissuaded him. I said I thought information was best acquired and argument was far more fruitful in discussions of 3 or 4 such as we sometimes have. He accordingly proposed the <sup>u</sup>sum-  
-moning of a man Lazi (Lazarus) to our next meeting, the day of which he asked me to name. I suggested Dec. 29<sup>th</sup> next, a Saturday, & added that I had been allowing them to talk at random; when they return I shall have a series of searching questions to put to them. "That is just what we want," they replied.

Following is extract from review in 'Spectator' (of 17. 11. 00) of a book "South African Studies" by A. P. Hillier, M. D. (Macmillan & Co. 6/-) :— "We wish to call particular attention to Dr. Hillier's chapter on the 'Native Races'. We have never joined in wild denunciation of Johannesburg financiers, but it is most important that the public should realise that what the Empire needs is the conversion of the Kaffirs into decent, sober people, and what a good many influential and vociferously 'loyal' people in the Transvaal Colony will clamour for is a constant supply of labour. There is not much danger of ill-treatment of native miners, which does not pay, but the capitalists' interest in the mines ends when that

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portion of Chief Sibamu's tribe which falls in Klip River Div. Ndukwana presents Sibamu, he says, would be under 32 years of age (i.e. younger than Dinezulu). His father was Manzezulu son of Mpikheleli son of Puteni son of Matshoba whose father might have been Luhlwasari (or some name <sup>very</sup> like that) as this word is used in bongaing (sibongo). The tribal sibongo is <sup>a bakwena</sup> Mazibuko. Tribe came from Engaka. Langalibalele lived at same locality. Sipepe is Langalibalele's successor, his tribe and Sibamu's are on very friendly terms, having intermarried to a large extent in the past and recent times. Tomseni would be about 48 years of age and was born when soldiers were taken by one Thompson to Bloemfontein. Mabindela was born at the time of Matshobana's impi. Tomseni has <sup>one wife &</sup> married ~~one~~ a second quite lately. By his first wife he had 8 children, all girls, six of whom are living. Paid 7 head of cattle as lobola for second wife, could not on account of rinderpest pay full amount, but will do so at a later time for he promised to do so and this promise was recorded in the Court <sup>(Office)</sup> records. His women do not wear European clothing. Proposes to sew on a head. <sup>(son)</sup> Mabindela left his home on the approach of the Boers last year, because he had been so friendly with the English. Remained & decided to risk everything. Did not like being inactive during war & allow Boers to plunder them whenever they saw fit. Mabindela lives on Morton Green's farm. Mr. Green said that he would not require natives on his farm to pay any rent this year seeing the hardships lately suffered by them on account of the Boers. Tomseni lives on a farm near by belonging to another European, he is required to pay rent. 71/33-63

29.12.00 Had a conversation, by appointment, with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, and Lazarus Mxaba. Ndukwana also present. It took place this day, Saturday, 29.12.00 at my room, No 12, Royal Hotel, Ladysmith, 3.15 P.m. - 6.15 P.m. I did not know quite how to begin, so I asked the 3 men to name a subject for discussion. This is the first occasion of my meeting the last of the 3. He had a great deal to do with Sir J. Shepstone, whose messenger he afterwards became, in connection with various important matters <sup>relating to</sup> ~~concerning~~ Cetshwayo and otherwise. <sup>He is</sup> Is aged 60, having been born, as he says, in 1839. Is older than Henriquez, William, and Offy Shepstone, also their sister Ntombazi, all of whom he remembers as children. <sup>He</sup> Has been to England. The subject was proposed by Mxaba and was this: What is the cause of Europeans not amalgamating with <sup>(NATIVES)</sup> ~~Europeans~~? Why do not the two races merge into one another and become or tend to become one instead of <sup>(the two)</sup> living apart? I explained that this was a very great subject to which no answer could be given unless the whole conditions of the pro-

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-blem had been gone into. As an introduction to the discussion I thereupon recited the list of matters of inquiry (hereto affixed) showing 30 more or less distinct heads. All the men appeared to be impressed with this lengthy list of subjects, each of the very first importance, on each of which Mxaba said he felt he could say something, <sup>all</sup> each of which he hoped we would some time or another discuss. J.K. expressed a wish to have a copy of the list drawn up (<sup>hurriedly</sup> I drew it up in the half-hour preceding our conversation, & there is no method as to its arrangement) so that he might take it home with him. <sup>(I would like to have it in the Zulu language)</sup> Mabaso was struck with the vast range of subjects, and all agreed it would require days and days to go through it. Mabaso asked what the principle was upon which Magistrates are appointed, were they directed to protect European interests specially? Were they to devote their first attention to the Natives, or were they simply to manage their respective districts without fear or favour to anyone? I replied that, as far as I can see, the policy is to rule both European and Native in an equitable way, for our Govt is broad-based upon the maxim <sup>(undoubtedly)</sup> "Do as you would be done by". But the natural desire is to make the Natives subservient to our ideals which, because they are similar to those of the many Kingdoms which comprise Christendom, we believe to be truer than those of the Natives. Ages ago we cast aside ideals similar to those Natives <sup>now</sup> possess, for those of Christianity. (Dhlozi li ya bekelwa) I said, meaning and explaining that it is to the interest of our commonwealth to acquire as many followers as possible. A nation's power of protecting its inhabitants varies as the number of its members. I then gave briefly the history of the Portuguese coming to discover Natal, remarking that the King of Portugal <sup>(a) he</sup> wanted to extend his kingdom; <sup>(b) he</sup> desired to Christianize barbarians and make them members of the Roman Catholic Church. <sup>(c) he</sup> desired to <sup>VIDE</sup> <sup>IV. p. 24 Annals of Natal</sup> <sup>Mxaba was made use of an</sup> <sup>(abuka)</sup> expression which struck me very forcibly: <sup>(62)</sup> <sup>(63)</sup> "ukuggabuteka igoda". This expression is used by Zulus & other Natives in regard to Mpandisi having come to the Boers in Natal and solicited their <sup>protection</sup> help against his brother Dinganyana. <sup>(15th Oct. 1839, p. 536, Annals of Natal, Bird)</sup> By so doing, he put an end to Native methods of living; he introduced the foreign European element into the country in a deliberate manner, thereby as it were severing that imaginary rope (of grass) that runs through Zulu national life from generation to generation. <sup>(igoda - intambo is a rope)</sup> <sup>(plaited from the inkomfe plant)</sup> <sup>(64)</sup> <sup>(65)</sup> "Ey'alukwa nge inkomfe". Mxaba says that Europeans regard natives as they do flies fibres of the

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which have fallen into their drink, as something to be <sup>taken</sup> ~~drained~~ out and thrown away. And yet the natives are attached to the English people; if they were not present in the country to protect them (natives) they would all die off. What then is the cause of this disinclination of Europeans to associate and become one with the natives, who are not only prepared but actually do place implicit confidence in the English? Mabaso, following up his former remark about magistrates, explained that he would like to see natives of the various districts, or say in particular places, be authorized to select their own Magistrate, one to whom they could communicate their grievances and who would from time to time discuss ~~the~~ native affairs in the various aspects indicated in the list read. My answer formerly given settled this point as well. || It was now agreed between us that, in order to find an answer to the question proposed by Mxaba at the outset, ~~that~~ a discussion of the various subjects quoted on the paper affixed to the preceding page should take place, and as every subject was worthy of discussion so, Mxaba suggested, the others approving, that we should begin at the beginning and proceed steadily through the whole. We accordingly entered upon the first: What is Ukukanya? Mxaba stated there were two kinds of Ukukanya; there was light in its physical as well as in its mental sense. I pointed out that by rubbing two sticks together light was produced; similarly, by discussion and conflict of opinion, light arises. We proceeded to analyze closely the meaning of enlightenment, the discussion, as it became more abstract, being carried on chiefly by Mxaba and myself. J. K. put in a word here and there, whilst Mabaso and Ntukwana remained almost silent. || Mxaba suggested that the meaning of enlightenment, in the mental sense, was synonymous with the acquisition of knowledge, and knowledge arises out of communications thereof to us by others, or our own personal observations. I remarked that the said communications were impressions on our minds, and this repeated beating on our mind created what we know as knowledge; hence there is an analogy here with the friction or perpetual contact which produces light in the physical sense. J. K. remarked that in his opinion Ukukanya meant Ukulunga, <sup>(64)</sup> and that Europeans were enlightened because they were altruistic in an eminent degree. I observed that ~~that~~ Ukukanya in its mental sense divided itself up into 2 parts, viz. Science and Religion, and I proceeded to explain the meaning of the 3 great fields of Knowledge. I asked the 3 men if, having knowledge which might disturb them, I should impart it

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to them. Mxaba and Kumalo wished to hear; Mabaso hesitated and afterwards wishing to know, I, as far as I was able, gave them <sup>briefly</sup> the fundamentals of Agnosticism and its effect on the world, and noticed the conflict that has until recently taken place between Science and Religion. I told them that the object of Philosophy was to discover some all-reconciling theory, but hitherto no success had been met with. I impressed on the men the necessity for making a diligent search for origins and causes, illustrating what I meant by examining a shoe, the various materials of which it was made, where each came from &c. Most of our discussion was of a very abstract character. Both Mxaba and Mabaso, also Kumalo, spoke up for the Bible, saying that nothing could wear people from it. Mxaba said that when in England he heard the doctrine that Galileo's discovery came into direct conflict with the Bible, and also the doctrine that monarchy should be abolished and only a president be appointed from time to time. We, at Mxaba's request, fixed next Tuesday, <sup>January</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup>, for our next discussion. J. K. and Mabaso will however return tomorrow to proceed with subsidiary branches of our great subject.

<sup>30.12.00</sup> Further conversation, present John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Mukuwana's this morning, 7.10 am. - 8.45 am. I began by making inquiries about Lazi (Lazarus) Mxaba who was with us yesterday. Mabaso informs me Mxaba and he live on land near Beater's Railway Station which is part of land purchased by them and other natives as a Company. Mxaba has a wife & children; his father and mother are both living; the former is so old that no real advantage can be derived from conversing with him. Mxaba was very frequently employed by Sir J. Shepstone as his messenger; Elijah Kambule, who was killed in the Langalibalele disturbances was another of Sir J. S.'s messengers, & used to be employed with Mxaba, though older than Mxaba. Mxaba went to Mzilikazi with Kuruman, the prince of that part; he travelled in Swaziland with the Shepstones, <sup>and</sup> went to England with Cetshwayo and Henrique Shepstone, <sup>He</sup> is a Zulu but is familiar with the English, Dutch and Basuto languages. Mabaso says there is another man living near him; that he would like to be present at these discussions of ours, viz. Mjozi Dhlamini; he is, however, something of an invalid and could not be a regular attendant. I said I felt three men were as many as we could ~~take~~ do with; if too many were to come attention would be attracted. Mukuwana agreed with me, but I was sorry to have to say this. I now called on Mabaso to explain a little more fully the

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reason why, yesterday, he wanted to know what a Magistrate's duties were, to rule Europeans or Natives or both. He said one reason for his asking was because the Clergy are appointed either to a European or a Native diocese, and, seeing that natives are given their own pastors, wondered if a similar procedure was in any way followed in respect to Magistrates. I explained briefly, adding to yesterday's remarks, that Magistrates were formerly called, and are still actually, though not styled, Administrators of Native law, the abolition of this is no doubt due to a desire of the British Govt. to bring the Zulu people <sup>et</sup> under one common law. For Churches Magistrates are prayed for that they may be given grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth, this truth being of course the Christian religion. I might have referred to Oaths of Allegiance and Office but inadvertently omitted to do so.

The subject of conversation turned to (Ukukanya), to missionaries <sup>re</sup>, the drift or purport of it being as follows. I wanted still further to know what in its essence (Ukukanya) was. Yesterday we got down to knowledge, being due to repeated beating, so that in its simplest sense knowledge arises out of impacts of observations (of others or our own) on our brain; it is due to our coming into the merest contact with notions dissimilar to our own, which however are based on fact and are verifiable. Mabaso now turned to a practice in Magistrates' Courts to stifle truth. For instance, a person will, in connection with some matter, be asked a question; he will give perhaps a direct enough reply and proceed at once to qualify and explain the meaning of the reply, but he is instantly caught up and told not to evade the point. 'Is so & so, yes or no?' the man cuts short, not having been allowed time to state the truth, says 'yes' in despair not knowing what to do. Inquiry proceeds, & when the man states, in the course of it, something at variance with the admission snatched from him, he is reprimanded and accused of going back on his word; his evidence too becomes unreliable, having lost the mark of truth. I admitted this was frequently done in Magistrates' Courts, but the motive for so doing was to prevent unnecessary digression. There are many cases that come daily before the Magistrate, and in order not to bring about a block and cause the public to suffer, he is obliged to hurry and cut short where he feels he can do so without causing miscarriage of justice.

Mabaso repeatedly made use of the remark, as if a self-evident truth, that God made all things. I questioned him on the point. He said he was convinced of the existence of God because it was laid down in the Bible that there was a God, though no man had at any time seen him, and he felt convinced that the Bible

was inspired by God because, as a young man, he became conscious of the error of his ways from what he read there; as a young man he was full of lust for girls. This lust was checked and controlled by enlightenment derived from the Bible; as this enlightenment had power to keep him from doing evil, so it must be certain there is a God, the inspirer of the Bible. Apart from this, all people from time immemorial believe in the existence of a God; therefore there is a God, seeing all men testify thereto. I then drew attention to the men of old time having believed that all swans were white; with the increase of knowledge it was some 2000 years later discovered that elsewhere in the world black swans had been found, wherefore there is no real force in the argument that because all admit a thing to be, <sup>and</sup> believe in it, it must therefore be according to the very form they place credence in.

|| J.K. observed that Christianity in its origins is perfect, absolutely good; it is only after it is applied by the States to practical affairs that it becomes corrupted. It is the Civil Service, the administration and executive, which brings about bad results. And yet, I remarked, we find the Church itself splitting up into many denominations; that J.K. himself, in belonging to the Church of England has separated from the true source of Christianity; he is apart from the great original body. "How," I asked, "have you come to leave that which you say was at the beginning good?" Can that be Law and Truth which allows its members to shatter themselves into a thousand fragments?

|| After discussing in this manner, after pointed warning, however, by me yesterday, Mabaso observed that I have an *(induna)*, viz. Ndukwana, whom I take about with me from place to place. If he, Mabaso, and J.K. and Mxaba were as I said yesterday, children, what must Ndukwana be who had not yet become a Christian? What will he think of Christianity after our iconoclastic discussions? I ought to endeavour to train Ndukwana into the way of truth (Christianity) and not, by such discussions as these, increase his doubts as to whether Christianity is or is not the Truth. I replied that N. was no longer a mere boy; he, like them, was able to protect himself and could appreciate our conversation and estimate its proper value. I could, of course, have said more, but refrained. I remarked that *(ukukanya)* was progressive, & that as the Zulu *(ukukanya)* was in advance of what preceded, so there was ground for thinking Christianity may be followed by increased enlightenment. Neither Kumalo nor Mabaso could see, they said, how this could be.

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J. K. observed that the Zulu people in effect follow the law of Moses; their laws and customs to a great extent are very similar to those of the Jews. They follow the Jews although they cannot read or write. Assuming that at one time there was contact between Natives & Jews, how could such have taken place? I pointed to the isthmus of Suez, which is the door through which Asia could pass into Africa.

Mukwana gave the grounds briefly for his belief in amadhlozi as he has given me before, [recorded in my Native Customs & book]. And I concluded by giving an account of my testing izangoma <sup>(bula)</sup> at Richmond [also fully recorded in my general notes book]. Mabaso remarked that he himself was once, or pretended to be, an izangoma, and succeeded by taking in credulous people. In his opinion it is the person who comes to bula who has already formed an opinion as to who is the guilty person &c, and all the izangoma really does is to bring this opinion or concept from those who bula, he is only able to discover or information given him by those who bula.

As far as I can judge from what my native friends say from time to time, they like these fundamental discussions; it is a thoroughgoing inquiry into causes that they like. Mabaso returns home today to come back tomorrow. Kumalo comes back with Mukwana for further discussion. I never make any pencil notes during these discussions, except <sup>if</sup> some purely native phrase, or name or Zulu word be used, but as a rule the conversations are good grapplings and therefore leave clear impressions. || 2<sup>35</sup> P.M.

Yesterday Kumalo laughingly called my room, No 12, kwa Sogeter, kwa Julwana, for it is there that elderly men meet.

Further conversation (2<sup>nd</sup> this day - Sunday) with John Kumalo, S. Mabaso, Mukwana present, 3.15 P.M. - 5.45 P.M. Mabaso did not go off home as he expected to do. The subject chosen was the Boer Native Policy, Mabaso was anxious to institute a comparison between Boer Government and Zulu Govt. to ascertain which was the better form of Govt. I pointed out that the main cause of disagreement between English and Boers arose out of the Native Policy of Boers at the Cape in the early years of this century, under which was enforced a universal system of 'apprenticeship' called 'slavery' by the English. Mabaso is very much indeed opposed to the Boer method of governing native races; he says they (Boers) busa nge nsilane - govern sjambok in hand. There is no redeeming feature, not one, in this whole Government. They turn natives out to work on farms at all times &



in all weathers. Not the least interest is taken in the welfare of the natives; no opportunity of any kind is afforded for raising themselves from their de-graded position, they (Boers) seem to take a pride in keeping the people back as much as possible, and in not causing them to be dressed but in torn and tattered garments. And, added J.K., they think nothing of shooting down a native, speaking of him as a <sup>(CROW)</sup> gwababa and, on arriving home, boast of having succeeded in shooting a <sup>(CROW)</sup> gwababa. I remarked that it was a principle of Boer Govt that no native could at any time hold office under the state or become a member of their Church, such principle being contained in their constitution. Ndukwana agreed with Mabaso and hadn't a good word for the Boers. I said I found two redeeming features in their Govt, which is strikingly analogous to that of early Judaism (Jews) (a) though their idea was narrow it yet enforced obedience; (b) there is no immorality to speak of among the Boers, nor do children show disrespect to their parents. Mabaso said that Zulus governed with a rod of iron, but as soon as they conquered people they invariably treated them with becoming dignity, recognizing them to be men and human beings, even though (taxes) tribute was exacted from them. I explained that the first Dutch who arrived in South Africa, as well as the French Huguenots who shortly followed and amalgamated with them, were far more advanced in civilization than the present Boers, who have obviously deteriorated through being cut off from their mother country for so many generations. I find an extraordinary analogy between the Boers, who in regard to the Natives, are followers of the Old Testament, and the Jews of old, and there seems to be a similar solidarity in the Boers as there was & is still in the Jews; and I ventured to prophecy that the Boer people would endure as a compact nation after England had fallen to pieces like the Roman Empire. Moreover, I added, I shall be very surprized if the present war concludes without our witnessing some significant and striking act on the part of the Boers, as for example another exodus ~~to~~ en masse to adjoining lands. Mabaso extolled the British policy in respect to Natives, pointing out that though natives had many grievances still they were treated like men, and many opportunities were given of rising in the scale of civilization. The British Govt <sup>(GOVERNS WITH RIGHTEOUSNESS)</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>to be obtained only</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>standing</sup> at a white that (ukulunga), righteousness, ~~is~~ <sup>to be obtained only</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>standing</sup> at a white

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heat. Order and righteousness is maintained by the greatest possible effort, not by merely doabo dolce far niente. Look for instance at Mpande, so slack and easy-going and kind as to be called a woman. What did this spirit lead to? Did it not lead to his going tendering his and his people's allegiance to the Boers in 1839 and thereby (ggabulain igoda)? That is, instead of bracing himself up, accepting the responsibilities of the <sup>position</sup> ~~position~~, and doing himself with his own people what was required, he must needs flee to the alien Boers for protection & help (hol' uhlonze lo ku kula) as N. says). Nothing of this kind can be urged against the Boer Govt. I admit that the Boer form of Govt is bristling with objectionable elements, but then if a man has a dog which protects his home and <sup>is</sup> a terror to the whole neighbourhood, will he <sup>not</sup> even though many complaints be made about it, treat it in a very mild way, knowing his own safety is due to its ferocity? So with the Boers; their Govt, as far as their own people is concerned, is ~~an~~ thoroughly satisfactory and adapted to their own national and individual welfare. I could not understand how the Boers, originally Protestants, have swerved round to the Old Testament point of view in regard to the Natives, unless it was due to their coming upon low species of natives at the Cape, and through lapse of time falling from their former high ideals. Kumalo said something about the mode of marriage among the Boers, whereby a girl going off to marry is replaced by another who marries into the family her sister-in-law came from & mentioning this as a good custom or redeeming feature, but I could not quite understand.

We spent a few minutes on the subject of (zila-ing) i.e. penitential rites and ceremonies <sup>(mourning etc)</sup>. During Holy Week, Europeans (zila), and the following are instances of (zila-ing) among Zulus: when a woman is menstruating she will not for 7 days sit on her husband's mat, nor will she ~~take~~ <sup>take</sup> a pinch of snuff from a man's <sup>(male's)</sup> hand (mlisa) but ~~accept~~ hold her hand open for the snuff to be poured into it, & when she has finished she will return the snuff <sup>(if any remains)</sup> by pouring ~~the snuff~~ <sup>it</sup> back to another <sup>(male)</sup> with her open hand; when men have been called out to fight they do not cohabit with their wives, and the mats will, at such a time, be taken down made to stand upright against the huts with, as N. says, some <sup>(nyaloti)</sup> rolled up inside. Mabaso referred to the case in the Pentateuch where a woman <sup>carries</sup>

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off the household gods and sits on them to hide them from her husband who might be angry. This too was zilaing We went into this subject incidentally to trace the analogy between the Zulus and the Jews.

I drew attention to the fact that in the Orange Free State if a woman leaves her husband, the law courts will not interfere and cause her to return, on the ground that the state does not look on marriage among natives under their customs as binding. Nor can lobola be claimed in law courts.

We turned to the early history of the Zulu people. I began by giving in brief outline the history of Godongwana (Dingiswayo) and Ishaka as written down by H. Fynn and Sir J. Shepstone, as found in the Annals of Natal, showing as well as I could where the two accounts differ from one another.

Makwana & J.K. said they believe Dingiswayo must have derived information <sup>one or more</sup> from Europeans which enabled him to transform the military organization of the Mketwa tribe. It seems certain he returned on a horse and with a gun; as these must have come from Europeans, so it is highly probable he derived other ideas from them. Mabaso sided with me to the effect that it seems hardly probable that Dingiswayo could have learnt from Europeans the idea upon which he reorganized his army, his method of warfare &c, seeing <sup>THAT</sup> the Cape, the only place where there were European troops, ~~was~~ could only be reached by traversing many different states, some of them hostile, and <sup>SEEKING</sup> that if <sup>DINGISWAYO</sup> he did not get to the Cape and merely for a few months met Dr. Cowen, he could hardly ~~have~~ in that time have assimilated the ideas he afterwards put into practice. Dr. Cowen for instance could hardly have known the Zulu language. J.K. & M. were very pleased with all I told them. M. regretted that Europeans never conversed with natives on those great subjects upon which we are engaged, in order that the one could question the other, to their mutual benefit. Mr. Moor, <sup>SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS</sup> knows practically nothing of the Natives he governs. Natives keenly desire to discuss all these subjects. J.K. remarks that it jars on him to hear Nukani & Ngini, (indunas) expressing their opinions <sup>in cases</sup> in Court when they have not been called upon to say anything, & believes Sergt. Burdett disapproves. I said I did not interfere, as such appeared to be the practice of the Court. Mabaso, in regard to <sup>put</sup> Zulu affairs, especially back history, called himself idilidliwa or ibimbi, both of which I think mean

one who doesn't perform well in public. <sup>ditto</sup> see who acts discordantly.

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ignoramus. Among the Boers there are many amatioboka, that is, people (natives) <sup>(TAKEN CAPTIVE)</sup> ~~lamb~~ by them from neighbouring states and made slaves of. I compared the Jews going down into Egypt in famine time to the Natal natives going to Pondoland <sup>etc.</sup> in Tshaka's day, where, because of their destitute condition, they were called Amafengu. After hearing me give the early history of the Zulu people, Mabaso wanted to know how it had come about that I should take so deep an interest in Natal affairs; not even the <sup>very</sup> oldest men could recount much of the history I had given, what was the cause of my taking this interest? I said I was ~~not~~ like Godongwana as I too had wandered from country to country. M. replied, 'But you are not, like him, a ~~lamb~~ fugitive?' I said that perpetual travelling about, even though I was always in the Govt service, tended to quicken one's faculties & powers of observation. There are rumours to the effect that Boers are causing eyes to be taken out of natives heads; they ~~cut~~ <sup>(CASTRATE)</sup> them, cut off a hand & so on, in connection with the present war. It is not however as yet known what truth there is in such rumours.

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<sup>31.12.00</sup> Conversation with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana, 31.12.00, 4-15 P.M. - 6.30 P.M. J.K. says the name of that daughter of his who ran away to Estcourt <sup>(VIDE P. 2)</sup> is named Elizabeth, <sup>(after)</sup> like her mother. She is married and living at Lirdale <sup>(MISSION STATION)</sup> Mission Station, some four or five miles out of Estcourt. <sup>(she)</sup> is married to an ordinary non-Christian; she is exempt from native law. Kumalo himself came to live at Lirdale <sup>(MISSION STATION)</sup> Mission Station about the year 1879 (Zulu War), and moved to Roosboom somewhat over four years ago. The date of Congress as far as K. & Mabaso know is not yet fixed. It was at one of the first Tunamalungelo meetings <sup>(74) some years ago</sup> that a number of young men wanted to carry on the discussions in English.

These remarks were made before Mxaba and Ndukwana's arrival. As soon as they came <sup>(5 or so mins)</sup> we went on to the subject of 'The Poor; are there observable in Natal any tendencies towards poverty?' Mxaba was the first to speak. He said there were tendencies. Under the old Zulu regime a poor man would have cattle given him to look after; <sup>(by his chief)</sup> the cattle would be sisid; <sup>(75)</sup> he would look after them and, collecting the butter which he had pehla, <sup>(MADE)</sup> ~~poor~~ would cook it, skimming off the dross, or allowing it to bubble over and then pour the melted or cooked butter, in a highly purified <sup>(clarified)</sup> condition, into little gates. <sup>(GOURDS)</sup> These gates <sup>(GOURDS)</sup> he would then dispose of, bartering them for goats, and when he had got together ten <sup>(goats)</sup> he would purchase

<sup>(own personal property)</sup>

a cow, and this cow would be his, in time his small beginnings would increase; he would ultimately get sufficient cattle to lobola a wife with, and then he would have children, girls & boys; the girls would be married off, and his property in <sup>(on account of lobola paid by them)</sup> increase proportionally. He would then found kraals (amansuluma), corresponding to amakanda inkosi <sup>(16)</sup> in various directions, becoming <sup>still more</sup> prosperous & affluent. The fat referred to is the kind held in highest esteem among the Zulus; it is held to be better than meat fat. Ndukwana and the others quite agreed with this method of the Zulus for dealing with poverty. <sup>(keeping it in the background)</sup> He adds that a man's chief would lobola a wife for him. It was the chiefs <sup>which</sup> looked after their people, giving assistance where <sup>they</sup> felt it was required, and on that account there was in Zululand no class known as the poor. <sup>(Mxaba says)</sup> Poverty arises out of having no fixed abode. It resolves itself purely into a matter of land. He who has no land is like one laden with a heavy burden; hence it is there can be no increase of wealth whilst we are in debt. Look at the natives of Natal; they are squatters on farms; they have to pay rent and taxes. If they cannot pay rent they are ordered to <sup>(if do quit)</sup> quit. This practice is <sup>(+ unceasing)</sup> universal, therefore there is a tendency to pauperism. The first requisite, if we would keep pauperism out of sight, is to give every man a piece of land to live <sup>(on)</sup> or, simply, every man needs land. J. K. says that poverty in Zululand was gently covered as with a cloak by the chief. He described the difficulties natives living on farms have to contend against. They are ordered off farms for not paying rents, have difficulty in finding <sup>an</sup> other home, & when they have got there, no consideration is shown by the Govt, but they must needs pay hut tax as before. <sup>(They cannot understand the dual control of land by two amakhosi)</sup> Mxaba observes that possibly a man has his holes full of corn or mealies; all this produce he is obliged to dispose of <sup>for</sup> next to nothing, & yet when he, after a lot of trouble, finds a new home, he is obliged to buy at the highest market price. <sup>(SEE P. 56)</sup> [Could not finish account of <sup>this</sup> conversation because

obliged to keep an engagement - dance at Mrs Bennetts. <sup>(1-1-1901)</sup> This morning I had another talk for about 1 3/4 hrs, i.e. from 6.35 am. to 8.20 am., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, & Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwa present. <sup>(up p 6)</sup> At this I will now turn and then <sup>became the above</sup> The subjects of conversation was, for a few minutes, liquor. Mxaba says that Europeans, not content with running a fence round their own liquor, are now endeavouring to exercise a control over their beer (ishwala); they zulumbwa <sup>(18)</sup> it, they are deriving profit from our liking for beer, viz by taxing it.

We turned next to this: "The Indians; why have they come to Natal?" This is a matter we

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went into at some length yesterday; it was nevertheless ~~then~~ continued, and the conversation proved to be the most fruitful of any single one we have had. During this striking conversation the speakers were Mxaba and myself. I explained that the Indians had been brought by the English to South Africa in despair because the natives were not steady or reliable workers. It was because every chance had been given to natives to satisfy the Europeans that the latter felt obliged in their own interest to import Indians. I wanted to know why it was that the natives would not awake to the fact that the English ~~were~~ are a commercial people (*abalumbi*); that their ideal embraced labour, for it is in labour that the true dignity of man lies. It is by invention & labour, which invention implies and includes, that nations rise to dignity and importance in the world. And one of the true reasons why Europeans refused to associate and amalgamate with natives, and therefore a partial answer to the question asked propounded by Mxaba at the outset (p. 33), ~~was~~ is that Europeans do not find among any of the South African <sup>ab</sup>original peoples any positive evidence of greatness. They have created nothing to which they can point and say, 'Here, this is great and worthy!' But the Indians, on the other ~~was~~ hand, can point to many great works; they weave clothes; they can read and write in their own tongue; they build fine mansions; they deal in precious metals which they manufacture into beautiful ornaments; the whole people is instinct with the notion of the necessity for labour. The Chinese, moreover, are creators. Did not they invent writing first? did not they first find and use the magnet? Other nations, whose civilizations still exist or have died out, can be pointed out who have great productions to show as the result of their long residence on earth, but the South African people can show nothing.

Mxaba replied thus to these remarks: I allow that the aboriginal races of South Africa cannot point to any great work or discovery, but there is a ~~part~~ cause for this backwardness, and that is our restlessness. It is owing to being in a state of perpetual flux (*umrada*) <sup>(79)</sup> that we have been unable to produce. The land we live in is of great magnitude, and the people that live in it can and do attack one another. We are nations who have always had to be prepared in case of attack, consequently we have tended to making an art of warfare. It is to the affairs of war that the effort of our men has been turned, so much so that, by way of passing illustration, I may observe, <sup>that,</sup> in the days that preceded the great upheaval identified with the reign of Tshaka, men used to be in the habit of working in gardens, and not women only. They moreover devoted themselves to other industrial pursuits; they were more inclined

to labour. Our oldest men assure us ~~the~~ of the truth of this remark. Johannes Kumbi testifies thereto. Moreover, testimony will be found in races that lie outside those territories which were so disturbed by Tshaka, as for instance Swaziland, where men still work in the fields, & doubtless other examples can be found. When, however, Tshaka turned his attention to war, he, terrible tyrant that he was, diverted the natural inclinations of men by establishing what was practically ~~establishing~~ the whole people into a standing army. This spirit of aggressiveness caused men, when they were not actually engaged in battle, to lead a more or less indolent existence, casting the duty of labour chiefly upon the women. We are not really without the power to create or invent. The whole matter resolves itself simply into this: owing to the circumstances presented by the characteristics of the land we live in, through which we have been kept constantly in an unavoidable state of restlessness & disquietude, always obliged to protect ourselves instead of devoting ourselves to labour & invention, we have never had a proper opportunity of demonstrating to the world that we are men like them, endowed with the power of doing great things. || "Yes," I replied, "that is all very well, this plea of yours of having been in a state of perpetual commotion, but how is it that you did not perceive that the way you lived in was wrong? Why did you not, in spite of this state of unceasing ~~was~~ disquietude, rise above your circumstances and reduce ~~the~~ your country to order as other nations have done? You should have surmounted this state of unrest which you say is the cause of your having failed to produce, as is only too true. India, a country very similar to Africa and nearly as big, at any rate it is of <sup>very</sup> vast extent, must have suffered from unrest, and yet she has been able to show good work done. Disabuse your mind of the fact that the English people have communicated to India their spirit of creativeness and aggression; it is no such thing; there is great innate genius in them; those great works of theirs are natural products invented by themselves. || [Before going on, I may record here a thought that occurs to me, arising out of Mxaba's remarks on a subject I have myself often before written about & thought of. Africa ~~is~~ can easily be traversed in all directions; it has no great natural features, no mountain ranges like the Himalayas or the Alps; countries are not cut off from one another by great seas; there are no peninsulas. The Aryans entered India from the north-west & there alone, we might add. Africa is like one great country, wherein there are many tribes, each, it may be said exposed to the rest. To this homogeneity of land, or

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accessibility by any and all, of any place, may be attributed the delay in any single tribe rising to the <sup>full</sup> consciousness of the dignity and necessity of labour, and thereby, as possibly was the case in India, one tribe becoming an example to the rest.)

Mxaba urged that there were many reasons for believing that the Zulus had at some far off time come into contact with the Jews; many of their observances were strikingly analogous, there is therefore ground for supposing, if that be true, that they have fallen. It is no difficult thing for a race to deteriorate, much less for a man (I may quote here the case mentioned by Bird in his Annals p. 47. N. (See also article "Goringtonia" Spectator, 1.12.00 on this point) <sup>and</sup> take the case of a Portuguese found in the 'Mapontes' country between 1686-1689) take the Boers; they arrived several hundred years ago; have they not deteriorated even in that short time? <sup>And</sup> but for the connection with Europe <sup>having</sup> been renewed, they must have continued to fall away from their former <sup>high</sup> ideals. But, asked Mxaba, how was it with the English people in the beginning? Describe them to us? I then told about the Kelts, saying they wore skins, had no headdress, used bows & arrows & clubs; they lived in holes & caves in forests & elsewhere; they worshipped several gods whose names gave us the names of the days of our week; this worship had remarkable and revolting features. I told also of Stonehenge and laid emphasis that the Kelts (Druids) had sufficient knowledge of mechanics to be able to lift & place in position (scarcely) many great stones 18-20 <sup>feet</sup> in height. This in itself, for those far off days, was a great achievement. To this day, I added, the secret whereby the Egyptians lifted the great blocks with which they built the pyramids has not been discovered by the most enlightened peoples. I said that though the Kelts were much like the Zulus of today, yet they were able to progress steadily. Other races came to England & their fusion caused Englishmen. There is a striking difference in capacity <sup>and</sup> between English and Zulus. The former may be slow, but they perpetually advance; Zulus in many cases are, as boys, very quick & intelligent; they may even surpass European boys in the rapidity of their progress, but experience has shown that they have not the staying power an European has. Both Mxaba and Mabaso demurred. Mxaba said native boys do not progress <sup>so simply</sup> because they are not allowed to; no inducement is held out to them. Take the case of St Alban's College, P. M. Burg <sup>(Rev.)</sup> continues Mxaba, 'the first boy to go to this school was this very ~~man~~ man John Kumalo's son. Mr. Frank Green started with this boy. After he had achieved success, especially in industrial training, the Europeans cried out that the teaching of trades to boys (native) robbed European artisans &c,

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and this led to the College being shut down? I explained that that was not the point, but simply <sup>THAT THE</sup> native mental capacity cannot cope with <sup>THE</sup> European where <sup>(Such a remark is one, Mxaba says, with which Europeans guard 'ymbombo' - snuff on the nose, they)</sup> every possible opportunity <sup>(I said)</sup> and inducement is held <sup>out</sup>. Is not opportunity afforded at <sup>Port Natal</sup> and at the Cape University, and yet it is found natives do not greatly distinguish themselves? Mxaba, however, did not think that these results are due to intrinsic & radical, fundamental incapacity, the absolute impossibility of progressing, but rather to other circumstances. He remarked that he once accompanied Sir Theophilus Shepstone to Lydenburg in the Transvaal, and it was there that he was shown a small vessel carved out of free-stone <sup>(made out of free-stone)</sup>, very much in appearance like an European doctor's mortar. It was about the size of a breakfast cup, though not hollowed out to <sup>that extent</sup>, and on its edge could clearly be seen an <sup>(inkoto)</sup>, i.e. the small neck <sup>cut</sup> by means of which the contents of the mortar would have been outpoured. This mortar had been <sup>discovered</sup> by certain people mining there for gold at a depth of about <sup>(4 ft below the surface of the soil)</sup>. Mxaba saw this vessel, which was handed to Sir <sup>(I.S.)</sup> to look at by the miners. What is the meaning of this discovery? At the same place the miners found large gold nuggets. (I here mentioned that I remember Sir <sup>(I.S.)</sup> coming to Greytown, having just come from the Transvaal, <sup>(this some 23-25 years ago)</sup>, he then, as my mother afterwards told me, gave her a gold nugget which she has to this day, I stated size &c). To what ages does such discovery (of the mortar) carry us back, <sup>(I said)</sup> Mxaba. Further, in Mashonaland there is a remarkable <sup>(set)</sup> of ruins of buildings <sup>(Zimbabwe <sup>(?)</sup> ruins)</sup>; they are those of a great building built of stones without mortar, <sup>(they have terraces <sup>(?)</sup>)</sup> what is the meaning of these ruins? I said there were <sup>(deep)</sup> mines of great age <sup>(also)</sup> found in the same neighbourhood. Possibly this is where the land known as Ophir was & where the Queen of Sheba drew much of her great wealth. Mxaba does not say he saw the ruins referred to himself, nor does he lay claim to them as the work of South African nations; the whole matter is one for inquiry. Again at Masane in Swaziland near Steynsdorp there are stones on the face of the hillside which showed visible gold, so much so that it gave one the impression that a great block of gold had been sliding over the stones. At the top of the same hill, in close proximity of the stones showing gold, were dark iron stones. Natives knew that iron could be procured & was procured from these stones; how came they to fail to see that gold could not be got from the other stones close by? They did not fail. They did know about gold and here is evidence.

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Mxaba says that Ngwane (Buna), the king of Swaziland, whom he knew as a little boy, used to wear a heavy bangle with studs on the exterior surface of it. This bangle was not made of brass or copper; it was made of gold and is known by the name ingila. I here told Mxaba that the persons (Europeans) who came to Natal several a couple of hundred years ago spoke of seeing a heavy bangle worn by a Native <sup>CHIEF</sup> inkosi which was made of gold <sup>VIDE</sup> Bird's Annals p. 35. There are, Mxaba says, two things which natives most highly prize; (a) the said ingila, and (b) ummesu woku soka, the knife used to circumcise with. J. K. wanted to know where izindondo and amasongo, izimbidi and ingxota came from. I suggested Europeans, and added ingxota was ~~Kanda's~~ <sup>made at the great</sup> kwinkhulu out of amasongo. <sup>81</sup> The subject became more general again on our reverting to the Indians. Mxaba said that to say the natives had inferior intellects, could not compete with Europeans in ability and resourcefulness, and to ask them why they had not created, surmounted their obstacles and done something, to blame <sup>native</sup> ~~their~~ intelligence because they had not succeeded where Europeans had succeeded so eminently, was due to a species of boastfulness & bravado (ingqwele) seen in boys when they domineer over those not as strong as themselves. I replied: ~~that~~ it is not sufficient, in order to bring about conviction in European minds that you are what you claim to be simply because you, owing to being in a state of constant motion, ~~you~~ have had no opportunity of doing anything worthy the name, you will have to produce positive evidence, and it behoves you, if you desire to be reckoned to be the equals of Europeans, or better, not unworthy <sup>of</sup> being their equals, and to do something to convince them; the task is all the greater in that hitherto you have produced nothing, but if you want to take that place which you feel is rightly yours, you must show a sign. This remark was at once felt & commented on. I explained that Indians learnt to labour of their own selves; every man in their communities is always doing ~~doe~~ something; they have ~~learned~~ learnt the dignity and the necessity of labour. But there is more also than this. The English and the Indians (not Arabs) are blood relations; we see it in their language (Sanskrit); we have therefore a natural affinity for them. In India Indians are treated by Englishmen in the most unrestrained, free & open manner; they may rise to any position ~~et cetera~~, and those Indians who come out here are protected in every way. ~~Once~~ the British Govt refused to send any more Indians because they had been ill-treated ~~as we~~ Magles treat them with far greater consideration than we do natives. Mxaba said there are Europeans who have recommended the killing

(Incipient)

off of nations by degrees, by allowing them to have liquor to their hearts content, encouraging <sup>among</sup> fighting between themselves and so on; Mxaba came to hear of these <sup>82</sup> ministers desires from the native newspaper.

Mabaso observed that he would much like to know how natives came to worship snakes, snakes are terrible creatures, how came it about that they should be worshipped?

Mxaba, after I had shown that there is a certain affinity between Europeans & Indians which causes the English to treat them with so much consideration in their own country and earnest <sup>solicitude</sup> solicitation in this, wished to know why natives in their own country could not be accorded a similar sympathy instead of being treated as aliens, & outcasts, <sup>(animals)</sup> If, he added, it is owing to natural, though remote relationship between the Europeans and Indians that the latter receive such favoured treatment, to whom can we, living as it were apart from the rest of the world in "splendid isolation", claim to be related? "It is all right," I said, "Some way will be found out of the difficulty."

Further conversation with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba; Ndakwana present, 1.1.1901, 2.15 P.M. to 4.45 P.M. <sup>1901</sup> 2½ hrs. I began by saying the subject re Indians discussed this morning has not yet been completed. We have still to trace the effects produced on the Natives by their coming in contact with the Indian people, including Arabs and other Asiatics. J.K. desired me, as they are all about to leave this afternoon, to touch briefly on the remaining subjects contained on the list attached to p. 34. I enumerated a number of the subjects but said I thought no good could come of hasty discussion. Mxaba agreed, so I was asked to name the next subject. I proposed, "Colenso; his work and teaching". Before going on to this, I said to Mabaso: "You yesterday condemned the Boers Govt, saying you disliked the Boers and their Govt and could find nothing good in the latter. English people hold themselves aloof from the Zulus among other things because they dislike them and their Govt. This being so, can you blame the English for not associating with you, if you yourself entertain hostile feelings towards the Boers? Should we not do to one another what we would they should do unto us?" I said I meant to beat him with this. This remark was not quite understood, a little fruitless discussion ensued. Mxaba said the chief reason for complaint natives have against the Boers is that they came into the country by stealth and stole Natal. They did not come openly as the English and have a regular war. Natives are watching the coming

settlement which the be liberally. In taking Colenso came girls were to to ministers who had already. At this school Natal, (a) the Mxungo, M there they spoons became were treated those of high Europeans and espouses of Colenso said merely to or. In speaking his induna. He used to being questioned. Sir, you said Colenso) did an all men us if we do us?" Colenso -sideration. Gray. The all gone astray after the I returned the name of Q

settlement of South Africa in consequence. They expect to be given part of the land which the Borrs stole from them; that is to say, natives in Natal <sup>(re)</sup> expect to be liberally remembered in the Transvaal when the land is dealt with.

|| In taking up 'Colenso: his work and teaching', I called on J. K. to speak. He said: Colenso came to Natal with a large number of European girls, say twenty. These girls were teachers. He went straight to Bishopstowe to live. He said he had come to minister to the purely heathen population, not to be a clergyman of those who had already been converted. He accordingly set up a school for raw natives. At this school two things occurred which were <sup>dis-</sup>approved by the Europeans in Natal: (a) the European women combed (<sup>kwala</sup>) the native children's hair; (b) Mkungo, Magera <sup>(83)</sup> and other boys were allowed to occupy an upstairs room; there they had their meals, served in European fashion, the knives, forks & spoons beautifully clean & shiny, whilst the rest of the boys in the school were treated with less consideration, though they thought it only right that those of high standing should be treated differently. These things displeased the Europeans and the school afterwards ~~came to an end~~ ceased to exist. Nothing which espouses our cause ever seems to prosper; Colenso himself did not prosper.

Colenso said he proposed to devote his attention to the <sup>chiefs of the country</sup> amakosi ~~and not~~ merely to ordinary people. His <sup>(induna)</sup> was William Duzana, alias Ngide. <sup>(84)</sup> In speaking to Sobantu, <sup>WHO WAS</sup> called in his <sup>PRaises</sup> 'indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni, his <sup>(induna)</sup> & others said 'Akhozi!' He was of course an <sup>(inkosi)</sup> being a Bishop. <sup>(85)</sup>

|| He used to call natives together for the purpose of interrogating them and being questioned by them in return. One day his <sup>(induna)</sup> William (Vilima) said: 'Sir, you say God destroys the wicked; would you, if your son Mnyazi (Dr. Colenso) <sup>(86)</sup> did wrong, destroy him?' 'No,' replied Colenso. 'Then how can you say that an all-merciful and loving father, whose own children we all are, will destroy us if we do wrong. Can your love for your own be greater than his for all of us?' Colenso found this a hard question. He submitted it for Dean Green's consideration. The Dean recommended a reference to the Metropolitan, <sup>(Archbp.)</sup> Gray. The <sup>(Archbp.)</sup> replied, 'You should ~~do~~ turn your mind to prayer, you have gone astray.' Colenso, the <sup>(indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni)</sup> got furious. || Shortly after the Prince had been and gone, Colenso himself went to England. <sup>(87)</sup> When he returned, St. Peter's was shut to him. He knocked, saying he had come in the name of Queen Victoria. The door was opened. He entered. Service was held. When he

said, 'let us pray,' the Dean and the other clergy would remain standing; when they knelt, he stood. Everything was at sixes and sevens. All this happened on one day. It was after this that St. Saviour's was built. Colenso was in favour of baptizing and admitting into the fold of the church not only the man living in polygamy, but all his wives with him, saying that as the marriage had taken place <sup>of Christianity</sup> before the coming to that household, how could the man be expected to cast aside the women and their children if he wished to become a convert to Christianity? Other of the Clergy were opposed to this teaching, arguing that if a man wished to be baptized he must turn away his wives after selecting from them the one he liked best. Colenso once paid a visit to Mpande. On this occasion Mpande gave him the land at Kivamaqwaqa on which to found a mission station. Nzimela (Mr. Robertson) is the missionary who was first placed in charge there, whilst Rev. Samuelson was stationed at another place in Zululand; his name being Momozi. <sup>Colenso was deeply attached to the Zulu people; he devoted himself to their cause.</sup> Mxaba says: If any one knows Colenso it must be John Kumalo who has just spoken. There are two things for which we have to thank Colenso: (i) establishing a native school which drew men like Inkungo and <sup>a</sup>son of Inlambo, a prince of Basutoland; (this school was established for the improvement of the natives, though I cannot understand how it afterwards ceased to exist); (ii) he defended (buzela ku Kulumeni) men like Langalibalele and Cetshwayo, whilst after his death his daughter continued his work by defending Dinuzulu. <sup>J.K. says of</sup> The quarrel between Colenso & Somseu arose out of the Langalibalele affair. He wanted to know of Somseu why he <sup>partisanly</sup> carried on negotiations with Langalibalele through his (induna) Mahoyiza, instead of having an interview with the Chief in person. Mxaba adds that Langalibalele had done wrong; it was a well-known thing at the time that guns could not be imported into Natal from anywhere, and yet Langalibalele allowed his young men to bring guns in without his reporting them. J.K. says the persons who shut St. Peter's to Colenso were George Moodie (Land Surveyor), Williams, Dickenson & Clarence. I then said: You say Colenso said he had come to teach the <sup>raw</sup> natives and not to minister to converts. He was deeply attached to and loved the natives. What message, then, has he left the world, in respect to the Natives, which has tended to reconcile Natives and Europeans? J.K. replied that Colenso left no message except the earnestness he threw into his work. He was only a missionary representing one body among

many and that he was in England to a Colony & the said that on out of place been between must be re a number he and another and gray. missionary Colenso & a message of kind of so was borne behalf both name Eku was a mis (they tend nature of vanish for remarks of these d will be re the very ep not, in say in any wa he yet app opinion a Wilberforce on & depe Natal, cou were lying Bishops, & "uki

many, and therefore it was not his place to assert his policy if he had one. I replied that he was Bishop of Natal, being head in that country of the State Church of England to which the Queen herself belongs; that Natal was & is still a British Colony, & then not even enjoying Responsible Govt, <sup>How?</sup> why therefore, can it be said that one who so fully identified himself with the Natives would have been out of place in declaring his views as to the relations that should obtain ~~between~~ between natives and Europeans? || Mxaba and J. K. answered that it must be remembered Colenso was not the first missionary who came to Natal. A number had preceded him, namely missions belonging to America, and Germany and another; moreover, he arrived in Natal when already well advanced in years, and gray. He had not the power to examine into the working of the various missionary bodies; no-one can do that. The original missionaries opposed Colenso, & used their influence against him. In these circumstances he gave no message but he left us an energetic example. If he failed to propound some kind of solution to the Native problem, it cannot be said that because he was borne down by public opinion, his school came to grief and his efforts on behalf both of Sangalibalele and Cetshwayo, <sup>were</sup> purely temporary, therefore the name Ekukanyeni, by which Bishop Stowe was known among the natives, was a misnomer. His deeds on behalf of the natives <sup>(his questionings, discussions, the briefs he held)</sup> were themselves of the nature of light; <sup>(they tended to produce light, for they gave a glow)</sup> the circumstances <sup>in</sup> under which he laboured may pass & vanish from view, but his example is a beacon of light. <sup>Thus</sup> And so, Mxaba remarks on behalf of me; <sup>if</sup> should we at a later time tell our children of these discussions with you, these questionings <sup>(of yours)</sup> and answers <sup>(and answers)</sup> there will be no necessity to deery such as fruitless <sup>(because no tangible result is derived)</sup> and without light for <sup>out of</sup> the very effort of discussion & questioning <sup>some</sup> light is derived. || I said I did not, in saying what I had done, desire to be understood as blaming Colenso in any way. I know that although <sup>local</sup> public opinion was against Wilberforce, he yet appealed to the world <sup>in</sup> in England, and succeeded in overriding such opinion and causing slavery to be abolished in all England's possessions. And Wilberforce was at a disadvantage; he did not live where slavery was going on, & depended on mere visits to the countries he referred to. Colenso, living in Natal, could have urged his arguments with greater force & directness, for facts were lying before him in every direction. || J. K. says Colenso was powerful. Two Bishops, Macrorie & Baynes, have had to give up the work of reconciliation.   
 "Ukukanya kona loka" (no words).

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not be allowed to oust the suggestion made by the bare existence of national  
 (Dhlozi) that there was here some sort of an approach to believing in a <sup>single</sup> god.  
 I admitted the force of the argument. Mabaso + Mxaba told me they had very  
 often discussed this question of belief in (ama dhlozi). They found a striking  
 analogy <sup>of</sup> between the (dhlozi) and the serpent held up before the people  
 in the wilderness which again was symbolical of Jesus Christ suffering on  
 the cross, bearing the sins of mankind. The three men urged that it was  
 an awful thing to believe in <sup>a</sup> snake which tribe had brought death  
 into the world when tempting Eve in the Garden of Eden. Same or harmless,  
 the (dhlozi) is yet symbolical of what brought evil into the world. I again  
 remarked that the (dhlozi) had no guile or cunning or poison; it was  
 positively harmless. Natives regard the <sup>(94)</sup> ~~intelo~~ having brought sorrow  
 + death into the world; it is that which they destroy. || Mxaba now  
 mentioned a number of Zulu customs and observances for the sake, as I thought,  
 of identifying themselves with the Jews. He referred to slitting the ear, +  
 the rading driving a nail through a servant's ear who wished to live +  
 die his master's servant; to the impeko ceremony; to not destroying or  
 throwing away of bones of a beast slaughtered, but burning same; to  
 casting (mswani) over the grave to <sup>the</sup> manner of disposing of parts of a  
 beast (giving to priest, <sup>the</sup> ~~the divine~~ gets largest share; <sup>(believe)</sup> sprinkling of blood. <sup>(95)</sup> One  
 custom which is inexplicable is the heading, then <sup>in</sup> the slits in ears are  
 worn ornaments; at the time of the exodus jewels were borrowed of Egyptians  
 and worn in ears, nose &c, like Indians. These and other facts tend to establish  
 the fact that the Zulus once were in contact with the Jews. I remarked  
 that two tribes were lost and are to this day missing. I said one reason why  
 I could not think the Zulus were the missing tribes was because I did  
 not think the belief in God could ever have been forgotten, seeing God had  
 delivered the people out of a house of bondage. <sup>Can</sup> men forget their deliverers?  
 || Mxaba, who is thoroughly well up in the whole subject, in native custom  
 as well as biblical narrative &c, ~~se~~ reminded me that one of the tribes, very  
 soon after arriving in Palestine, took to worshipping the golden image of  
 a calf. <sup>(in a few years)</sup> If they could forget their God, is it not easy to believe that, after  
 the lapse of many centuries, the two lost tribes might have fallen away  
 from their original belief? Although the men did not actually say so, I could



see that they do believe themselves to be descendants of the Jews, if not the very tribes themselves which were lost. I said there are people who say that England is the two lost tribes, & bring all manner of proof to bear. Mxaba wants to know what English customs correspond with Jewish ones. I said I never <sup>went</sup> ~~delve~~ into the subject & so could not tell. Mxaba told the others that it was because of England's almightiness & righteousness that in her the prophecies seemed to be fulfilled. Another noteworthy point, Mxaba says, are the Athenians who had erected an altar to the Unknown God, who bear some sort of analogy with the Zulus who have forgotten their God. There is a prophecy, Mxaba says, that the nation or tribes will wander about the world and forget even their mother tongue. There is no doubt that Mxaba has made a very close study of the subject; indeed it lies near each of the three men's hearts. I reminded Mabaso that he had a day or two ago brought me to make Ndukwana a Christian, and yet here are all these men identifying themselves with the Jews and defending their Amadhlozi; they <sup>(in reality)</sup> are more Jews than Christians.

And so here is a kind of answer to Mxaba's question this morning on p. 50. What an answer! Fancy, the Zulu, can claim to be related only to the Jews; they are in ~~the~~ great distress; how can they expect the Jews, themselves in misery, to help and deliver them?

Also went  
Mabaso  
Mxaba  
Ndukwana

2.1.01 / ~~vide~~ evidence given 1-1-1901  
Mabaso and Mxaba said yesterday afternoon that, surprising though it may be, it is a fact that whenever they or other Kolwas appear at a kraal where Amadhlozi up to the time of their arrival, had been lying quietly coiled up, they will at once start up and make off into the grass and away as hard as they can go. This has happened both to Mabaso and Mxaba. Mxaba assures me that a similar thing occurred to his brother-in-law Jan (John) Zulu Mtinkulu of Edendale; the thing occurred under very remarkable conditions. John would tell me if I were to speak to him, which I could do as I live in P.M.Burg. He is a lay preacher or catechist at Edendale. Mabaso says he invariably treats the dhlozi as an ordinary snake and attempts to destroy it.

(2-1-1901)  
Evidence given  
31-12-1900  
Mabaso,  
Mxaba,  
Ndukwana

Conversation of afternoon 31. 12. '00 resumed from p. 54. A man in affluent or easy circumstances is said to be newaba <sup>(A SKIN SKIRT)</sup> a word which is connected with amafeta <sup>(FAT)</sup> which <sup>is</sup> used for making umakaba or skin newaba or soft & pliable. <sup>(OR NCWABA)</sup> Mxaba says ineqiniso <sup>respect</sup> natives are reduced to poverty by their own tastes. A man is taught to take to clothing; this creates for him a certain standard of living up to which he, from

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fear of being ridiculed by others, strives to live. Thus it is due to the advent of Europeans that there is this tendency to spend one's means merely for the sake of being like others; they bring all manner of goods which increase the desire to spend. J. K. speaks of clothing & other things made by Europeans as <sup>(ngwagebulungu)</sup> ~~ngwagebulungu~~. He disagrees with Mabaso <sup>when he says</sup> in saying the articles brought into the country by Europeans are a cause of poverty, on the ground that of Kolwas and raw natives, i.e. those who are in the habit of purchasing European clothing and what not and those who rarely buy, the poorer are undoubtedly the raw natives, those who have not yet learnt to need the articles referred to. Now, he asked me, is it that more poverty is found among raw natives than among those more enlightened? I replied that the Europeans brought with them into this country not the things only but the spirit of continuing to create or manufacture them; they brought with them the spirit of competition, and it is this rivalry which the raw native does not understand, but which to some extent has been assimilated by the more enlightened among them, viz. the Kolwas. That at any rate appeared to me partially to answer J. K.'s question. Raw natives have not the means because they have not risen to a consciousness of <sup>the great</sup> that spirit which is practically the soul of Englishmen. And yet there are but few natives in Natal, even the rawest, who do not purchase, and what is more, are <sup>NOT</sup> in the habit of purchasing European goods; every man, for instance, is required to have a coat and a pair of trousers when he enters a town. Natives must come to see that Europeans are abakumbi, i.e. inventors and manufacturers; that the end of each is to acquire wealth; <sup>(As there is a spirit of perpetual competition, so it seeks for more profit with increasing capital.)</sup> they are a commercial people.

J. K. asked me to give some account of pauperism in England. This I did by drawing attention to the effect of the introduction of machinery &c on cotton-spinning and coaches. Many were ruined on the coming into use of steam &c. Mabaso observed that here in Natal many natives who had purchased waggons and to some extent depended on transport were deprived of that means of earning a livelihood owing to the coming of the Railway. I emphasized the gravity of the problem of the Poor in England, as well as in other countries, & said the State was obliged to deal in a special manner <sup>(with its Poor laws, Commissions, workhouses &c)</sup> ~~with it~~ & that it formed one of the most expensive undertakings & heaviest moral burdens.

<sup>(SPACE)</sup> We dealt with the question: Liquor, should Natives be absolutely prohibited from procuring it or should all restrictions be done away as with Europeans themselves? <sup>WITH</sup>

Mxaba said Liquor is drunk by every nation on earth in one form or another. It is right that liquor (beer) should be drunk by peoples in moderation, for <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ wine maketh glad the heart of man. Spirits taken in moderation add to man's sociability, therefore it would be wrong to proscribe them. On the other hand, drunkenness is something which no good Govt <sup>can</sup> ~~could~~ tolerate. In Zululand a man who got drunk was ~~beaten~~ and severely dealt with, beaten, not allowed to drink again. Ndukwana supports this statement, there is no trial, but the Chief, if present, might give an order to have him beaten. Mxaba says in effect that ~~was~~ beer is a good familiar creature if well used, but ~~there is~~ every inordinate cup is unblesed and the ingredient is a devil. On the ground that all restriction gives rise to a desire to know and to have, so Mxaba is of opinion that no restrictions should be placed on the sale of liquor to ~~the~~ Natives. Let every man have what he wants for he will have, even though the prohibited article is hedged round by the heaviest penalties, as witness the ~~(isigodhlo)~~ in Zululand <sup>int</sup> to which men broke from time to time as thick as flies. Mabaso spoke next. His view was somewhat as follows: I am neither for total prohibition <sup>NOR</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>abolition</sup> of all restrictions; what I should rather like to see is an educative influence at work, let people have an opportunity of satisfying their wants, but let them always feel that they are accountable to their parents as well as to the state for their conduct; let both the parents and the state punish. None of us could follow quite clearly what Mabaso meant, but what ~~it~~ have stated appeared to be the general drift of his words. J. K. favoured total prohibition, and at the same time blamed Europeans for putting up large sign-boards informing the general public that choice spirits ~~&c~~ could be obtained within. But for this notice, which has caught the eye of the traveller, he would have passed by contentedly enough. That is true, I remarked, but when you people cook your beers, do no smokes rise? This remark tickled Mxaba and Mabaso. J. K. replied: No doubt the smoke and smell do attract people, but it must be remembered a portion of this beer may not be drunk; not all the beer cooked is drunk, for some is carried off to the Chief. Yes, I said, but the remainder is drunk nevertheless. I might have added that European <sup>Govts</sup> tax spirits heavily, being one of the chief sources of revenue. Mxaba, in his former speech, informed me that in Zululand beer is used to be drunk universally, there used to be ~~(imitayi)~~ <sup>(imitayi)</sup>, i.e. the simultaneous making of beer in a particular part of the country, and that on such occasions

there would be wranglings and when going to cross the sea both to Swaziland not controlled. when I reported succeeded in visible that the individuals -duced by the to get what men to neglect as they saw they liked.

We turned be taken as what were is the motive to such -selves to be perceive the to satisfy the Europeans every means constant su I said this Indians had give the re <sup>(one)</sup> for an act said, "You off to India them to work problem for

there would be widespread rejoicing and innocent conviviality, there would be no quarrels, wranglings and fightings, for the only causes of the fighting of regiments ~~were~~ were when going out of the gate of the kraal, or else at the drifts when desiring to cross the same. Beer drinking did not give rise to fighting. I drew attention both to Swaziland, where spirit traffic was controlled, and Tongaland, where it was not controlled. I said Europeans in England (English Gout) were quick to take alarm when I reported the matter; that the Boers imposed very heavy penalties, which succeeded in checking the supply by traders. It was by holding the traders responsible that the supply was effectually put a stop to, not so much by punishing the individuals who got the liquor. In Tongaland, through liquor being freely introduced by the Portuguese &c, and anybody and everybody thereby being enabled to get what he wanted, the whole family system had been undermined, causing men to neglect their homes, women to commit adultery, children to roam about as they saw fit. It would <sup>therefore</sup> be criminal to allow natives to have liquor whenever they liked.

1 SPACE

|| We turned to "Indians: why have they come to Natal, <sup>the following remarks shall be taken as preceding those contained on p. 44, bottom line &c.</sup> I said I wanted to know what were the circumstances under which the Indians came to South Africa; what is the motive which prompted their being introduced, and that which gave rise to such a motive? I continued that as far as I could see the natives are themselves to blame for allowing Europeans to introduce <sup>the Indians</sup> them. Why did not natives perceive the spirit of commerce which animated the English, and endeavour to satisfy their wants simply by furnishing the labour they required? The Europeans gave the natives a long trial, and it was only when they had employed every means in their power to secure good and reliable labour and an unfailing, constant supply of it, that the notion occurred to them of importing Indians. I said this after J.K. had remarked, when I asked them to explain why the Indians had come (been allowed to come) to Natal, that they looked to me to give the reasons (being a white man). How could they, J.K. added, <sup>be expected to</sup> give the reason for an act <sup>done</sup> by the (alien) Europeans? Mxaba, hearing me give the reason said: "You Europeans are impatient and impulsive (*Uyini na sinike*). You send off to India before you have made a real effort to educate the natives and teach them to work. As it is, by the introduction of the Indians, you have made the problem far more complicated, for ~~it~~ are not Indians employed in your hotels,







made on, I think, 31. 12. 00, to this effect: 'The Boers came secretly by twos and threes and stole the country they now own, as they did Natal, the English did not steal, they fought openly, the Boers fought to maintain what they had taken by stealth.' I was at first inclined to disagree, saying that might is right, he who holds has the right to keep; but I felt the force of the accusation, and today I see in the Times the <sup>paragraph</sup> ~~article~~ attached which supports Mxaba. <sup>98</sup> ~~with a~~

I here conclude the conversations of 31. 12. 00 and 1. 1. 01 with J. Kumalo, Mabaso, + Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana. Ndukwana tells me this morning that J. K. and Mabaso did not see much good in the discussion that took place on the morning of 11. 01, chiefly between Mxaba and myself (pp. 44-50), and told Mxaba so. I am surprised at this, because it was that very discussion (contact) with Mxaba which gave to my mind the conviction that Natives are indeed men, that discussion became in itself <sup>(the best)</sup> evidence of the truth for which the man contended, <sup>viz. that natives were capable of great works, inventions like other nations</sup> it was his effort to portray the potentialities in the native mind, <sup>in general</sup> which afforded my mind evidence that that <sup>(single)</sup> mind with which I conversed was fully equal to my own and therefore <sup>the</sup> the owner (and all his race) <sup>must be</sup> ~~is~~ worthy of belonging to that communion to which I belong. <sup>(in reality)</sup> This is very high praise, <sup>seeing the present circumstances</sup> but of a single member of a despised race, I can argue so clearly & tellingly on abstract subjects and understand all that I look upon as the best, then I say there is hope for the race. It has, in the past, simply lacked opportunity, or it would have distinguished itself. In Mxaba I found not merely my match, but my identity. <sup>(He thrills with what I call possibilism)</sup> He is able to grasp every thought that I can grasp, and therefore of transforming himself to any ideal <sup>(I can realize)</sup> ~~idea~~ <sup>choice</sup>. In short, if I were called upon to name the <sup>(most comprehensive)</sup> most ablest native mind I had conversed with, and the keenest philosopher on the Native Question, I would set Lazarus Mxaba <sup>(nearly, if not quite)</sup> first. Umela, Soewatsha, S. Mini, Radebe, C. Kunene, Isaac Mkhize, John Kumalo, Ndukwana, Zibebu, Mankulumana, Tikuba, John Gama, Johannes Kumalo, Teteloku are all good, but, I think, not quite so good. Though the man is brimful of European notions, still his mind is his own. <sup>(He has indeed travelled much, but all travellers are)</sup> He, I think, <sup>(somehow)</sup> erred with regard to liquor, but all else was solid, true, ~~in~~ set in pure, forcible, fine language. The existence of such men as these I have quoted undoubtedly renders the work I have in hand less difficult. Mxaba is a full man, <sup>(with large sympathetic power)</sup> with fruitful observations. It will be seen I followed the European argument against the native, and perhaps I am so taken with his <sup>(his)</sup> abilities because he defended his race in precisely the same terms I have myself defended them (as my writings will show).

John Kumalo is full of pithy sayings; his observations of facts have been carefully made; he is quick at grasping those telling trivialities which often escape men's attention. He

\* This remark is suggested by his sage remark to my own question as to what enlightenment Ekekenyeni had shed on men - p. 53.

tires of an argument if long-sustained, even if not nearly exhausted, and wishes to pass on to other matters. He is, however, very careful to keep to the point, and frequently calls on us to return to the main issue. He is <sup>(a good ~~in~~ ~~an~~ ~~experimentalist~~ ~~+~~ ~~an~~)</sup> an experimentalist. Mxaba is the philosopher, and I notice both J.K. & Mabaso always inclined to letting him speak first. Mabaso thinks much, says little; whatever he says he says forcefully. <sup>He</sup> is an original and independent thinker, with a practical turn like J. Kumalo. Most of our conversations have been to a large extent beyond Ndukwana, but only because he is not sufficiently familiar with those facts which we find in print. There is no doubt Mxaba was greatly influenced by <sup>long</sup> contact with that able man & inquirer, Sir J. Shepstone, like Keteleka.

See pp. 112-116 of General (ordinary) Note Book, under date 3.1.01 for notes of two interviews with Mr. G. M. Rudolph dealing <sup>briefly</sup> with the questions (a) did the Boers steal Natal from the Zulus? (b) what caused the Boers, originally Protestant Hollanders and French Huguenots, to revert to the patriarchal system of Government, (c) the first coming into contact of Boers with Zulus.

See same place for note re lobola reminding one of Jewish practice &c.

Conversation with John Kumalo in presence of Ndukwana, 14.1.01. He said Lasi, i.e. Legaeus Mxaba, had said to him, <sup>the</sup> same day, that in our discussions he would like <sup>(4)</sup> to be present, viz John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, himself, another, with myself and Ndukwana. They wish to have further discussions. J.K. proposes 'Resemblance of Colonists of Natal to Boers in their treatment of the Natives' as the next subject to go into when we meet, say a month hence when I return from my leave [I put in for it today]. J.K. tells me of the case of Bob Kumalo who was at the Court House not long ago. Some kind of a noise arose near where he was standing of which he was in no way the cause. A policeman (white) came up and beat him in spite of the fact that <sup>BOB</sup> ~~BOB~~ said he had not been making a noise. He was beaten before a number of other natives, and the Indian Constable said that the <sup>Kolowa</sup> was to clear off. J.K. thinks that this was a case of great indignity, and no official ought to be allowed to lay hands on a native unless the Magistrate had ordered corporal punishment, and such punishment, he adds, is always administered within the precincts of the gaol away from the public gaze. J.K. says that he was himself struck in the ribs by one of the Police, a Sergeant (European), when he came in to see the Clerk, Roberts, (Mwemve) for having done no wrong that he could see.

I spoke of the grievances of the Jews, & referred to the origin of the words 'Africa' & 'Ethiopia', the contact of Arabs with Africa, the Zimbabwe ruins, the <sup>Archaeology</sup> Phoenicians, &c., also to Spinoza, showing how difficult was the problem of reconciling peoples who had once come to be in a state of antagonism. I emphasized the necessity of going to the origins

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of things, for thorough investigation of <sup>the</sup> operative question in every way, & of delaying publishing any-  
-thing until something had been attained. J. K. said he understood that I have no wish for office,  
+ sees how it is. Mabaso is busy, or the 3 would like to have come in on Saturday next.

J. K. is, I think, beginning to feel the greatness of the whole subj<sup>t</sup>.

9.12.01 I had a long chat with Shlozi, who arrived on 7<sup>th</sup> inst, about my  
wish to gather information re native affairs. I mentioned the advisability  
of getting Socwatscha down from Nkandhla. This evening I proposed his  
going to call Socwatscha and asked if he would like doing work in regard  
to native customs &c. He at once consented and we arranged for him to go  
& call Socwatscha leaving here 12<sup>th</sup> inst (Thursday) going via Bond's  
Drift. My object in getting Socwatscha is to have someone I know and  
who thoroughly knows Zululand and its principal people, who is moreover  
smart and would understand the object of my inquiry and take interest  
in it, he moreover could supply good information as to biography of various  
Zulu heads. I sent a few days ago (about 10) for a blind man from  
Zululand well up in izibongo of Zulu Kings but he has not as yet  
been heard of. I gave £1 to the messenger for this man's expenses (with  
dibi). I want Shlozi to leave soon so as to get Socwatscha about the  
time of the Christmas & New Year's holidays.

2.1.02. Rd. Bora  
Silverton Durban

Socwatscha & Shlozi arrived. 27. 2. '01. (see N.B. Hist. of Zululand)

Conversation with Socwatscha ka Paper in the presence of Shlozi and  
Ndukwana ka Mbingwana, 2.1.02.

The great thing we are thankful for to British Govt is that the  
country is in a state of peace. We can now lab' ubutongo, which in  
former days could not be. There are other advantages derived but I  
go on to the complaints we have against the system.

Our grievances are

- (1) The having to pay hut-tax twice over, viz living on farms.
- (2) The having to pay taxes at all in these hard times when all our  
cattle have been carried off by rinderpest.
- (3) Being disallowed to marry a daughter off to a suitable man  
who has cattle in accordance with old custom.

The girl is not to go where she does not wish to go, nor may

are not required, only good girls. I think this rumour must find its origin in the ~~the~~ notion to settle numbers of soldiers in South Africa at the conclusion of the war.

5.10.00 Lady Smith. I see a good deal about the Ethiopian Order in the Diophasan Magazine for October, including some important regulations drawn up by <sup>some</sup> the Bishops in the Cape Colony in August. (v.p. 72 of N.B. for Oct. r.) 73/111 ~~22~~

12.10.00 Lady Smith. I had a conversation, lasting about 1 1/4 hrs this afternoon with John <sup>64</sup> Khamalo, an important headman at Roozboom, (where a number of Holwats live) in Klip River Div. He I should think is about 62 years of age. He formerly lived in Estcourt Div. Emangueni near Pasiwar, Little Tugela.

He said there are two main grievances natives have against the <sup>(a)</sup> rent charged by Europeans against natives squatting on the land; (b) loss of control of fathers over their daughters. As regards (a), a man for not paying is turned off by the white man, <sup>say</sup> in 10 days, <sup>or if white man brings case on</sup> appeal to court, merely confirms white man's action, the man leaves, he drives <sup>away</sup> his belongings, goats &c; perhaps these are <sup>then</sup> impounded by some other white man and the native has to find a resting place as best he can; but tax comes on & the magt expects immediate payment. As for (b), natives object to their daughters <sup>having prominent relations</sup> ~~somewhat~~ with their lovers; they desire young men first to get permission, girls may then be have to be corrected (beaten); they run off to some town, like Lady Smith, to work; they engage in the service of some European woman; the father goes off to look for his daughter, finds her after some trouble, speaks to the mistress; <sup>(in the presence of)</sup> the girl, afraid of her father, goes on with her work; ~~in the meantime~~, the mistress says, in her indifferent "Kitchen Kaffir", "Oh, no, you can't have your daughter, she is engaged to work for me. If you want to talk about the matter, see my husband, he is away just now, but will be back soon"; the husband comes, "What," he says, "you want your daughter?" "No, I can't let you have her, she is working"; father goes off powerless to do any more; in course of time the girl will let a lot of dishes, plates &c fall on the ground; she will then be beaten and dismissed by her mistress; she is afraid of returning to her angry father, she comes across gaudily dressed girls in the streets who question her and ultimately persuade her to join them & earn ~~that~~ by prostitution, that money which <sup>will</sup> enable her to dress as stylishly as her comrades. The girl goes entirely to the dogs and the father curses his luck <sup>as he</sup> by perceiving no prospect of coming by the <sup>which but for this was within his reach</sup> lobola, ~~his rightful due~~.

There are other matters a native does not understand. When he gets drunk he is arrested and fined for being in a state of intoxication. He asks "Why am I arrested for being drunk? Was not the money I got drunk on my property mine?" \*

12.10.1900 Generally speaking there was no grievance against Sir J. Shepstone, he governed well, but there is however one point. A body of men, Ngoza's, including Inkungo (who could read & write) went to Shepstone, he saw them in public, the subjects was (Kholwas were, I think, present). \* see p. 112 where marked thus \*

112  
Ngora's people + Inkungu's  
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As for Colenso, he was so much the Natives' friend, so much did he identify himself with them, that people <sup>(Europeans)</sup> disliked him on that account. He once wrote <sup>(prophesied)</sup> in a little book about Columbus's Voyages that the whole world will yet bend the knee, and give their allegiance to Africa <sup>(saying Amen)</sup> ~~at Zizwe~~ <sup>zi yozwe zi</sup> zinke <sup>zi yozwe zi</sup> qugel' uAfrica, zi konz' abantwini uAfrica). John K. says he has not, for long past, seen this book, i.e. it may be out of print. [v. 50] It is not in the Inhlanguisela. John K. frequently visited Bishopstow. 73/112

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Lady Smith. (per Dalrymple 16.10.00) <sup>was sent</sup> ~~Quarantine~~ to P. m. Burg on 12<sup>th</sup> inst and returned 15<sup>th</sup> (last night). He met one Velamuwa at Estcourt yesterday whilst waiting for the train, of ch. Siyepu's tribe, set about 21, on his way to work at Harris Smith. Said, all chiefs of Estcourt Div: have been called to P. m. Burg, thinks it is because they are to be told all girls are to be endisa' imasotsheni, so that they might zala amasotsha. A man with ~~a~~ a number of wives would have all but one taken from him - a woman who no longer bears would be left and, in the event of there being such women, an additional one, who is still fertile, would be left. All boys are to

Contact with civilized races (contd, from p. 123)

22. 11. 00

Who present

Ladysmith Per John Kumalo, Ndabwana present about 5.15 Pm. - 6.15 Pm. I cannot give the conversation in order as I write from memory. What struck me most was J's strong preference for the old <sup>(chiefs)</sup> amaXosha of the Zulus or simply Natives, so much so that if he had been younger he would have given his allegiance. <sup>the system of Chief Ncwadi</sup> thereto instead of becoming a Christian convert; now this is very remarkable. <sup>ka Sibilalika Ndabwana</sup> He approves Ncwadi's system under which he allows his boys & young men to become amaXosha proficient in reading & writing, they may dress & become amaXosha if they like, but they are all managed according to ancient custom. He still holds <sup>(the umfobo)</sup> ukhosi. Those who are in the habit of dressing will take off their clothes and put on <sup>(loam cones)</sup> umfobo, &c. He calls his <sup>(agreements)</sup> bandla together and instructs them in the affairs of the white people, i.e. political questions &c. Ncwadi is one of the hereditary chiefs. J. is of opinion <sup>that the</sup> old Zulu <sup>system of</sup> Govt <sup>was</sup> very like that of English people, especially if, after a man has been appointed to an office and if he be found unsuitable for it, he is let down as gently as possible. <sup>was</sup> It is very difficult in Zululand, in old days, to remove a man who was once established as an official. Rev. Thompson before going to Springvale stayed a month with J. in order to learn the Zulu language &c. <sup>(29)</sup> He was like an orphan, <sup>(He subsequently was able to interpret well for the Bishop)</sup> having no means. Some European clergymen when they meet J. in private will shake hands effusively with J, but when they meet him in a public place, as in the street, they do not do so. Again members of a church are, whilst in it, called brothers by their clergy; should they leave they are no longer brothers. Great credit is due to Sir J. Shepstone for having managed to control a savage people as he did & keep them in order for so many years. He made a number of his own chiefs, viz. Ngqozo, Ingundane &c. men previously with no rank. The main defect of his system was not educating the natives; by this time many more would have been so far advanced as to send representatives to Parliament. When J. came to live in these parts No bamba was already the name of Wreener, named after <sup>the</sup> Zulu kraal like Ingungundhlovu. Years ago the Governor of this Colony, foreseeing natives had trouble in store, advised them strongly to buy land, as Europeans would soon arrive in large numbers & purchase all available land. The missionaries, however, did all they could to dissuade natives from buying. C. Barter, Magistrate of P. M. Burg <sup>(30)</sup> once said that it ~~was~~ would be very bad policy to cause native and European prostitutes to leave the town as, if there were none, <sup>the</sup> soldiers would break into people's houses and ravage ladies & their daughters.

Further convers<sup>ed</sup> with John Kumalo, this 24. 11. 00. Ndabwana present. <sup>He</sup> Considers that some definite policy ought to be devised for dealing with the natives in their relations with white

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be made soldiers of. One girl & boy belonging to the remaining fertile women will be taken and transported off to England to be educated there. — On 12<sup>th</sup> Q spoke to another man, age about 35, who had come to Colenso to kweli's izintobi za ku bo on the train, his chief, Mzimba. Said, all girls will be married off to soldiers, those natives who worked for Muhle (J. S. Marwick) at Ladysmith were the persons who originated the rumour, Muhle hlebela'd them at Ladysmith and said all girls would be taken and that they were to be on <sup>their</sup> guard. —

Q. walked back from Colenso, he says, traversed part of that country Buller, & the Boers fought over, found that Boers, as natives complained, had pangad <sup>all</sup> izimpahla also assegais. Natives would fhla assegais in the grass of their huts, Boers would fuza <sup>(indhla)</sup> = pull grass off <sup>rumour</sup> ~~huts~~ in armfuls & throw away about in order to find assegais. — v. pp 110. 111 for above.

<sup>1.54 PM. 28. 10. 00</sup> Ladysmith. I had a conversation with John Kumalo of Roosboom on miscellaneous subjects from about 10 am. to 1 Pm. today. <sup>present: Ndubwana</sup> He said that what first created in him the desire to learn to read & write and to become a kolwa was when, years ago, before the discovery of diamonds at Kimberly (ie. before the opening of the mines there) he was out at work in the Cape Colony <sup>and</sup> he had occasion to go to an office to ask for a pass back to Natal, in company with others, & such pass was written out and given to him by a Fengu (<sup>or</sup> ~~or~~) — a black man. It astonished him to see a black man able to read and write. He then left with the pass, travelling via Basutoland with his friends. In Basutoland he was asked for his pass by a Basuto who had on no other clothing than a skin <sup>(isigama - isipuku)</sup> <sup>covering</sup> ~~isigama~~ etc, purely native clothing, at first he was surprized at the Basuto calling for the pass and would not produce it, but when the boy, for boy it was, persisted he gave him the pass. The boy at once read what was thereon, telling the very names of the party by reading them accurately from the paper. After this there was a very keen desire to learn. John's father had four wives, two had one child each, J's mother had five children of whom (2) died. J's eldest brother is still living, is not a kolwa <sup>and</sup> refuses to become one; he has had ~~a number~~ more than one wife; all of them are dead (from dysentery?); one of his children is a kolwa. J. told his father of his wish to go to P. M. Burg to work in order to learn, as well as to find out about <sup>the great thing</sup> ~~the great thing~~ <sup>in striking</sup> ~~in striking~~ <sup>him</sup> ~~him~~. His father was much opposed to this and <sup>in striking</sup> scratched him with his hands, his mother was silent, afraid of course of her husband. J., however, was determined to go & go he did, bring accompanied part of the way by his mother who gave <sup>little parcels of</sup> him his food & was so disconsolate that J. had to shut his eyes & tear himself from her. J. went to P. M. Burg, came to Inkungu ka Mpande whom he had heard of, and was taken by Inkungu to Bishopstowe (Bp. Colenso).

14  
Bp. Colenso had J. taught; he was taught by a Mr. Bo (written as pronounced). He made rapid progress as he took a keen interest in his work. For instance, when he heard people talking he used to try & think how the words they used would be spelled if written. In this way he learnt to read and write.

Bp. Colenso was a man endowed with prophetic vision. He <sup>(Colenso)</sup> once asked a Dr. — if he could tell what the origin of the Zulu people was. The doctor said he thought they were descended from the Jews. Colenso expressed approval and proceeded to indicate a few things upon which such conclusion could be based. He referred to their strict laws, <sup>where people were killed for adultery,</sup> and for a number of other offences; circumcision; the offering up of incense (<sup>(impepo as the Zulus call it)</sup>); and the <sup>(SPIRITS)</sup> amathlozi worshipped seem to find a kind of prototype in the serpents set up in the wilderness. Colenso very eagerly took down native customs <sup>etc.</sup> from elderly natives' lips; he would write while the man was talking & without looking on the paper, except to see where he was writing. He did a very great deal of writing. J. cannot understand how it is there are so few followers of Sobantu nowadays, they have dwindled to nothing, yet on great subjects no one dared to approach him, any question a man might ask would at once be swallowed up by the great know-all. Sobantu denied the existence of hell; he said Christ only spoke figuratively, comparing it to Gehenna, the place of rubbish outside Jerusalem; for, C. would ask, if your child does wrong do you kill it? The answer is, "No, why then shall God, ~~what~~ who is our father, send us to perdition for doing wrong?" Colenso was a fluent linguist, could hear everything a native had to say, & always wished him to speak in a manly & not in an effeminate way.

Langalibalele. Langalibalele did no wrong. What happened was this: W. Shepatone, <sup>(8)</sup> Nsokonsokwana, at the instigation of his father, came to the Amahlubi tribe and got labourers for the Kimberly Diamond fields. When at Kimberly, these men were set out to work among Europeans. At that time it was possible for Europeans without any difficulty to buy guns in Kimberly. The natives took it into their own heads to buy guns through their European masters, they succeeded & afterwards brought the guns back to their tribe. Langalibalele was not in any way the person who instructed them to buy guns. The whole of the misunderstanding that arose & the consequent fighting, was due to Mahoyiza, the <sup>(induna)</sup> pent by Sornsewu to see Langalibalele in regard to the registration of the guns. Mahoyiza took some of his own messengers with him & conducted negotiations with Langalibalele by means of them. <sup>(instead of personally)</sup> No doubt the young men at Langalibalele's resented this action on

the part of <sup>Mahoyiza</sup> Langalibalele and, by influencing their father, caused things to come to a crisis, which, if ~~Sonjewa~~ had managed the whole affair personally, would never have occurred. The secret of all the trouble was Mahoyiza. J. after the disturbances, had occasion to go & try to recover his relations from the Langalibalele tribes. Before going on, it should be noted that J. went at night once to Bp. Colenso about this Langalibalele affair, taking the Chief's side & carrying certain information. When, later on, he went to ask for his relations, he saw Mmango (R. J. Shepstone) who accused him of carrying messages to Bp. Colenso at night time, and quarrelled with him about the matter. He said, "you thought Langalibalele would not be imprisoned & made to cross the sea, did you? Where is he now?"

Land. In the Klip River and Estcourt Divisions many years ago there were large native locations. These locations were afterwards surveyed and divided up into farms. Rents varying from £1 to £3 & £4 were then charged. In Klip R. Div. there is now very little location land compared to what used to be. This part of Natal used to be looked upon as belonging to the Zulu King, for all these heads like Langalibalele, Madada, Pakade, Nyamayenja &c used to pay <sup>(tela)</sup> to Ishaka &c. (13)

Kaliwas. J. says: We belong neither to the Europeans nor to the natives. We are a people apart & without proper laws. He thinks the best thing for the natives is to have them taught trades, boot-making, building, waggon-making as the Trappists do, for whilst they are learning they are reaping the fruit of their labour. <sup>He</sup> Considers that the Govt. should try and <sup>teach</sup> ~~work~~ <sup>by teaching trades</sup> cause natives to become more industrious than they are. The Natives do not care for the Amakolwa and the Amakolwa do not care for the Natives.

J. belongs to the Kumalo tribe, also Johannes, (14) and they are members of that tribe which was headed by the well-known Mzilikazi. Johannes K. was once called on by Magaga (Moodie) to furnish labourers. Johannes said "Why should I, who own a farm, be required to furnish men when the white farmers are not called on to give them?" <sup>Magaga caused him to go to gaol.</sup> There was an appeal to the Supreme Court and Magaga's decision was upheld. (15)

When, many years ago, a great Governor came on a visit to Natal (was it Sir Bartle Frere or Sir George Grey?) J. and a number of other natives decided to send in a petition to him, & did, setting forth various grievances & disabilities from which they suffered. J. was the foremost of the petitioners. The petition was presented by Rev. Mr. Markham of Polela. Amongst the various petition items was the having to pay hut tax (7/-), the having to pay £5 to the Govt. on account of each marriage, the being called out to work to pay hut

tax, seeing in Zululand they were used merely to military service and were never required to work. Sir J. Shepstone had to report on the matter. The first thing he did was to call up all a large gathering of <sup>chiefs</sup> headmen, like Ingundane, Ngoza, Teteleku &c. & put the petition before them & call for an expression of their opinion. The meeting called the petitioners a lot of 'cats' who had been borne by them but had gone off to live elsewhere on their own account. With the exception of the £5 marriage fee, the men were opposed to the petition which consequently fell flat. <sup>The</sup> petitioners were told that in future they ~~must~~ should lay any grievances they had before the Legislative Council.

J. also went into the new Order of Ethiopia. He told Bp. Baynes a short time ago (several weeks) that there was no branch of the Ethiopian Church in Natal that he knew of. J. very much disapproved of Bp. Turner's <sup>idea</sup> of being apart from the European communion in order that, as in America, they could have their own manufactures, newspapers &c. &c. What it is right the Natives should be inside not outside the Christian Communion.

6.55 PM  
28.10.00  
Same conversation and also further one this afternoon from 4.30 PM. to 6.15 PM. J. knows Mr. Winter very well. Mr. Winter <sup>once</sup> said to him, 'We white people are very few in number, there are about 2 of us, whereas you natives are very numerous. If we educate you in such a way as shall enable you to compete with us, you will rapidly obtain ascendancy over and ultimately oust us. We, therefore, will not pursue what is obviously a suicidal policy.'

I put a number of questions on the foregoing 3 pages to which I got these answers: I, says J., worked at Buffol beyond Vitoli <sup>the two</sup> (so pronounced) in the Cape in the early days. The Cape is called Erini by natives. The reason I went to work so far off was because I heard wages were good there. My father of course did not object to my going there. A Fengu is so-called because when the Amahlebi tribe was scattered & routed in 1873 many of them took refuge among the Amaxoza who said these refugees had come to Fenguza, i.e. to Konza or seek refuge. [There were other refugees besides Amahlebi.] On my return from Cape Colony I did not pass through Basuto-land but through Griqualand, Adam Kok's Country, and the educated Basuto who ~~spoke~~ for my part was aged about 30-34. When I wanted to go to P. m. Burg I said to my father I wanted to go & learn reading & writing. I did not say I wanted to become a Kolowa; the Kolowaing came afterwards. I lived at a wagon-maker's, Mr. Glik & Mr. White-law (Whitelock?). I was about 36-37 at the time. Colenso caused me to be taught. I was not present when Colenso spoke to the Doctor, but I was afterwards told of the conversation. Besides the similarities between Julius & Jews named, there are the ~~read~~ read about Fenguza p. 70, Annals of N. where Fynn gives what seems a far truer explanation.

73/116-18

1 SPACE

1 SPACE

following: isivivana is a pile of stones often seen along a path on to which every passer-by throws a stone or a tuft of grass tied into a knot & spat on, for luck; also the habit for a Zulu to go miles & miles to make a trivial purchase, <sup>with</sup> <sup>say</sup> if, or he may go a great distance to sell tobacco & what not, <sup>time & distance is</sup> no object. The relations I had to recover were 2 daughters of my sister married to one of Langalibalele's tribe, she had been obliged to leave the girls with friends because compelled to flee with her husband. I afterwards restored the girls to my sister when she returned. I was caught by one of Somsewu's spies, Adamu, - Somsewu's snuff-box bearers, - going at night to see Sobantu. - The occupants of the old locations in Klip river & Estcourt Dvins were men zikali ka Mantiwana, <sup>?</sup> Putile ka Matshoba, Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu, Pakade ka Macingwane, Nodada ka Mku'ubukeli and others. The labourers called for by Magaga from Johannes were required for Govt duties just about the time of the Zulu war of 1879. - I, I say, do not know the name of the Governor who came, he arrived in Natal shortly after the Langalibalele disturbances. - Among the <sup>men</sup> ~~armad~~ consulted by Somsewu were Ngoza, Teteleku, Mahlanya, ~~Nguzo~~, Mqundane & ie those in the neighbourhood of P. M. Burg. Sir J.S. did not summon men who lived in the outlying parts. - We were called 'cats' because we had practically deserted from our kraals to enter the service of white people. - My father's name was Mayikana ka Mzondo, and Mzondo's father & run thus: Mzondo ka Katide ka Mtshega ka Ngununu. (This last name became the name of a hill in Zululand beyond Tryheid <sup>this was on account of my ancestor</sup>) The name given me by my father is Myeye. - An <sup>royal messenger</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>use</sup> who used to visit Sobantu from Zululand was Sintwange. - Sir J.S. was to all intents & purposes exactly like a native Chieftain, he behaved like one, witness the having a snuff-box bearers [see above].

The greater difference natives notice between Boer & British Govt is that the latter depends on the principle, 'love thy neighbour as thyself' as seen in this: a man gets drunk, falls down in the street; he is ~~found~~ picked up and taken care of, even though lodged in gaol & subsequently punished, he is taken out of harm's way; his money is saved from the risk of being lost by being taken from him; also his pipe & what not <sup>are</sup> kept until he is himself again. Again, a man gets ill; he is removed to a hospital and there properly tended and looked after and when he is well, reasonable fees are asked from him. Nothing of this kind of solicitude can be seen in Boer rule.

Kaffirs are amakafula; they are bobijana (monkeys). A Boer once said, "The English are attempting to educate you, they may as well ~~take~~ <sup>take</sup> ~~feet~~ <sup>feet</sup> of ~~abbot~~ <sup>abbot</sup> ~~w~~ go into the bush, catch a monkey and educate that, the latter would be an easier feat than the former." In the old days when the Boers went in for slavery, when one man used to sell slaves to another all over the country, it became impossible for natives to know the relationships they truly stood in towards the other slaves they saw about them, & thus a man might find himself having connection with his sister, cousin &c, and from such might arise the aspersion cast by Boers on natives that they are a set of whoremongers. In Klip River Div<sup>n</sup> there are many Boer farmers; none of these, except Bester (& he only on half his farm) charge rent; they exact service instead. Natives are, some of them, already regretting that the Englishman is taking the Boers' country, saying, "Where shall we get the money to pay rent, hut tax &c?" J. is averse to the abolition of the tribal system, he is loathe to destroy what gives comfort to so many people. <sup>if</sup> A chief is in need of anything he falls back on his people who willingly respond. Sibamee is a case in point. This Chief lives in Estcourt Div<sup>n</sup>, he came a short time ago to his people in this Div<sup>n</sup> to ask them for contributions to an object he had in view. They all responded, here a 2/6, there 5/- and 10/- until at last some £140 was collected. This amount was all sent in to the Gov<sup>t</sup> to be given to the Widows and Orphans of those who have fallen in the war. Sibamee says he is much impressed by the spectacle of his ~~king~~ sovereign fighting & spilling his blood whilst he Sibamee, so far from being called to assist, is, with his people, engaged in the ordinary avocations, marriage, beer drinking, sowing crops & what not. J. saw & spoke to Sibamee on this point, Sibamee spent the night at J.'s & had a goat killed for him. J. mentions Amakoboka <sup>(Contact with English's race)</sup> as the name of a people who live towards the interior & who were made slaves of by the Boers. (24)

The Boers state clearly what their policy towards natives is; English people beat about the bush, hum & ha, pretend to be doing everything for the good of the native, and yet the reverse is often the case. - There are a few people who will so devote themselves to the promoting the good of the native & as to practically ruin themselves, many on the other hand are quite unmindful of the fact that anything requires doing. - J. does not trust place great reliance in the young Englishmen of today; they do not go as thoroughly into matters as Somsewe, Mr. J. Bird &c &c & yet they fancy they know more than their elders. - A whiteman much appreciated by natives & who understood them was Mtshwetshewe <sup>(deceased)</sup> who used to be in the firm Walton & Jatham (Lady Smith).

*(Handwritten notes in margin)*  
 1/3 11/3 (Contact with English's race)  
 30/12/00  
 24

29.10.1900 PM

73/119-421 119

This morning I had a further talk with John Kumalo, after which he returned to his home at Roosboom. I had asked him to come for 2 or 3 days. He said, chiefly in answer to direct questions, I think the best way to solve the Native Question is by referring the matter to Parliament. Through discussion ways will be found of dealing with the matter. Some single men even might be able to find out something of a solution. As for myself, I am unable to propose a solution. It seems to me that instead of endeavouring to deal with each grievance or difficulty, some definite policy should be discovered & announced. There are several grave objections to the Indians and Arabs. The former become domestic servants in the principal places like hotels, refreshment places &c, thereby displacing natives. Moreover the money earned by them is not spent in the country; it is sent out of South Africa to India. This applies specially to the Arabs. An Indian once said, "We have come here to South Africa, not to fight, not against the Europeans, but against you. We have come to compete and enter into rivalry with you." At Kimberly there was a protest made by Europeans against the employment of native labour in the mines. A white man got up and said such protest was monstrous, for these Europeans who were clamouring to be employed in the mines were the very ones who, as soon as they had filled their pockets, would carry their earnings out of the country, not spending them in it as every <sup>native</sup> ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~my~~ ~~dola~~. I do not remember the name of this white man. We do not understand the Indians and Arabs; we cannot communicate with them, however much Europeans may manage to do so. Many ~~amakhosha~~ ~~khobonga~~, seduce girls &c. Some of them, though Christian converts, revert to the former way of living and take more wives than one. In former times ~~Kholwas~~ were more careful about infringing the canons & regulations of the Church. I, for instance, would never have dared to behave thus. There appears to be a growing tendency amongst ~~Kholwas~~ to become exempted from the operation of native law. This seems to be due to the ~~subject~~ ~~of~~ inheritance. Natives see that exemption carries with it the following positive advantage: Every man's property <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ enjoyed by his own progeny rather than by his elder and younger brothers. If a man's daughter is married and ~~lobola~~ received by him, then, at his death, he is unable to assign any of his goods to his married daughter, for, being married under native law, her husband would appropriate anything so given. A man has a natural and great wish that the fruit of his labour should be enjoyed by his own children, for this reason I have a wife and five <sup>2</sup> children, girls & boys, I have made a will (written) under which, at my death, my wife will have charge of the whole estate, at her death the property will be divided up in equal portions to my children, in the same way

as Europeans. The divisions in the Church are to me inexplicable and a very serious matter. I saw a good deal of the quarrel between Bp. Colenso & Dr. Green's party. I noted then that members of the opposing sides would pass one another by in the street without speaking. I observe many differences between Johannes Kumalo's people (Wesleyans) and our church. Johannes' people are said to be converted when, having a presentiment that they have seen God, they burst into tears. I do not believe in that sort of thing; no one has ever seen God. Their method of praying, their services &c. are different. We belong to the root Church, so long as these various denominations are at one with the root Church fundamentally, there does not appear to be much objection to their being apart. <sup>7-20 P.M. called</sup> There are no mission stations in Natal which can be called good. The Trappists are doing good work. They teach trades to young men & make girls labour in the fields. Kolwas have many grievances of their own, the chief being refused education, Kolwas may not be educated above Standard IV, and they are not allowed to enter the Govt. Service. Benjamin Kumalo, in spite of the fact that he had the highest testimonials from his Magistrate, Mr. Paterson, at Estcourt, yet was compelled to leave the service. Benjamin was much affected by the apparent injustice of this step. He, after this, resolved to enter the Church & left Natal for the Cape, where he now is. Kolwas' wives do not cause much trouble, likewise their children, [any more possibly than European children]. There is a bad woman here & a disobedient child there, not more than that. My wife, I say, has never given me any trouble, nor my children. There are large numbers of the Kumalo people in Natal in various places. Sibamu in Estcourt is a Kumalo chief. Kolwa women do commit adultery with raw natives, & Kolwa girls are often seduced by natives who are not Christians. There are not very many Kolwas who refuse to receive lobola for their children; many do refuse, many don't. The reason for refusal is the desire to settle the fruit of one's labour on one's own children, wife &c. Kolwa man & wife sleep together as Europeans do. What is noticeable is that Kolwa women, finding they have the husband to themselves, have engendered the desire always to be having sexual intercourse with him. The man may go away for a short time, <sup>and</sup> the woman will crave for his return. But it seems now that many Kolwas are taking to the old native custom of living apart from their wives. I, for instance, say I, have my own room (ilawu) and my wife her room. The ~~izikhundlwana~~ (children) will be made to sleep with the woman & they, as men find, are a relief by causing women to devote their attention to them instead of expecting the husband perpetually to be having intercourse night after night. Among the chief representatives of the Kolwas in Natal are the following: Johannes Kumalo (Driefontein), Timothy Gule <sup>(nat. near Dundee)</sup>, Abram (Mkunzi, Wasehbank), William Africa <sup>(a Basuto, near Elands Jaagte)</sup>.



John Kumalo (Roosboom) [my interlocutor], Solomon Mbasa and Lasi (Driefontein), Stephen Mini (Edendale), Lutayi (Camperdown), Majori (Richmond), Fluwayiti, Mkhululi (Springvale), Isaac Mkhize (Cedara), Mhlanimpofee and Mkhomo Kayidhli Lutuli (Mvoti M. 8<sup>th</sup>) the latter man takes a considerable interest in native affairs. The next Congress will be in January. <sup>(27)</sup>

<sup>30.10.00</sup> Ladysmith. (per Mr. G. H. Courtney, Field Cornet (since 1881), of Acton Homes) tells me today he does not think Langalibalele instigated boys of his tribe to get guns, but he knew there was a law natives could not possess guns without permission & as the 'boys' had brought guns into the Colony & retained them it was tantamount to Langalibalele's having infringed the law & he felt he deserved to be punished under the law. He was afraid therefore of bringing them forth when called up to be registered because he felt punishment was behind registration, which was merely a kind of blind. After he had got on to the hills (mountains) & fired the first shot, he dispatched four messengers to Putile & other chiefs to say hostilities had begun & to ask for their assistance. This assistance <sup>(which was not)</sup> would have been given. C. thinks but for the fact that the messengers were seen, fired up & killed. C. was with Volunteers under Capt. Lucas. Lucas was soon afterwards removed from Ladysmith & so convinced were the volunteers he had done no wrong that they at once handed in their arms & disbanded & no attempt to raise another corps was successful until the Siege of Ladysmith over 25 years later. Courtney has lived in this Div<sup>n</sup> for 31 years. His age is about 62 I should say.

<sup>1.11.00</sup> Ladysmith (per Calique) Hears persistent rumours about soldiers going to marry native girls. He speaks to a native from Weenen Div<sup>n</sup> <sup>yesterday</sup> who says that Silwane & Mhlabizela were recently called up at Nobamba (Weenen) & warned to cause all their girls to be married off as soon as possible for those remaining would be taken by soldiers who would bear more soldiers by the girls they marry. The result of this communication is that many girls are being <sup>actually</sup> married off in all directions, reminding one of mbi-shli ka Smsewu. Q. came across several girls at this (Royal) Hotel - they slept here - on their way to be married. They come from the direction of Nobamba.

<sup>13.11.00</sup> Ladysmith (per Ndakwana. 13.11.00) Natives object to Europeans exacting taxes higher than those claimed by the Inkosi; they, Europeans (farmers) are merely abanumzana and ought to receive rates far lower than those they at present get. There would be no objection to the Inkosi claiming higher taxes, as high as these rents. The land is the Inkosi's and he or she has placed the farmers or Europeans there. They have borrowed <sup>the</sup> land, why should mere borrowers, people themselves there on sufferance claim so voraciously; natives are forced to see in this action that Inkosi yenzi uku cebiza lab' abalungu and encourages them to claim high rentals in order to cause the oppressed natives to take up arms. This evidently appears to be the

Contact with civilized races (contd, from p. 123)

22. 11. 00

Who present

Ladysmith Per John Kumalo, Ndabwana present about 5.15 Pm. - 6.15 Pm. I cannot give the conversation in order, as I write from memory. What struck me most was J's strong preference for the old <sup>(chiefs)</sup> amaXosha of the Zulus or simply Natives, so much so that if he had been younger he would have given his allegiance, there to instead of becoming a Christian convert; now this is very remarkable. He approves <sup>of the system of Chief Ncwadi</sup> Ncwadi's system under which he allows his boys & young men to become amaXosha proficient in reading & writing, they may dress & become amaXosha if they like, but they are all managed according to ancient custom. He still holds <sup>the</sup> ukhosi. Those who are in the habit of dressing will take off their clothes and put on <sup>the</sup> umfutha, &c. He calls his <sup>agreements</sup> hamba together and instructs them in the affairs of the white people, i.e. political questions &c. Ncwadi is one of the hereditary chiefs. J. is of opinion <sup>that the</sup> old Zulu <sup>system of</sup> Govt <sup>was</sup> very like that of English people, especially if, after a man has been appointed to an office and if he be found unsuitable for it, he is let down as gently as possible. It <sup>was</sup> very difficult in Zululand, in old days, to remove a man who was once established as an official. Rev. Thompson before going to Springvale stayed a month with J. in order to learn the Zulu language &c. <sup>(29)</sup> He was like an orphan, <sup>(He subsequently was able to interpret well for the Bishop)</sup> having no means. Some European clergymen when they meet J. in private will shake hands effusively with J, but when they meet him in a public place, as in the street, they do not do so. Again members of a church are, whilst in it, called brothers by their clergy; should they leave they are no longer brothers. Great credit is due to Sir J. Shepstone for having managed to control a savage people as he did & keep them in order for so many years. He made a number of his own chiefs, viz. Ngqiza, Ingundane &c. men previously with no rank. The main defect of his system was not educating the natives; by this time many more would have been so far advanced as to send representatives to Parliament. When J. came to live in these parts No bamba was already the name of Wreener, named after <sup>the</sup> Zulu kraal like Ingungundhloru. Years ago the Governor of this Colony, foreseeing natives had trouble in store, advised them strongly to buy land, as Europeans would soon arrive in large numbers & purchase all available land. The missionaries, however, did all they could to dissuade natives from buying. C. Barter, Magistrate of P. M. Burg, <sup>(30)</sup> once said that it ~~was~~ would be very bad policy to cause native and European prostitutes to leave the town as, if there were none, <sup>the</sup> soldiers would break into people's houses and ravage ladies & their daughters.

Further convers<sup>ed</sup> with John Kumalo, this 24. 11. 00. Ndabwana present. <sup>He</sup> Considers that some definite policy ought to be devised for dealing with the natives in their relations with white

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people who have come to South Africa to stay. The Shepstone policy appeared to be the right one but other measures must now be taken.

3.12.00

Taken from p. 283. "South Africa" of 10 Nov. 1900: - "The Rev. J. S. Moffat and the Natives. - During the week we have had the pleasure of a visit from the Rev. J. S. Moffat, than whom no one knows better the natives of South Africa. He belongs to a family famous in the annals of missionary enterprise. As our readers know, his father was Dr. Robert Moffat, who laboured so long and so heroically as a missionary among the native tribes. Mr. Moffat himself was born among them, and grew up in their midst. For twenty years he has worked for them as a missionary. He has also had 15 years' experience as a Government official among them, and he is consequently qualified to speak as to their treatment. Mr. Moffat holds strong views antagonistic to the Government action in apprenticing the Langeberg natives in Cape Colony, and although he lives in retirement in Cape Town, after a long life's work in the interests of the natives, he has recently devoted practically the whole of his leisure to impressing upon the Government the necessity of removing what he holds is a great injustice. To put it on no higher ground, Mr. Moffat says it would have been policy to have kept the Langeberg natives on their land, instead of apportioning the farms to the men who have been so recently fighting against the loyalists in the district. Mr. Moffat, whose valuable work in connection with the recent elections we have already acknowledged, addresses some meetings in the North of England during the next few weeks, and hopes to return to the Cape in December. - chd.

(For continuation of these notes on "Contact with Civilized Races" turn to new Note Book).